KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ

EDITED BY Dr. DIMBESWAR SARMA

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KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ

Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan's Sri Sankaracharya Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya

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PREFACE

The vital importance of archaeological evidence like epigraphy in the proper study and authentic reconstruction of our country's hoary past can hardly be overemphasized. In the absence of any system of keeping written records of important events in the dim past, it is on such evidence that historical scholars rely while trying to rediscover the ancient history of a country. It is from this point of view that the present volume comprising the hitherto discovered copper-plate and rock-cut inscriptions of Kamarupa or ancient Assam acquires immense historical value.

Thanks to the scholarly devotion and assiduous labour of several historians and archaeologists, a good number of writs of land grants issued by the Kings of Kamarupa has come to light. The discovery, deciphering and current interpretation of these writs or inscriptions have engaged the attention and exertions of many a scholar. To all these scholars we owe a word of gratitude for making these valuable source-materials available to us. For, without these, the correct and authenticated history of ancient Assam could not have been written.

The title, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, immediately brings to our mind the pioneering work done by Mahamahopadhyaya Padmanath Bhattacharyya Vidyavinoda (1868-1938) in this particular field. It was he who first compiled and edited some twelve writs of land grants issued by the Kamarupa Kings from Bhaskara Varman to Dharmapala under the title of *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*. Of course, this first edition of the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* contained the texts of only twelve inscriptions together with their translations and prefaces in Bengali. Consequently, the Vidyavinoda's edition of the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* was limited in its contents and scope.

The present volume, though carrying the same title, deserves to be treated as a substantially new compendium of the inscriptions in that some fifteen new inscriptions which had come to light at a later stage following the publication of Vidyavinoda's *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* have been incorporated in it. The Editor of the present collection, Dr. Dimbeswar Sarma, has not only incorporated the original texts of 27 royal inscriptions, but has also written grammatical notes on the texts of the inscriptions, has made the English and Assamese renderings of the texts and added a scholarly General Introduction.

We are grateful to Dr. Sarma for the immense pains he has taken in editing and translating this epigraphical collection which, we are sure, will have its well-deserved recognition from scholars all over the country.

Our gratitude is also due to Sri Premadhar Choudhury and Prof. Rajani Kanta Deva Sarma who have contributed to the volume in the form of English and Assamese renderings of a number of inscriptions.

Finally, we are grateful to Dr. Maheswar Neog who has for some time associated himself with the work of this volume.

C. P. SAIKIA

Gauhati
April 20, 1981

CONTENTS

PART I—GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A. INTRODUCTORY 1-8

B. HISTORICAL MATERIALS 8-97

1. Early Historical Materials Gleaned from Various Sources, ... 8-13
   - (*a*) Ancient Scriptures, ... 8-10
     - (*i*) *The Rāmāyaṇa*, ... 8-9
     - (*ii*) *The Mahābhārata*, ... 9
   - (*b*) Earlier Inscriptions, ... 10
   - (*c*) Earlier Literature, ... 10-13
     - *Kālidāsa*, pp 10-11; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, p II; *Kālikā Purāṇa*, ... 11-13
   - (*d*) Accounts of Early Foreign Travellers and Historians, ... 13
2. Historical Materials in the Inscriptions, ... 13-15
   - —Names of Kings of the Dynasty of Bhāskaravarmā, ... 13-14
   - Names of Kings of the Dynasty of Sālastambha, ... 14-15
   - Names of Kings of the Pāla Dynasty of Assam, ... 15
3. Discrepancies in the Historical Materials, ... 15-19
   - (*a*) Those in the Ancient Scriptures, pp 15-17; (*b*) Those in the Inscriptions, ... 17-19
4. References found in the Contemporary Inscriptions of the Neighbouring Area, ... 19-21
5. Local Traditions in Assam, ... 21
6. Verification of the Historical Materials, ... 21-28
   - (*a*) Those in *the Rāmāyaṇa*, pp 21-22; (*b*) Those in *the Mahābhārata*, 22-25
   - (*c*) Those in the works of Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa, p 25; (*d*) Those in *the Rājataraṅgiṇī*, p. 25. (*e*) Those in the Inscriptions, ... 25-28
7. Construction of Political History of *Ancient Kāmarūpa*, ... 28-93
   - (*i*) Extent of the Kingdom, ... 28-33
     - (*a*) From the Data in *the Rāmāyaṇa* and *the Mahābhārata*, ... 28-33
     - (*b*) From the Data of *the Kālikāpurāṇa*, ... 33-35
   - (*ii*) The Evolution of the Name of *Kāmarūpa*, ... 36
   - (*iii*) The Ascendancy of *Kāmarūpa* after the *Śuṅga Period*, ... 36
   - (*iv*) State of the kingdom in *the Gupta Period*, ... 36-38
   - (*v*) During the Rule of Bhūtivarmā, ... 39-42
   - (*vi*) Aggrandisement during the Rule of Mahendravarmā, ... 43

(*vii*) Beginning of the Process of Reassertion—Kalyāṇavarmā, … 43-45
(*viii*) Sylhet—a part of *Kāmarūpa*, … … 45
(*ix*) Completion of the Process of Reassertion, … … 45-46
(*x*) Fading of the Glory after Bhūtivarmā, … … 46
(*xi*) Chandramukhavarmā, … … 46-47
(*xii*) Re-expansion during the Days of Sthitavarmā, … 47
(*xiii*) A Set-back before Bhāskara's Advent: Power Alignment in India, … … 47-51
(*xiv*) Expansion of *Kāmarūpa* during Bhāskara's Time, … 51-56
(*xv*) Advent of the Sālastambha Family, … … 56-57
(*xvi*) Devavarmā's Rule, … … 57-58
(*xvii*) Possession of the Throne of *Kāmarūpa* by Sālastambha, … 58
(*xviii*) Name of the Capital City, … … 58-60
(*xix*) Location of the Capital City, … … 60-63
(*xx*) The Reign of Harjaravarmā—Extent of His Kingdom, … 63-64
(*xxi*) Kings of the Sālastambha Dynasty before Harjaravarmā … 64-66
(*xxii*) Extent during the Reign of King Vanamālavarmadeva … 67
(*xxiii*) Extent of the Kingdom during the Rule of Balavarmā III, … 67-68
(*xxiv*) The Establishment of the Pāla Dynasty, … … 68-69
(*xxv*) Extent Squeezed during the Rule of Brahmapāla, … 69-70
(*xxvi*) King Ratnapāla—His Capital *Durjayā*, … … 70-73
(*xxvii*) Purandarapāla—Crown Prince and Regent of *Kāmarūpa* in the North- Eastern Region, … … 73-74
(*xxviii*) Indrapāla—Extent of His Kingdom, … … 74-75
(*xxix*) King Gopālavarmadeva, … … 75-76
(*xxx*) King Harṣapāla—Fading of the Glory, … … 76-78
(*xxxi*) Dharmapāla—His Glorious Rule, … … 78-79
(*xxxii*) *Śrāvasti* of *Uttarakośala* Formed Part of the *Kāmarūpa Kingdom* during Pāla Regime, … 79-82
(*xxxiii*) *Kāmarūpanagara*—the New Capital, … … 82-83
(*xxxiv*) *Kāmarūpa* and *Kamatā* are two Different Names, … 83-85
(*xxxv*) After Dharmapāla, Jayapāla, … … 85-93
8. Chronology of the *Prāgjyotiṣa*—*Kāmarūpa* Kings, … … 93-97

C. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, … … 98-127
(*i*) Kingship, … … 98-101
(*ii*) Principles underlying Governance, … … 101-104
(*iii*) The Coronation Ceremony as a Part of the *Rājasūya* Sacrifice, … … 104-106
(*iv*) The *Aśvamedha* Sacrifice, … … 106-107
(*v*) The Imperial Titles, … … 107-109
(*vi*) Other Royal Titles, … … 109-110
(*vii*) Royal Consorts, … … 110-111

(*viii*) The Crown Prince, ... 111

(*ix*) The Council of Ministers, ... 111-114

(*x*) Judicial Department, ... 114-116

(*xi*) Other Officials Connected with the Administration of Justice, ... 116-117

(*xii*) Administrative Divisions, ... 117-120

(*xiii*) Other Officers Mentioned, ... 120

(*xiv*) The *Naukābandhika*, ... 120-121

(*xv*) *Auparikarika*, ... 122

(*xvi*) *Autkhetika*, ... 122

(*xvii*) Nature of Land Settlement, ... 122-126

(*xviii*) The Military Organisation, ... 126-127

D. TRENDS IN THE GROWTH OF CULTURE AND RELIGION 128-159

(*i*) Geographical Position of *Prāgjyotiṣa* or *Ancient Kāmarūpa*, ... 128-130

(*ii*) *Aryāvarta* Extended as far as the Eastern Hills, ... 130-132

(*iii*) East is the Cradle of Aryan Culture, ... 132-133

(*iv*) Pālakāpya Muni of the East, ... 133-134

(*v*) Fight of the Aryans against Aryans, ... 134-135

(*vi*) Two Streams of Settlement—the Alpines and the Aryans ... 135

(*vii*) Affinity of Language of the "Outer Band" of the Gangetic Valley 135-136

(*viii*) The Route Lay on the North-References in Kālidāsa, ... 136-138

(*ix*) Direct Communication with Tibet, China and Kashmir ... 138

(*x*) Bhagadatta belongs to the Race of the *Śivis*, ... 139

(*xi*) Association of Amūrttarajas with *Girjvraja* and *Prākjyotiṣa* Points out to an Alpine Origin of Its People, ... 139-140

(*xii*) *Kalitās* are of Alpine Origin, ... 140

(*xiii*) The *Kāmbojas*, the *Śivis*, the *Kekayas*, the *Kulūtas* are Branches of the Alpine Race, ... 141

(*xiv*) Bhagadatta therefore Belonged to the Alpine Race, ... 141-142

(*xv*) Emergence into the Daylight of History, ... 142-143

(*xvi*) A Possible Relation Between the *Śivis* and the *Kulūtas*, ... 143

(*xvii*) Traces of Two Distinct Cultures, ... 144

(*xviii*) The Aryan Culture—Its Manifestations in the Social System, ... 144

(*xix*) The Four Stages of Life—Its Basic Concept, ... 144-145

(*xx*) Vedic Culture—Study of *The Vedas*, ... 145-146

(*xxi*) Culture and Activity, ... 146

(*xxii*) Study of *Mīmāṁsā* and Performance of Sacrifices, ... 146-147

(*xxiii*) The Duties to be performed by a *Brāhmaṇa*, ... 147

(*xxiv*) The *caturvargas*, ... 147-148

(*xxv*) Religion, ... 148-149
(*xxvi*) The Religion is Liberal comprising Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, ... 149-150
(*xxvii*) Other Gods Worshipped—*Balabhadra*, *Indra*, *Harihara* etc. ... 150-151
(*xxviii*) Nature of *Śiva-Śakti*, ... 152
(*xxix*) Two Streams of *Śiva-Worship*, ... 153
(*xxx*) *Śiva* is Both Aryan and Trans-Himālayān, ... 153-155
(*xxxi*) Concept of *Śiva-Śakti* Synthesised into a Unity with Hari, ... 155
(*xxxii*) Separate Worship of *Hāṭakaśūlin*, ... 155-156
(*xxxiii*) Central Deity of the Indigenous People Identified with *Śiva* or *Haḍap-peśvara*, ... 156
(*xxxiv*) The Tantric and the *Siva-Sakti* Worships are Different from Later Tantric Forms of Religious Excesses, ... 156-158
(*xxxv*) Tantric Form of Religious Excesses is *Tantric Buddhism* or *Vajrayāna*, ... 158-159

E. LITERARY VALUE OF THE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASSAM, ... 160-168

F. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS WITH EARLIER ASSAMESE, ... 169-178

G. THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ASSAMESE SCRIPT, ... 179-198

PART II—TEXTS

Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarmā— 1-2
Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription of Bhūtivarmā— 3-4
The Nālandā Seal of Bhāskaravarmā— ... 5-6
Ḍubi Plates of Bhāskaravarmā— 7-18
Nidhānpur Plates of Bhāskaravarmā— 19-32
Copper-bell Inscription of Śrīkumāra— 33-35
Hāyuṅthal Copper-plate Inscription of Harjaravarmā— ... 36-39
Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarmā— 40-42
Tezpur Copper-plates Inscription of Vanamāla-varmadeva— ... 43-49
Parvatīyā Plates of Vanamālavarmadeva— 50-55
Inscribed Image of Sūrya from Kāki— 56-57
The Viṣṇu Image Inscription from Deopānī— 58-59
Inscription on a Harihara image from Deopānī (No. 1)— 60-62
Inscribed Image of Harihara from Deopānī (No. 2)— 63-64
Howraghat Plates of Balavarmā III— 65-70

Nowgong Plates of Balavarmā III— 71-77
Bargaon Grant of Ratnapāla— 78-87
The Sualkuci Grant of Ratnapāla— 88-90
The Gauhāti Grant of Indrapāla— 91-98
The Guakuci Grant of Indrapāla— 99-102
The Gāchtal Copper-plates Inscription of Gopālavarmadeva— 103-117
Khonāmukh Plates of Dharmapāla— 118-123
Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Plates of Dharmapāla— 124-131
The Puṣpabhadrā Plates of Dharmapāla— 132-139
Kānāibarasī Rock Inscription— 140-141
Stone Inscription of Samudrapāla (Found at Āmbāri)— 142-143
Gāchtal Pillar Inscription— 144-146

PART III—ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarmā— 149
Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription of Bhūtivarmā— 150
The Nālandā Seal of Bhāskaravarmā— 151
The Ḍubi Plates of Bhāskaravarmā— 152-160
The Nidhānpur Plates of Bhāskaravarmā— 161-166
Copper-bell Inscription of Śrikumāra— 167
Hāyuṅthal Copper-plate Inscription of Harjaravarmā— 168-169
Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarmā— 170-172
Tezpur Copper-plates Inscription of Vanamālavarmadeva— ... 173-176
Parvatīyā Plates of Vanamālavarmadeva— 177-178
Inscribed Image of Sūrya from Kāki— 179
Inscription on a Harihara Image from Deopānī (No. 1)— 180
Inscribed Image of Harihara from Deopānī (No. 2)— 181
Nowgong Plates of Balavarmā III— 182-185
Howraghat Plates of Balavarmā— 186-189
Bargaon Grant of Ratnapāla— 190-196
The Suālkuci Grant of Ratnapāla— 199-198
The Gauhāti Grant of Indrapāla— 199-202
The Guākuci Grant of Indrapāla— 203-206
The Gāchtal Copper-plates Inscription of Gopālavarmadeva— ... 207-213
Khonāmukh Plates of Dharmapāla— 214-216
Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Plates of Dharmapāla— 217-221
The Puṣpabhadrā Plates of Dharmapāla— 222-225
Kānāibaraśī Rock Inscription— 226
Stone Inscription of Samudrapāla (found at Āmbāri)— 227
Gāchtal Pillar Inscription— 228

PART IV—ASSAMESE TRANSLATIONS

সুৰেন্দ্ৰবৰ্মাৰ উমাচল-পাষাণলিপি 231
ভূতিবৰ্মাৰ বৰঙ্গালিপি 231
ভাস্কৰবৰ্মাৰ নালন্দামোহৰ 231
ভাস্কৰবৰ্মাৰ ডুবি তাম্ৰশাসন 232-237
ডুবিশাসনৰ চিলমোহৰৰ অনুবাদ 238
ভাস্কৰবৰ্মাৰ নিধানপুৰ তাম্ৰশাসন 238-246
শ্ৰীকুমাৰৰ তাম্ৰঘণ্টালিপি 247
হৰ্জৰবৰ্মাৰ তাম্ৰশাসন (হাইয়ুংথললিপি) 247-248
হৰ্জৰবৰ্মাৰ তেজপুৰপাষাণলিপি 249
বনমালদেৱৰ তেজপুৰ তাম্ৰশাসন 249-252
বনমালদেৱৰ পৰ্বতীয়া ফলি 253
কাকিৰ সূৰ্য্যপ্ৰতিমা লিপি 254
দেওপানীৰ হৰিহৰ মূৰ্তি লিপি (১) 254
দেওপানীৰ হৰিহৰ মূৰ্তি লিপি (২) 254
বলবৰ্মাৰ তামৰ ফলি (নগাওঁ লিপি) 255-257
বলবৰ্মাৰ তামৰ ফলি (হাওৰাঘাট লিপি) 258-260
ৰত্নপালদেৱৰ প্ৰথম তামৰ ফলি (বৰগাওঁ লিপি) 261-263
ৰত্নপালদেৱৰ দ্বিতীয় তামৰ ফলি (শুৱালকুচি লিপি) 264
ইন্দ্ৰপালদেৱৰ প্ৰথম তামৰ ফলি (গুৱাহাটী লিপি) 265-267
ইন্দ্ৰপালদেৱৰ দ্বিতীয় তামৰ ফলি (গুৱাকুচি লিপি) 268-270
গোপালদেৱৰ গাছতল লিপি 271-273
ধৰ্মপালদেৱৰ খোনামুখ লিপি 274-275
ধৰ্মপালদেৱৰ শুভঙ্কৰ পাটক লিপি 275-277
ধৰ্মপালদেৱৰ পুষ্পভদ্ৰা লিপি 278-280
কানাইবৰশী শিলালিপি 281
সমুদ্ৰপালৰ আমবাৰিৰ শিলালিপি 281
গাছতলৰ শিলালিপি 281

APPENDICES

Appendix A—Additional Notes and Comments 283-295
Appendix B—Bibliography 296-299
Appendix C—Word Index (General Introducation) 300-315
Appendix D—Word Index (Texts and English translations) .. 316-325
Appendix E—Addendum Et Corrigendum 326-328

Besides the "General Introduction" written by the editor, Dr. Dimbeswar Sarma, the English and the Assamese renderings of the inscriptions are by Scholars as follows:

1. **Dr. Dimbeswar Sarma:**
   - Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarmā.
   - Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription of Bhūtivarmā.
   - The Nālandā Seal of Bhāskarvarmā.
   - Copper-bell Inscription of Śrikumāra.
   - Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarmā.
   - Tezpur Copper-plates Inscription of Vanamālavarmadeva.
   - Parvatīyā Plates of Vanamālavarmadeva.
   - Inscribed Image of Sūrya from Kāki.
   - The Viṣṇu Image Inscription from Deopānī.
   - Inscription on a Harihara image from Deopānī (No. 1).
   - Inscribed Image of Harihara from Deopānī (No. 2).
   - Nowgong Plates of Balavarmā III.
   - Bargaon Grant of Ratnapāla.
   - The Śuālkuci Grant of Ratnapāla.
   - The Gāchtal Copper-plates Inscription of Gopālavarmadeva.
   - Kānāibaraśī Rock Inscription
   - Stone Inscription of Samudrapāla (found at Āmbāri).
   - Gāchtal Pillar Inscription.

2. **Sri Premadhar Chowdhury & Dr. Dimbeswar Sarma:**
   - The Ḍubi Plates of Bhāskaravarmā.

3. **Sri Premadhar Chowdhury:**
   - The Nidhānpur Plates of Bhāskaravarmā.
   - Hāyuṅthal Copper-plate Inscription of Harjaravarmā.

4. **Prof. Rajanikanta Deva Sarma:**
   - Howraghat Plates of Balavarmā III.
   - The Gauhāti Grant of Indrapāla.
   - The Guakuchi Grant of Indrapāla.
   - Khonāmukh Plates of Dharmapāla.
   - Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Plates of Dharmapāla.
   - The Puṣpabhadrā Plates of Dharmapāla.

KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ

PART I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

lity to publish it. Vidyāvinoda, however, prevailed upon the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat* to undertake its publication. The people of this part of India still remember Vidyāvinoda with gratitude for the splendid contribution he made for the cause of historical studies in Assam. But the circumscribed scope of the Vidyāvinoda's work has been very much apparent when he declares that his work was primarily meant for the descendants of the *Brāhmaṇas* of the inscriptions, the donees, residing in the present-day Assam and parts of greater Assam and thereby discarding the idea of writing through the medium of English which would have facilitated the study of his work in other parts of India as well as abroad. The necessity of an edition in English has been long felt by the scholars of Assam to present her ancient history in its proper perspective to the scholars outside even when the Vidyāvinoda's edition of the "*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*" was available. Now that the said edition is exhausted long ago, the necessity of such an edition in English has been felt for a long time. Moreover, such an edition with a wider reading public will disseminate the knowledge of Assam's history to various parts of India and will be able to remove the various wrong notions about the State of Kāmarūpa.

The new discovery of a number of inscriptions in the two decades following the publication of the "*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*" has brought to the forefront the desirability of bringing out a fresh edition of the "*Śāsanāvalī*" complete with all the available inscriptions. These newly discovered inscriptions have certain materials that will throw some new light on the history of ancient Assam and will, it is believed, topple some of the accepted facts of the Indian History. These materials, if properly understood and interpreted[1], will show the pre-eminence which *Kāmarūpa* attained in the history and geographical map of ancient India. For a proper evaluation of these materials, the need for the inclusion of these new inscriptions in a fresh edition of the "*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*" has been felt all the more. The new edition which we have brought out is a fully different volume from that of the Vidyāvinoda because it contains fifteen new inscriptions both copper-plate and rock-cut together with the twelve inscriptions included in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* of the late P. N. Vidyāvinoda. Even then we have retained its name as *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* after Vidyāvinoda, because it has already attained a well-eastablished celebrity and the two names, the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* and Vidyāvinoda, have almost become inseparable in Assam. Not to speak of an average educated man, even the circle of learned scholars is possessed of the impression that Vidyāvinoda himself discovered, first deciphered and edited all the inscriptions of the *Śāsanā-*

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[1] We are dealing with these points at appropriate places.

valī, a fact which on Vidyāvinoda's own admission proves to be wrong. The following analysis will amply bear out the fact that though the *Śāsanāvalī* is a single-handed product, still the light thrown on the discovery, deciphering, editing and interpreting etc. of each individual plate is the result of both united and stray efforts made by many scholars from time to time.

1. *The Nidhānpur Copper Plates Inscription of Bhāskaravarmā* is a single-handed endeavour of the Vidyāvinoda and all credit for discovering, deciphering etc. goes to him.[2]

2. *The Copper Plate Inscription of Harjaravarmā* known as the *Hāyuṅthal Grant* consisting of one plate—the middle one—was first published in the *Pratibhā*, the journal of the "*Dacca Literary Society*", Vol. XVIII, Nos. I and II with discussions by the Vidyāvinoda. After this he compiles an article on it for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* and Sri K. V. Subrahmanya, the Government epigraphist, suggested certain modifications on the textual readings which were accepted by the Vidyāvinoda.

3. *Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarmā*: Sir Edward Gait was informed in 1893 about this inscription who took a photograph of it but failed to have the inscription read by local *paṇḍits*. Therefore he sent the photograph to the well-known Dr. Hoernle. Possibly Dr. Hoernle failed to decipher the script.

In 1915 Śri N. N. Basu took an impression of the inscription and in 1922 published the inscription with the text and the photograph in his "*Social History of Assam*" (Vol. I pp 159 a-b).

In 1917 Honourable Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri C.I.E. succeeded in deciphering the whole script on the basis of the impressions taken by Dr. Spooner and Rai Saheb Nagendra Babu and published it with his own comment and English translation in the *Journal of* the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* December, 1917 (pp 508-514). *Paṇḍit* Vidyāvinoda read a paper in the annual session of the "*Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti*" which was published in the *Pratibhā*—17th year 3rd and 4th issue—a journal of the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat.*

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[2] The *Nidhānpur Copper Plates Inscription* consists of seven plates. This was secured from a farmer of the place in Sylhet in the year 1912. Of the seven plates four were sold out by the farmer and the Vidyāvinoda could secure only three—the first, second and the last. He made certain discussions about this inscription in the *Journal of the Raṅgpur Literary Society* in the year 1912; in the *Vijayā* in the year 1913 and in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, No. 13. Four years after, the last but one plate was discovered and the Vidyāvinoda published two articles on its text and contents in the *Navayuga*, June 1921 and in the *Pratibhā*, 1922. After the recovery of the third plate, an article was published in the *Pratibhā* in the year 1923. Again an article on the 3rd plate and the last plate was published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, No. 19 in which the mistakes in the absence of these two plates earlier committed were corrected as far as practicable. In the *Brāhmaṇa Samāja*, Vol. XII, 5th and 6th issue, the article under the caption "*Tāmra-śāsane Brāhmaṇaparicaya*" comprising the texts of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th and 7th plates with discourses on the *gotras* of the Brahmins was published. When later on the middle plate described as the 4th plate was recovered the same article was published in continuation in the said *Brāhmaṇa Samāja*, in its Vol. XIV, No. 11.

4. *The Copper Plates Inscription of Vanamālavarmadeva (*the *Tezpur Plates)* was first published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the year 1840 from a copy of it sent by General Jenkins, not from the original plates. From it it can be inferred that someone in Assam read the text for Colonel Jenkins. The copy was published in the said journal with *Paṇḍit* Kamalākānta's modifications of the readings and remarks thereon and with an English rendering by Śrī Sāradāprasād. The original plates are completely lost. The text adopted in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* is an improved version of that of the Asiatic Society Journal.

5. *The Copper Plates Grant of Balavarmā (Nowgong Plates)* was first published by Mm. Paṇḍit Dhīreśvar Bhaṭṭāchāryya Kaviratna in the journal "*Assam*" from Gauhati. After this Mr. Gait, the then Director of Antiquarian Studies, Assam, personally acquired the plates and sent them to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Dr. Hoernle made elaborate discussions on the inscription in the Society's Journal of the year 1889 and published photographs of the plates with the seal. Vidyāvinoda with a Bengali translation of this inscription initiated a series of discussions on it in the "*Gauhati Baṅgīya Sāhityānuśīlanī Sabhā*" in the year 1909 and the next year published an article in the *Journal of the Bengali Literary Society*, no. 2.

6. *The First Copper Plates Inscription of Ratnapāla (the Bargāon Grant):* Sir Edward Gait sent the inscription I of Ratnapāla *(*the *Bargāon Plates)* to the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the month of April, 1897. Dr. Hoernle deciphered the text and published a very elaborate article on it in the journal of the Society in its first part for the year 1898 A.D. Vidyāvinoda wrote an article on it with a Bengali translation for the *Journal of the Raṅgpur Literary Society* in the year 1915.

7. *The Second Copper Plates Inscription of Ratnapāla (Śuālkuci Grant)* was sent by Sir E. A. Gait to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Dr. Hoernle published its photograph and a long discussion along with the first Copper Plates Inscription of Ratnapāla in the journal of the Society in the month of May 1896.

8. *The First Copper Plates Inscription of Indrapāla* (*Gauhati Grant*) was sent by Sir E. A. Gait to Dr. Hoernle, who deciphered and wrote a very long article upon it and published it in the journal of the Society, No. I of 1897. Vidyāvinoda also published an article upon it in the journal of the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* in its 2nd and 4th issues of the year 1912, pointing out to the various irregularities and mistakes in the reading adopted by Dr. Hoernle.

9. *The Second Copper Plates Inscription of Indrapāla, (Guākuci Plates)*, was secured, deciphered and published by the late *Paṇḍit* Hemchandra Goswami in the year 1925. Vidyāvinoda initiated a discussion upon it in the "*Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat*" by reading an article on this topic.

10. *The First Copper Plates Grant of Dharmapāla* known as the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Plates*, was received by Śrī K. N. Dīkṣita M.A., Deputy Director, Department of Archaeology, Government of India from the son of the late *Paṇḍit* Hemchandra Goswami in the month of March, 1929. Neither K. N. Dīkṣita nor Hemchandra Goswami published any dissertation on this inscription before it was taken up by the Vidyāvinoda for publication, though Dīkṣita was to publish the original text with photographs of the two inscriptions of Dharmapāla with English renderings in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

11. *The Second Copper Plates Grant of Dharmapāla* known as the *Puṣpabhadrā Plates* was first published by the late *Paṇḍit* Hemchandra Goswami with its text properly deciphered in the year 1908. The Vidyāvinoda published it again in the "*Raṅgpur Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā*" seven years after with Bengali translations.

12. *The Kānāibaraśī Rock Inscription:* The rock known as *Kānaibaraśī* exists at North Gauhati. It bears an inscription which was deciphered and discussed by Paṇḍit Padmanāth Bhaṭṭāchārya in his "*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*".

Thus it is clear that though Padmanath Vidyāvinoda collected all the twelve inscriptions in his *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, edited them and put his own views upon certain facts, still the contribution of other scholars to the unfolding of the materials in them is by no means negligible. Viewed from this angle the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī* is not the product of single-handed effort but is the result of a series of persistent endeavours not only of the Vidyāvinoda but of a number of scholars both local and outside. Therefore there can be no valid objection to the retention of the same title of the book even though a number of new inscriptions is added. As a matter of fact it remains still incomplete if these new-found inscriptions are not added to and the commendable efforts made by a number of modern scholars are not recorded in it.

The following are the inscriptions both Copper Plates and rock or image incised discovered after the publication of the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*.

1. *Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarmā:* This was first discovered by the late R. M. Nath. Śrī P. D. Chaudhury, the then Curator of the State Museum, and now retd. Director of Archaeology, Assam, deciphered and published it in the *Assam Tribune*, Gauhati, from a photographed copy of the said inscription. Later on from a photographic impression of the inscription, a detailed discussion about its size, nature and contents accompanied by the text with English translation was

made in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXX, No. 10. by Dr. D. C. Sarkar and Śrī P. D. Chaudhury.

2. *The Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription of Bhūtivarmā* was edited by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVII, pp. 18-23. Previously a short article on the inscription was published by the same author in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society,* Vol. VIII, 1941, pp. 138-139. He also published an article in the *Bhāratavarṣa,* B.S. 1348, p. 90; also in the I.H. March, 1945, pp. 19-28. Dr. D. C. Sarkar also wrote a "Note on Baḍagaṅgā Inscription of Bhūtivarman" in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXX, No. 12, pp. 62-67. Dr. Bhattasali published a rejoinder in the form of foot-notes added to the comments of Dr. D. C. Sarkar on his reading of the inscription, published in the *Bhāratavarṣa,* Vol. X, 1943, pp. 67-63.

3. *The Nālandā Clay Seal of Bhāskaravarmā:* This seal was discovered at the site of Nālandā in the company of two fragmentary seals of Śrī Harṣa. The seals were found by Dr. Spooner during the excavation of the ruins of Nālandā in the year 1917-18. Mr. K. N. Dīkṣita in his Epigraphical notes of the Nālandā finds referred to this seal and stated that the kings mentioned therein were not known to have belonged to any North-India dynasty. This was corrected by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol. V, 1920, p. 151).[3]

4. *Ḍubi Plates of Bhāskaravarmā:* Śrī P. D. Chaudhury, then Curator, Assam State Museum, now Director of Archaeology (since retd.) first deciphered the inscription, studied and published it in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society,* Vol. XI, (1948), Nos. 3-4, pp. 33-38; Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 16-33. This was re-edited by Dr. D. C. Sarkar and Śrī P. D. Chaudhury in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXX, No. 47, pp. 287-304 with the text accompanied by the facsimiles of the plates and exhaustive introductory notes.

5. *Copper Bell Inscription of Śrīkumāra:* Dr. Pratap Chandra Chowdhury, Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, Gauhati, deciphered the inscription and published notices on the archaeological finds with the text of the inscription in *The Journal of the Assam Research Society,* Vol. XVI, 1962 (published in 1964). We have adopted here the text as determined by Dr. Chowdhury.

6. *Parbatīyā Inscription of Vanamālavarmadeva:* Śrī P. D. Chaudhury, the then Curator, State Museum and retired Director of Archaeology, Assam, and Dr. D. C. Sarkar, Government Epigraphist for South India, Ootacamund, jointly deciphered the text of this inscription, edited and published it in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXIX, No. 207, pp. 145-159 with an elaborate introductory note.

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[3] *Early History of Kāmarūpa,* pp 96-97.

7. *Sūryya Image Inscription from Kāki:* This inscription was also acquired for the State Museum from Kāki in the Nowgong district of Assam and deciphered by Śrī P. D. Chaudhury, Director of Archaeology, Assam (now retired).

8. *The Viṣṇu Image Inscription from Deopāni*: Late K. N. Dīkṣita published an article on this inscribed image of *Viṣṇu* or *Nārāyaṇa* in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, No. 37.

9. *Harihara Image Inscriptions from Deopāni*: Two Stone Images of *Harihara (Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa)* have been acquired for the State Museum at Gauhati. Śrī P. D. Chaudhury, the then Director of Archaeology, Assam, (now retired) deciphered the inscriptions and briefly noticed them in the Assam Tribune, Gauhati. Dr. P. C. Chowdhury also separately deciphered and gave a reading of the text with a brief survey in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLVIII, Part I, April 1970.

10. *Howraghat Plates of Balavarmā III:* Dr. P. C. Chowdhury first deciphered the text of this inscription and published it with an Assamese translation in the *Journal of the Assam Sāhitya Sabhā*, 1956. Dr. D. C. Sarkar of Ootacamund independently edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, No. 33 "from a set of photographs of inscribed faces of the plates together with one showing the set of the plates hanging from the ring bearing the seal."

11. *Gāchtal Copper Plates Inscription of Gopāladeva* deciphered and published by Dr. P. C. Chowdhury in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XVIII, 1968 (the text only).

12. *Khonāmukh Plates of Dharmapāla*: The inscription was first deciphered and published by Śrī P. D. Chaudhury, the then Curator of the Assam State Museum, now Retired Director of Archaeology, Assam, in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 4. A fresh edition was published from a set of inked impression sent by the Government Epigraphist for India to Śrī P. Banerjee, Calcutta in the *Epigraphia Indica* (adopted here from the 2nd proof).

13. *Stone Inscription of Samudrapāla Found at Āmbāri:* We have here adopted the text of Dr. P. C. Chowdhury determined in collaboration with Śrī Vibhūti Pācani, a research student and published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLVIII, Part I, April 1970.

14. *The Gāchtal Pillar Inscription:* Dr. Birinchikumar Barua (now deceased) discovered a stone pillar, octagonal in shape, containing 24 lines of inscribed materials in the midst of the ruins of a *Śiva* temple at a place known as Gāchtal two miles west of Ḍabakā. The stone pillar was brought to the Assam State Museum in the year 1940. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali claimed to have deciphered from a photograph of that inscription only the first three lines. The late Rajmohan Nath claimed to have deciphered all the 24 lines of the inscription (cf. *Asam Sāhitya Sabhā Patrikā*, Vol. XIII, No. I, pp. 27-31). But when Dr. P. C.

Chowdhury, the Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, came across this inscription through the courtesy of Śrī M. C. Das, Director, State Archaeology, Assam, he found that the declarations about the inscriptions by the late R. M. Nath were too much of a presumption, that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit but old Assamese prose, that it contained no reference whatsoever to Viśvasundaradeva. We have reproduced here the text of Dr. P. C. Chowdhury published in the *Vishveshvarānand Indological Journal*, Vol. IX, I, March 1971. The assistance rendered by Śrī V. Pācani, a research student to Dr. Chowdhury in the decipherment is worthy of record.

The twelve inscriptions both copper-plate and rock-cut compiled by the Vidyāvinoda added to with the above fifteen documents have now completed the new edition of the *Kāmarūpasāśanāvalī* or the *Copper Plates Inscriptions of Ancient Assam.* As the credit for the compilation of the entire *Śāsanāvalī* of the first edition and deciphering of two inscriptions in it fully by himself goes to the Vidyāvinoda, so also the honour of first deciphering and throwing light on the seven of the fifteen later inscriptions is wholly associated with the scholastic pursuits of Śrī P. D. Chaudhury whose labours on the *Ḍubi Copper Plates Inscriptions* of Bhāskaravarmā will earn for him a place in the reconstruction of the History of Ancient Assam. The *Gāchtal Inscription* of Gopāladeva deciphered by Dr. P. C. Chowdhury will certainly add a new dimension to the historical studies in Assam, and the deciphering of the texts of the two stone inscriptions, the Gāchtal and the Āmbāri by the same scholar will earn for him a place not only among the historians of Assam but also among the scholars of literary history in the eastern part of India. Dr. D. C. Sarkar's name is worth mentioning in following up and completing the works taken up by Śrī P. D. Chaudhury and will ever be remembered for publishing the historical materials all over India. R. M. Nath with his indefatigable energy is a name to reckon with in the discovery of certain materials.[4]

B. HISTORICAL MATERIALS

1. Early Historical Materials Gleaned from Various Sources

(*a*) *Ancient Scriptures*

(*i*) *The Rāmāyaṇa*—The State of Assam of the present days with a much wider area was in very ancient times known as *Prāgjyotiṣa*. We come across this name first in the *Rāmāyaṇa* so far as written records are concerned.[5] In this reference, *Prāgjyotiṣa* is described as a city built on an extensive sea-side mountain known as *Varāha* with golden peaks. The whole city was built with gold and was ruled over by a *Dānava* known by the name of Naraka. It is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the Bengal edition that Amūrttarajas founded the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* which is replaced by the word *dharmāraṇya* in the Bombay edition.[6]

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[4] Mm. Dhireswar Bhattacharya Kaviratna and Paṇḍit Hemchandra Goswami's names are to be conjured with in the list of local scholars who did much pioneering work in bringing to light certain epigraphical records. This has been mentioned earlier and needs no repetition here.

(*ii*) *The Mahābhārata*—In tracing the origin of the gods and the sages as well as other movables and immovables, the *Mahābhārata* describes Naraka as a great *dānava*, the son of Danu.[7] At another place Naraka as the son of the earth seems to have been referred to.[8] It is noticeable that here only the name of Naraka is mentioned and there is no description of his kingdom. But in a different place where *Śrīkṛṣṇa* is described as killing the demon to restore the two *kuṇḍalas* to Aditi, his capital city *Prāgjyotiṣa* is mentioned; but there is no reference to the installation of his son Bhagadatta on the throne.[9]

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[5] योजनानि चतु:षष्टिर्वराहो नाम पर्व्वतः ।
सुवर्णशृङ्गः सुमहान् अगाधे वरुणालये ।।३०।।
तत्र प्राग्ज्योतिषं नाम जातरूपमयं पुरम् ।
तस्मिन् वसति दुष्टात्मा नरको नाम दानवः ।।३१।।
तत्र सानुषु रम्येषु विशालासु गुहासु च ।
रावणः सह वैदेह्या मार्गितव्यस्ततस्ततः ।।३२।। *Kiṣkindhyā* VIIIL

[6] तथामूर्त्तरया धीरश्चक्रे प्राग्ज्योतिषं पुरम् ।
धर्म्मारण्यसमीपस्य वसुश्चक्रे गिरिव्रजम् ।। *Ādikāṇḍa* XXXVI

In some of the references to this verse, the word अमूर्त्तरया is written down as अमूर्त्तरजा ; for this see K. S., Bhūmikā, F.N. 4, P. 1. In the Bombay edition अमूर्त्तरजा is replaced by अमूर्त्तरजसः, of—

अमूर्त्तरजसो नाम धर्म्मारण्यं महामतिः ।
चक्रे पुरवरं राजा वसुर्नाम गिरिव्रजम् ।। *Ādi* XXXII. 7.

[7] एकाक्षो मृतपो वीरः प्रलम्बनरकावपि ।
वातापिः शत्रुतपनः शठश्चैव महासुरः ।। *Adi* LXVI. 29

[8] वलिर्वैरोचनो राजा नरकः पृथिवीञ्जयः ।
संह्लादो विप्रचित्तिश्च कालखञ्जाश्च दानवाः ।। *Sabhā* IX. 16

[9] स विघ्नमकरोत्तत्र नरको नाम नैरृतः ।
अदितिं घर्षयामास कुण्डलार्थं युधिष्ठिर ।।४।।

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यं मही सुषुवे देवी यस्य प्राग्ज्योतिषं पुरम् ।
विषयान्तःपालाश्चत्वारो यस्यासन् युद्धदुर्म्मदाः ।।६।।

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तं जघान महावीर्यं हयग्रीवं महाबलम् ।।३०।।
अपारतेजा दुर्धर्षः सर्वयादवनन्दनः ।
मध्ये लोहितगङ्गायां भगवान् देवकीसुतः ।।३१।।

There is no direct evidence in the *Mahābhārata* to show that Bhagadatta is the son of Naraka. We find that the *vaiṣṇavāstra* presented by Lord *Viṣṇu* to Naraka was inherited in this line by Bhagadatta which he employed in the battle-field against Arjuna and which was absorbed by *Śrīkṛṣṇa* in his chest.[10]

Arjuna in course of his wanderings for the protection of the horse of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, it is described, comes to *Prāgjyotiṣa* and battles with Yajñadatta, the son of Bhagadatta whom he vanquishes and who therefore becomes an ally of Yudhiṣṭhira.[11] Sañjaya enumerates the names of the fallen heroes of his own army to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and cites the name of Kṛtaprajña, the son of Bhagadatta, as one.[12]

The description of Naraka and that of his killing by Viṣṇu in the *Harivaṁśa* are almost the same as in the *Mahābhārata*.[13]

(*b*) *Earlier Inscriptions*

Any references either to *Kāmarūpa* or *Prāgjyotiṣa* are conspicuous by their absence in the Asokan Pillar Inscriptions of the 3rd Century B.C. This clearly shows that *Kāmarūpa* never came under Aśoka's dominion nor did it fall on the highways of his emissaries to different countries. The epigraphic record to first mention *Kāmarūpa* is the famous Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta. In this inscription *Kāmarūpa* is mentioned as a frontier kingdom along with *Samataṭa*, *Ḍavāka*, *Nepal* and *Kartṛpura* the kings of which submitted to the imperial commands of Samudra Gupta "by giving all kinds of taxes and obeying his orders and coming to do obeisance."[14]

(*c*) *Earlier Literature*

Kālidāsa—Kālidāsa has in his *Raghudigvijaya* referred to *Prāgjyotiṣa*.

औदकायां विरूपाक्षं जघान मधुसूदनः ।
ततः प्राग्ज्योतिषं नाम दीप्यमानमिव श्रिया ।
पुरमासादयामास तत्र युद्धमवर्त्तत ।।३२।। *Sabhā* LV

[10] See द्रोणपर्व XXIX. 1., भगदत्तवधाध्यायः,
तन्मया त्वत्कृते चैतदन्यथैवोपनिर्म्मितम् ।
वियुक्तं परमास्त्रेण जहि पार्थ महासुरम् ।।४३।।
अबध्योऽयं महास्त्रेण भगदत्तः सुरासुरैः ।
वैरिणं जहि दुर्धर्षं भगदत्तं सुरद्विषम् ।
यथाऽहं जघ्निवान् पूर्व्वं हितार्थं नरकं तथा ।।४४।।

[11] See आश्वमेधिकपर्व LXXV-vi अध्यायs ।

[12] भगदत्तसुतो राजन् कृतप्रज्ञो महावलः ।
श्येनवच्चरतां संख्ये नकुलेन निपातितः ।। *Karṇa* II. 31

[13] See *Harivaṁśa*, *Viṣṇuparva*, Chapter LXIII.

[14] Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 14.

He has mentioned *Kāmarūpa* along with the river *Lauhitya*.[15] Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harṣacarita* has described how king Bhāskarvarmā of Kāmarūpa sent an emissary to king Harṣavardhana of Thāneśvara while he was encamping to march against Śaśāṅka the king of the Gauḍa country.[16]

Rājataraṅgiṇī—The Kashmir Chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions that the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* held a *svayamvara* for the marriage of the princess Amṛitaprabhā whose choice fell upon Meghavāhana, the king of Kashmir present there on the occasion, while the parasol of Varuṇa cast its shade upon him foretelling as it were his future greatness.[17]

Kālikā Purāṇa—The *Kālikā Purāṇa* relates the origin of Naraka, his acquisition of the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* and his destruction by Kṛṣṇa in five chapters. The description runs as follows:—

Lord Viṣṇu in the form of a boar retrieved the earth from the sea of dissolution in the golden age and laid the seed on her in her stage of menstruation. But the gods had been blocking the delivery of the child conceived in the mother's impure stage, because the child so born might develop demoniacal propensities. The mother in her pangs of delivery therefore fell at the feet of Lord *Viṣṇu* who ordained to effect the birth of the child in the middle of the *Tretā* age after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, having in the mean time ameliorated her excruciating pains. He advised her to remember him after the birth of the child so that he might come and direct a livelihood for it.

The king Janaka of *Videha* being childless for long performed a sacrifice for issues and attained from the sacrificial ground itself two sons and a daughter who was born through furrowing the earth with a plough. The name of the daughter was Sītā. Mother Earth then addressed Janaka with these words—"I offer this daughter to you and for her Rāvaṇa will be killed; subsequently I will offer you a son whom you will have to rear up from childhood." In due course of time Mother Earth gave birth to a child in the sacrificial ground of Janaka who at midnight hurried to the spot and to his delight found that a new-born babe was placed there with his head in a human skull. He brought the child to his palace and offered it to his queen. The royal priest christened it "Naraka", (ka meaning a skull). The Earth herself in the guise of a nurse began to rear up the child.

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[15] चकम्पे तीर्णलौहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः ।
. . . .
तमीशः कामरूपाणामत्याखण्डलविक्रमम् ।। *Raghu* IV. 81-83

[16] *Harṣacarita*, seventh chapter.

[17] तत्र तं वारुणं छत्रं छायया राजसन्निधौ ।
भेजे वरस्रजा राजकन्यका चामृतप्रभा ।।
तेन तस्य निमित्तेन वृद्धिमागामिनीं जनाः ।
अजानन्नम्बुवाहस्य पाश्चात्येनेव वायुना ।।
राज्ञा हि नरकेणैतद्वरुणादुष्णवारणम् ।
आनीतमकरोच्छायां न विना चक्रवर्त्तिनम् ।। *Rājataraṅgiṇī* II. 148-150

When Naraka grew up and attained the age of sixteen, Earth in the guise of a nurse secured the permission of the king to take the child to the bank of the Ganges to unfold the story of his birth in private when she revealed her own identity to him. Naraka then growing very much curious to have a glimpse of his father, Earth remembered Lord *Nārāyaṇa* who being present within an instant plunged into the Ganges along with Earth and Naraka and arrived at *Prāgjyotiṣa* in *Kāmarūpa* having *Kāmākhyā* as its presiding deity. This region was then inhabited by the *Kirāṭas* whose king Ghaṭaka attacked them. At the bidding of the Lord, Naraka attacked them and in the battle beheaded Ghaṭaka chasing the *Kirāṭas* as far as the *Dikkaravāsinī*. *Nārāyaṇa* then offered the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* to Naraka and the area as far as the *Karatoyā* made sacrosanct by the goddess *Kāmākhyā* was made a colony for the Brahmins and other twice-born classes. Naraka was also installed to the throne through a regular coronation ceremony after he was wedded to the princess of Videha. Great prosperity was secured for the kingdom through the aid of *Nārāyaṇa* who then departed leaving the following message to Naraka—"Near the end of *Dvāpara* you will have a son; do not be adverse in your behaviours to the gods and the *Brāhmaṇas*; worship none but *Kāmākhyā*, the Mother-goddess,—or else your life will come to an end."

Naraka for a time following the instructions of *Viṣṇu* shone forth like Indra in heaven.

Towards the end of *Dvāpara*, Bāṇa, the son of Bali, became the king of *Śoṇitapura*. Naraka developed great intimacy with him and following his example began to treat the Brahmins and the gods adversely. The great sage Vaśiṣṭha was interrupted in his pilgrimage to *Kāmākhyā* and he uttered the curse to the effect that *Nārāyaṇa* assuming human form would kill him and till then the goddess *Kāmākhyā* would go underground.

Through the influence of the curse when the goddess disappeared, there were the visitations by a number of calamities and various inauspicious omens portending evil began to loom large. Bāṇa, his friend came and advised him to accept a boon from *Brahmā* through proper austerities so that the curse might be mitigated. Naraka accordingly practised penance for thousand years and received from *Brahmā* a number of boons. But obliviously he forgot to pray for the nullification of the sage *Vaśiṣṭha's* curse. Thus thinking himself to be fortified against all eventualities, he, following the advice of Bāṇa, installed the *asuras* to the various capacities of power and vanquishing *Indra* wrested the ear-rings of Aditi, the mother of the gods. He also conquered *Varuṇa* and seized his royal umbrella. Contemporarily *Nārāyaṇa* was living at Dvārakā assuming the form of *Kṛṣṇa*. *Indra* went to him and relating all the oppressions perpetrated by Naraka prayed for measures to redress them. *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* flew to *Prāgjyotiṣa* on *Garuḍa* and waging a relentless war against Naraka killed him with his disc. Then the Mother Earth appeared there and returned the two ear-rings of Aditi praying for the safety of the issues of Naraka. *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* being thus propitiated installed Bhagadatta, the son of Naraka, on the throne and departed taking with him the *Varuṇa's* umbrella and innumerable other jewels.[18]

(*d*) *Accounts of Early Foreign Travellers and Historians*

Ptolemy who wrote his Geography some 500 years after Megasthenes gives names of numerous mountains, rivers, towns and tribes of this part of India. But the names are so distorted and disguised that all attempts to identify them with historical and modern names of places and tribes have practically failed.[19]

"Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited the kingdom about 643 A.D., recorded that after travelling east above 900 li from *Pun-na-fa-tan-na (Puṇḍravardhana)* and crossing a large river he came to *Ka-mo-lu-po*. The large river, which is called *Ko-lo-tu* in the *Tang-Shu* is undoubtedly the *Karatoyā*. The country was more than a *myriad li* in circuit and its eastern boundary was a series of hills that reached the confines of China thus indicating that about this time the extreme eastern portion of the Assam Valley was included within *Kāmarūpa*."[20]

2. Historical Materials in the Inscriptions

Names of Kings of the Dynasty of Bhāskaravarmā—The line of kings as given in the *Ḍubi Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā is as follows—The first king to rule this state was Bhauma Naraka of hoary antiquity; he was followed by his son Bhagadatta, then his son Vajradatta. In this family of Bhauma Naraka, after a lapse of three thousand years, came the king Puṣyavarmā, followed up by his son Samudravarmā: his son is Balavarmā by his wife Dattavatī: then came to the throne Kalyāṇavarmā who was succeeded by his son Gaṇendravarmā. His son was Mahendravarmā by his queen Yajñadevī. Mahendravarmā's queen was Suvratā. Their son Nārāyaṇavarmā inherited the throne in due course. Nārāyaṇavarmā had by his queen Devamatī a son named Mahābhūtavarmā who became an illustrious king in the race. After him his son, through his queen Vijñānavatī, Candramukhavarmā occupied the throne. His queen Bhogavatī gave birth to a son whose name was Sthiravarmā performing various feats of piety. After Sthiravarmā came to the throne Susthitavarmā who had by his queen Dhruvalakṣmī two sons Supratiṣthitavarmā and Bhāskaravarmā.

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[18] *Kālikāpurāṇa*, XXXVI-XL.

[19] See K. L. Barua, p. 8.

[20] Ibid, pp. 9-10.

This list of kings of the line of Bhāskaravarmā said to be descending from the race of Bhauma Naraka is almost the same both in the *Ḍubi Plates* and the *Nidhānpur Copper Plates* Inscription. There are only a few minor differences in the name patterns and a few additions in the name of the queens. Thus, the name of the queen of Samudravarmā is given as Dattadevī as against Dattavatī in the *Ḍubi Plates*. The name of the queen of Balavarmā and that of Kalyāṇavarmā given as Ratnadevī and Gandharvavatī in the *Ḍubi Plates* are inserted as Ratnavatī and Gandharvavatī respectively in the *Nidhānpur Plates*. King Gaṇendravarmā of the *Ḍubi Plates* is Gaṇapativarmā in the Nidhānpur, his consort Yajñadevī in *Ḍubi* is Yajñavatī in the *Nidhānpur Plates*. Nārāyaṇavarmā's queen referred to as Devamatī is written down as Devavatī in the second inscription. Second name of Mahābhūtavarmā is given in the *Nidhānpur Plates* as Bhūtivarmā. King Sthiravarmā of the *Ḍubi Plates* is named Sthitavarmā in Nidhānpur but his son is Susthitavarmā in both the insciptions. The name of the queen of Sthitavarmā cannot be properly deciphered in the *Ḍubi Plates* but it is given as Nayanadevī in the *Nidhānpur Plates*. Another name given to Susthitavarmā in the *Nidhānpur Plates* is Mṛgāṇka whose queen is named as Dhruvalakṣmī in the *Ḍubi Plates* and Śyāmādevī in the *Nidhānpur Plates*.

Names of Kings of the Dynasty of Sālastambha

The *Hāyuṅthal Plate of Harjaravarmā*, after a reference to the name of Bhagadatta (details in this portion of the inscription missing), has enumerated the following kings after Sālastambha—Sālastambha's son Vijaya, then Pālaka, Kumāra and Vajradeva, Harṣavarmā, Balavarmā; his two sons Cakra and Arathi were stated as not having been crowned king, Arathi's son was made the king. From Jīvadevī was born Harjaravarmā. We do not come across the name of the father of Harjaravarmā in this inscription.

The Copper-plates Inscription of Vanamālavarmadeva traces the origin of the Sālastambha dynasty to Naraka. Then his sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta are introduced. Bhagadatta ruled over *Uparipattana* besides *Prāgjyotiṣa*. Then came the kings beginning from Sālastambha and ending in Śrī Hariṣa: Aratha, the brother of Prālambha, died the death of a hero in the battlefield. Prālambha had a queen by the name of Jīvadā. Their son was Śrī Harjara whose queen Śrīmattarā gave birth to a son named Śrī Vanamālavarmadeva.

The Parbatīyā Plates of Vanamālavarmadeva, while introducing Bhagadatta and Vajradatta as the two sons of Naraka, describe the former as the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* and the latter as acquiring the suzerainty over *Uparipattana* by the grace of *Īśvara*. Again the same charter states that when Sālambha joined the predecessors of his race beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Śrī Harṣa, his brother Arathi became king.

This latter king had a queen Śrī Jīvadevī and this pair had given birth to Śrī Harjaravarmadeva whose son through the queen Śrī-Maṅgalā was Vanamālavarmadeva.

The *Howraghat Plates* of Balavarmā III give the genealogy as follows—Naraka, Bhagadatta, Vajradatta, Sālastambha, Pālaka, Vijaya etc., Harjara, and Vanamāladeva.

The *Nowgong Plates* of the same king while mentioning the names of these very kings refer to Jayamāladeva, the son of Vanamāladeva and his son Balavarmā. Jayamāla is described as assuming by this inscription another name Vīrabāhu. Both the inscriptions of Balavarmā describe Bhagadatta and Vajradatta as the sons of Naraka.

Names of the Kings of the Pāla Dynasty of Assam

The first Copper Plates Inscription of Ratnapāla (*Bargāon Plates*) enumerate the kings of this dynasty as follows—Naraka, Bhagadatta, his brother Vajradatta, after the end of the Naraka dynasty twenty kings beginning with Sālastambha, Vigrahastambha etc.; the twenty-first king of the dynasty Śrī Tyāgasinha being without any issue, the people selected Brahmapāla, a scion of the Naraka family, as their king. The name of his consort was Kuladevī. Their son was Ratnapāla. The kings of this dynasty are described as assuming the title of Varmā.

The line of succession given in the second inscription of Ratnapāla is the same.

The first inscription of Indrapāla traces the origin of the Pāla dynasty to Bhauma Naraka followed by his son Bhagadatta whose son Vajradatta ruled over *Prāgjyotiṣa* with great majesty. Brahmapāla is described as having directly descended from this race, then his son Ratnapāla, his son Purandarapāla, his son Indrapāla. The same order of succession is maintained in the second plates of Indrapāla (*Guā Kuci Plates*).

The first inscription of Dharmapāla is silent about Vajradatta and goes straight to Brahmapāla after mentioning Naraka and Bhagadatta. It mentions the same names up to Indrapāla as in the Gauhati Plates; then the kings Gopāla, Harṣapāla who had through his queen Ratnā a son named Dharmapāla. The same order of names is followed in the second inscription of Dharmapāla only with this differential that the name of the queen of Gopālavarmadeva is introduced as Nayanā. The genealogical references in the Khonāmukh Plates of Dharmapāla have but few divergences.

3. Discrepancies in the Historical Materials

(*a*) *Those in the Ancient Scriptures*

The directions given by Sugrīva to the search-party led by Suṣeṇa in the *Kiskindhyā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (see *slokas* under footnote 5 above) relate to the host proceeding westwards from *Kiskindhyā*.

This is inexplicable because these instructions should have been issued to the parties going north or east. *Kiskindhyā* is a small village on the northern bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā near Humpi in the district of Bellary formerly of the Madras Presidency and now coming under the Mysore State. By any stretch of the imagination *Prāgjyotiṣa* directly west to this area in the midst of the *Varuṇālaya* or the Arabian Sea cannot be imagined, when the name of King Naraka is mentioned along with.[21] Vidyāvinoda has stated that in the description of Naraka in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* Naraka is said to have been born after Rāvaṇa fell in the battle against *Rāma*. Therefore he concludes that this Naraka and *Prāgjyotiṣa* are different and must be somewhere in the west. Moreover this Naraka is described as a *Dānava*, springing from the race of *Danu*.

There might have been another Naraka, who is described as one of the sons of *Danu* along with a great *Asura Śatha*.[22] Therefore the appellations *dānava* and *asura* do not lead us very far in establishing the identity of Naraka or distinguishing one Naraka from the other. Moreover, the Naraka of *Bhauma* dynasty is also described in the *Harivaṁśa*-63 and *Vanaparva* 144.19 as a *dānava* or the son of Diti. Again even if two Narakas are possible, the association of both of them with the same capital *Prāgjyotiṣa* at two different places is not possible and even if it is possible, this must have referred to Naraka as a title in a dynasty of kings or a number of Narakas in the same dynasty. Such an impression, at least the impression of a very primitive Naraka, is created at places in the *Mahābhārata* (see *Sloka* under no. 22 above) and that of the last Naraka, a contemporary of Bāṇa, referred to in the Kālikāpurāṇa is at other places.[23]

The association of Bali with Naraka in this verse might suggest a contiguity of place and contemporaneity of time with one another. Therefore they may be located in the eastern direction. Thus the reference to *Prāgjyotiṣa* in the western direction in the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to be a definite mistake. The description of the entrance of *Srī Krsna* from the south-west into the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* to kill Naraka killing on the way in the area between the Ganges and the *Lauhitya* Hayagrīva, one of the officers of Naraka is quite plausible and points out to the fact of the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom being in the east (see *Sabhā* 55). This is very clear from the description of Arjuna's arrival at *Maṇipura* in the course of his visits to holy places directly from *Utkaladeśa* (*Ādiparva* 235).

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[21] There is a section who opine that *Prāgjyotiṣa* was in the west and towards the present Belucisthan and on the borders of the Arabian Sea. Even if this theory is tenable, Suṣeṇa's directions for a search in *Prāgjyotiṣa* being in the west from the extreme south is not correct.

[22] एकाक्षो मृतपो वीरः प्रलम्बनरकावपि ।
वातापिः शत्रुतपनः शठश्चैव महासुरः ।। *Ādiparva* LXVI. 29

[23] cf.—वलिवैरोचनो राजा नरकः पृथिवीञ्जयः ।
संह्लादो विप्रचित्तिश्च कालखञ्जाश्च दानवाः ।।*Sabhā* XXVII. 27
वलिः असुरः । महावलिः । विरोचनपुत्रः । तत् पुत्रो वाणः ।

But in the section of Arjuna's conquest in the *Sabhāparva* it is stated that he went northwards and subjugated the kingdom of *Śākaladvīpa.* Thereafter with those vanquished kings, he hurriedly arrived at the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* to wage a fierce war against Bhagadatta, the king of that country. The same fact of going northwards is repeated in the *digvijaya* of Karṇa also who after the conquest of the northern countries is described as conquering Bhagadatta.[24] After the conquest of Nepala, Karṇa then expedited his movement towards the eastern countries like *Aṅga*, *Baṅga* etc. and finally went to the *Vatsa* country (*Vana*. 255.7-9).

Again in the *Āśvamedhikaparva* LXXIV it is stated that Arjuna escorting the sacrificial horse comes to *Trigartta* country, the present Jalandhar area in the Punjab. Thereafter he is said to have arrived at *Prāgjyotiṣa* and battled with Yajñadatta, the son of Bhagadatta whom he vanquishes (*Āśvamedhika*, Chapters 75 and 76).

In the 77th chapter of the Āśvamedhikaparva, Arjuna is described as having arrived at *Sindhudeśa*. The horse then comes in course of time to *Maṇipura.*[25]

(*b*) *Those in the Inscriptions*

The line of succession given in the inscriptions is common and the origin of the three dynasties of Assam is traced from the king Naraka in all the inscriptions in the following order—Naraka, Bhagadatta, Vajradatta. In both the inscriptions of Bhāskaravarmā Vajradatta is described as the son of Bhagadatta. This is followed in the two inscriptions of Indrapāla also. But in the Parbatīyā and the Tezpur Plates of Vanamālavarmadeva, both Bhagadatta and Vajradatta are described as the two sons of Naraka. The same description is found in the inscriptions of Balavarmā and Ratnapāla. But the inscriptions of Dharmapāla are silent on the point—and go straight to Brahmapāla from Bhagadatta.

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[24] ययौ तदा वशे कर्त्तुमुदीचीं पाण्डुनन्दनः ।।८।।

. . . .

विजिग्ये शाकलद्वीपे प्रतिविन्ध्यं च पार्थिवम् ।
शाकलद्वीपवासाश्च सप्तद्वीपेषु ये नृपाः ।।१४।।
अर्ज्जुनस्य च सैन्यस्थैर्विग्रहस्तुमुलोऽभवत् ।
तान् सर्व्वानजयत् पार्थो धर्मराजप्रियेप्सया ।।१५।।
तैरेव-सहितः सर्व्वैः प्राग्ज्योतिषमुपाद्रवत् ।।१६।।
तत्र राजा महानासीद्भगदत्तो विशांपते । *Sabhā* IX. 16
Again—अथोत्तरं दिशं गत्वा वशे चक्रे नराधिपान् ।
भगदत्तं च निर्जित्य राधेयो गिरिमारुहत् ।।४।। *Vanaparva*, CCLV.

[25] क्रमेण स हयस्त्वेवं विचरन् पुरुषर्षभ ।
मणलूरपतेर्देशमुपायात् सहपाण्डवः ।। *Āśvamedhika* LXXVIII. 47

In the Tezpur Plates of Vanamāla it is stated that Bhagadatta, after being the lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, attained the suzerainty over *Uparipattana* through the favour of *Mahādeva* by dint of his penance to that god and managed to secure the succession to the throne of *Prāgjyotiṣa* for his offsprings in the future. This is contradicted by the *Parbatīyā Plates* of the same king wherein it is stated that while Bhagadatta became the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* after Naraka, Vajradatta managed to secure the overlordship of *Uparipattana* by pleasing the god *Īśvara* in penance.

The *Bargaṅgā Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā records the celebration of a *Aśvamedha* sacrifice by king Bhūtivarmā, but this militates against the statement in the Nālandā seal of Bhāskaravarmā where king Nārāyaṇavarmā is described as *dvis-turagamedhāhartā* and no mention of the performance of the horse-sacrifice by Bhūtivarmā is made. Again the king Surendravarmā described by the *Umācal Rock Inscription* as *Mahārājādhirāja* is known from this record to have held sway over the *Kāmarūpa* kingdon and is not mentioned by any of the subsequent records.

Though the lineage of the kings of the *Bhauma Nāraka Varman* dynasty given in the *Ḍubi* and the *Nidhānpur* plates of Bhāskaravarmā is the same, the following differences in the names are noticeable:—

Names of kings	*Names in Ḍubi*	*Names in Nidhānpur*
Samudravarmā	Dattavatī	Dattadevī
Balavarmā	Ratnadevī (but in the seal Ratnavatī)	Ratnavatī
Kalyāṇavarmā	Gandharvavatī	Gandharvavatī
Gaṇendravarmā	Yajñadevī	Gaṇapativarmā Yajñavatī
Mahendravarmā	Suvratā	Suvratā
Nārāyaṇavarmā	Devamatī	Devavatī
Mahābhūtavarmā	Vijñānavatī	Vijñānavatī
Candramukhavarmā	not mentioned	Bhogavatī
Sthiravarmā	Sthiravarmā (queen's name is not found; the lines are not decipherable)	Sthitavarmā Nayanadevī
Susthitavarmā	Dhruvalakṣmī	another name given as Mṛgāṅka
Supratisthitavarmā Bhāskaravarmā	—another name Aridamanendra	Śyāmādevī

Verse 8 of the *Hāyuṅthal Plate* states that Balavarmā had two sons, Cakra and Arathi. These two sons were not faithful to their father and therefore the son of Arathi became king after Balavarmā. The readings after this are not decipherable in the Hāyuṅthal plate and immediately thereafter we get the name of Jīvadevī who is described as the mother of Śrī Harjaravarmadeva (verse 11).

The Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarmadeva refer to a king Prālambha by name. His brother Aratha is said to have died fighting alone heroically when he was surrounded by many enemies in the battle. From his queen Jīvadā was born Harjaravarmā (verses 7-11).

But according to the *Parbatīyā Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva the name is Sālambha and not Prālambha. His brother is Aratha. By his queen Śrī Jīvadevī was born Harjaravarmā. Both the charters of Balavarmā, unlike the *Hāyuṅthal Plate*, give the order of the kings as Pālaka and Vijaya and not Vijaya and Pālaka.

King Vanamālavarmadeva is said to have re-constructed the temple of *Hāṭakaśūlin Mahādeva* in the *Tezpur Plates* whereas the name of the same deity is given as *Heṭukaśūlin* in the *Parbatīyā Plates* of the same king. The capital of the kings of the *Sālastambha* dynasty is referred to as *Hārup-peśvara* in the *Hāyuṅthal* plate and the rock inscription at Tezpur of Harjaravarmā, in the Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarmadeva, and in the Nowgong Charter of Balavarmā, but its name is given as *Haḍapeśvara* in the *Parbatīyā* plates of Vanamāla and Haḍappeśvara in the *Howraghat* plates of Balavarmā.

4. References found in the Contemporary Inscriptions of the Neighbouring Area

We have earlier referred to the *Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta wherein *Kāmarūpa* is mentioned as a frontier kingdom along with a number of other states[26] owing allegiance to the Gupta emperor. King Yasodharmadeva of Mālawa is said to have reached as far as the *tāla* groves on the bank of the *Lauhitya* in the 6th century.[27] King Mahāsenagupta of the Later Guptas is said to have achieved a victory over the *Kāmarūpa* king Susthitavarmā.[28] In an inscription dated 153

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[26] समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिः......etc. in Samudragupta's *Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription*, line 22.

[27] आलौहित्योपकण्ठात्तालवनगहनोपत्यकादामहेन्द्रात्.....
Māndāsor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharma.
See Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 146.

[28] श्रीमहासेनगुप्तोऽभूत् तस्माद्वीराग्रणीः सुतः ।
सर्व्वधीरसमाजेषु लेभे यो धुरि वीरताम् ।।१३।।
श्रीमत्सुस्थितवर्म्मयुद्धविजयश्लाघापदाङ्कं मुहु-
र्यस्याद्यापि विबुद्धकुन्दकुमुदक्षुण्णांच्छहारं सितम् ।
लौहितस्य तटेषु शीतलवनेषूत्फुल्लनागद्रुम-
च्छायासुप्तविबुद्धसिद्धमिथुनैः स्फीतं यशो गीयते ।।१४।।
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 203.

Harṣābda (759 A.D.) on a slab of black stone placed behind the bull opposite to the western door of the temple of *Paśupati*, reference is made to a king Harṣadeva of the house of Bhagadatta as the Lord of *Gauḍa*, *Oḍra*, *Kaliṅga* and *Kośala* whose daughter Rājyamatī was married to king Jayadeva of Nepal.[29] The copper plate inscription of Nārāyaṇadeva found at Bhagalpur refers to a king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* whose name is not given.[30] In a writ from Silimpur, one Jayapāla is mentioned as the king of Kāmarūpa.[31] P. N. Vidyāvinoda has stated that the name of Jayapāla, the *Kāmarūpa* King, has been found in the manuscript preserved in the India Office Library of a book named "*Chandogapariśiṣṭa-prakāśa*".[32] The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa records a victory of the *Calukya* Prince Vikramāṅka of *Karṇāṭa* during his father's reign (1040-1071 A.D.) over the *Kāmarūpa* king in course of his expedition of conquest in the eastern region. The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandī mentions of the victory of Rāmapāla, the *Gauḍa* King, over the king of *Kāmarūpa* at more than one place[33]. Rāmapāla's son Kumārapāla is said to have replaced Tiṅgyadeva from the Governorship of the newly acquired portion of the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* by Vaidyadeva, because the former behaved as a paramount monarch in his kingdom and threw off the vassalage of the *Gauḍa* King.[34] While Vaidyadeva was ruling in some parts of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom it was quite likely that some other dynasties claiming to be the scions of the house of Bhāskara were ruling over other parts. When however these ruling houses became very much loose in their authority over their kingdoms the Sena kings of Bengal began to extend their victorious arms to the east. The *Deopāra Inscription* of Vijayasena records that the king came in armed conflict with the king of *Kāmarūpa*.[35]

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[29] माद्यद्दन्तिसमूहदन्तमुसलक्षुण्णारिभूभृच्छिरो-
गौड़ोड्रादिकलिङ्गकोसलपतिश्रीहर्षदेवात्मजा ।
देवी राज्यमती कुलोचितगुणैर्युक्ता प्रभूता कुलै-
र्येनोढ़ा भगदत्तराजकुलजा लक्ष्मीरिव क्ष्माभुजा ।।१८।।
Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 178.

[30] आसाञ्चक्रे चिराय प्रणयिपरिवृतो विभ्रदुच्चेन मूर्द्ध्ना ।
राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणामुपशमितसमित् संकथां यस्य चाज्ञां ।। *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 58.

[31] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, pp. 283-295.
यः कामरूपनृपतेर्ज्जयपालदेवनाम्नस्तुलापुरुषदातुरचिन्त्य धाम्नः ।
हेम्नां शतानि नव निर्भरमर्थ्यमानो नैवाददे दशशतोदयशासनं च ।।२२।।

[32] तस्माद्भूषितसाब्धिवलयः शिष्योपशिष्यव्रजै-
र्विद्वन्मौलिरभूदुमापतिरिति प्राभाकरग्रामणीः ।
क्ष्मापालाज्जयपालतः स हि महाश्राद्धं प्रभूतं महा-
दानं चार्थिगणार्हणार्द्रहृदयः प्रत्यग्रहीत् पुण्यवान् ।।
Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī, Rājāvalī, p. 37

[33] तस्य जितकामरूपादिविषयविनिवृत्तमानसम्पाद्यः ।
महिमानमानयनृपो यतमानस्य प्रजाभिरक्षार्थम् ।।३।४७
विग्रहनिर्ज्जितकामरुपभृत् ।।४।५

[34] एतादृशो हरिर्हरिद्भुवि सत्कृतस्य श्रीतिंग्यदेवनृपतेर्विकृतिं निशम्य ।
गौड़ेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे उरुकीतिरयं नियुक्तः ।।१३।। *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 131.

5. Local Traditions in Assam

Local historical traditions in Assam relate primarily to the later period and are few and far between so far as the ancient period is concerned. Even those about Naraka from whom all the royal houses in ancient Assam claim descent are very scanty. Two remains are found which vouch for the existence of a King Naraka. One is a hillock after the name of Narakāsura known as the *Narakāsuraparbat* and the other is *Narakāsurapatha* made with stone leading from the foot of the *Nīlācala* hill to the plateau of that mountain. Near about the *Narakāsuraparbat*, there is the village *Narakāsuragaon* where recently archaeological finds of great value were discovered on a small hillock.[36] Naraka is said to have married the daughter of the king of *Vidarbha*. The tradition of a *Vidarbha* kingdom in Assam is very strong and this king is believed to have existed in the north-east corner of Assam, for the present town Sadiyā in Aruṇācal was said to have known as *Kuṇḍina*, the capital of *Vidarbha*. Tradition associates the paternal home of Rukmiṇī, the consort of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, with this city of the east. Nothing beyond this is preserved in traditions about the illustrious king Naraka. We do not find any tradition of the king Bhagadatta maintained in the Assam of the present days. In the hills and forests to the north of Sylhet and Mymensingh districts now in Banglādesh, people talk of the location of the city of Bhagadatta.[37] This might indicate that Bhagadatta's kingdom spread as far as that area in the south.

6. Verification of the Historical Materials

(*a*) *Those in the Rāmāyaṇa*

The verses in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that (see reference No. 5) speak of Naraka and *Prāgjyotiṣa* relate to the search for Rāvaṇa who eloped with Sītā to an unknown destination, and are addressed to the monkeys going westward by Sugrīva. It cannot be said in the manner of Vidyāvinoda all on a sudden that Sugrīva committed a blunder of direction by instructing on a search for Sītā in the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* in the west, for such a blunder is not possible. There might be the word "*agāḍha varuṇālaya*" in the verses under reference and this might create the impression of an unfathomable western sea. But this, it may appear, may mean only a sea in general and not the western sea. Again there are the words *Varāho nāma parvataḥ* which are a long stretch of mountains bordering the eastern sea-coast. Therefore the statement is only a reminder to Suṣeṇa and others by Sugrīva that the wicked Rāvaṇa of unpredictable nature is to be searched for not only in the western seas but also in the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* where he might be keeping himself in hiding with the abetment of his comrade-in-trade Naraka of equally fierce propensities. The tradition referred to in a manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa in Bengal of Amūrttarayā replaced by the word Amūrtarajas in certain recensions as constructing the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* is found not to be reliable for two reasons—(1) the verse referred to does not yield a very clear meaning, (2) the words "*prāgjyotiṣam puram*" in the Bengal manuscript are replaced by the words "*dharmāraṇyam mahāmatiḥ*" in the Bombay edition, generally accepted in some of the printed editions of Bengal also. (On this point see below in the section of Cultural History.)

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[35] गौड़ेन्द्रमद्रवदपाकृतकामरूपभूपं कलिङ्गमपि यस्तरसा जिगाय ।।२०।।

[36] See p. 23 and foot-note, *Civilisation of the People of Assam* by Dr. P. C. Chowdhury.

[37] See *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī—Rājāvali*, p. 12.

(*b*) *Those in the Mahābhārata*

We have stated above that the possibility of two Narakas at two different places simultaneously is not capable of being taken into account. Rather a very long time-gap can be taken for granted between the Naraka referred to in *śloka* No. 23 above and the one said to have been killed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Sabhāparva* 55, because Narasiṁha incarnation of Viṣṇu is a much earlier phenomenon than the one of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Therefore judged from this standpoint there is no congruity in the reference of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* to the contemporaneity of Naraka and Bāṇa. The rationality in the existence of a later Naraka, a contemporary of Jorāsandha of Magadha killed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa[38] becomes therefore apparent and the *Kālikāpurāṇa* being much far off from those ancient traditions might have drawn a very confusing picture. But in another chapter of the *Sabhāparva*, Naraka is mentioned as the son of Diti and the appellation of *Daitya* seems to have been used synonymously with *asura*.[39] The picture of Naraka is therefore confusing to some extent in the *Mahābhārata* also.

The reference to a sea near the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* or as the western boundary of the kingdom of the same name found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is to be met with in the *Mahābhārata* also. Arjuna in course of his expedi-

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[38] मुरुं च नरकञ्चैव शास्ति यो यवनाधिपः ।। *Sabhā* XIV. 14

[39] पुरातनेन देवेन विष्णुना परमात्मना ।
दैत्यो विनिहतस्तेन सुरराजहितैषिणा ।।१७।।
दशवर्षसहस्राणि तपस्तप्यन् महात्मना ।
ऐन्द्रं प्रार्थयते स्थानं तपः स्वाध्यायविक्रमात् ।।१८।।
तपोबलेन महता बाहुवेगबलेन च ।
नित्यमेव दुराधर्षो धर्षयन् स दितेः सुतः ।।१९।। *Vanaparva* CVIL.

tion of conquest of the countries is described as going northwards to conquer *Śākaladvīpa*. He conquered all the kings around the *Saptadvīpa* kingdom and with them arrived at the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* surrounded by the *Kirāta* and the Chinese kingdoms and many others bordering on the sea-coast.[40] Thereafter Arjuna proceeded further north and conquered the other segments *Antargiri*, *Vahirgiri* and *Upagiri* establishing the suzerainty of Yudhiṣṭhira over the hilly areas.[41] In the *Āśvamedhikaparva* it is related that Arjuna in course of his wanderings for the protection of the sacrificial horse arrives at the *Trigartta* country. After that he enters into the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom and battles with Yajñadatta whom he vanquishes.[42] Arjuna then marches into the *Sindhudeśa*.[43] Thus wandering the horse comes in course of time to *Maṇipura*.[44] Thence the horse goes to *Magadha*. In the *Ādiparva* Arjuna is said in course of his visits to holy places to have arrived at *Maṇipura* directly from *Utkaladeśa* and married the *Nāga Kanyā* Ulūpī (cc. XXXV). In the *Vanaparva*, CCLV, where Karṇa's *digvijaya* is described, it is stated that the warrior subdued all the kings after his march to the north and having subjugated Bhagadatta, he conquered the kings of the Himalayan region. The king of Nepal having paid him tribute, he descended from the mountain, marched against the eastern countries like *Aṅga*, *Baṅga*, *Kaliṅga*, *Mithilā*, *Magadha* and proceeded towards the country of *Vatsa*.[45]

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[40] तत्र राजा महानासीद्भगदत्तो विशांपते ।
तेनासीत्सुमहद्युद्धं पाण्डवस्य महात्मनः ।।१७।।
स किरातैश्चचीनैश्च वृतः प्राग्ज्योतिषोऽभवत् ।
अन्यैश्च वहुभिर्योधैः सागरानुपवासिभिः ।।१८।। *Sabhā*, XXVII
शाकलद्वीपः —अयम् इन्द्रप्रस्थस्योत्तरे विद्यमानो देशः,
न तु द्वीपः । तस्य राजा प्रतिविन्ध्यः । तेन
सहार्ज्जुनस्य राजसूयदिग्विजये युद्धम् ।।
शाकलः—मद्रदेशस्य राजधानी, cf. *Sabhāparva*, XXXV. 14.; *Karṇa.*, XXXVII. 17.

[41] तं विजित्य महाबाहुः कुन्तीपुत्रो धनञ्जयः ।
प्रययावुत्तरां तस्माद्दिशं धनदपालिताम् ।।
अन्तर्गिरिं च कौन्तेयस्तथैव च बहिर्गिरिम्
तथैवोपगिरिं चैव विजिग्ये पुरुषर्षभः ।। *Sabhāparva*, XXVIII. 2-3.

[42] See *Āśvamedhikaparva*, LXXV and LXXVI.

[43] See *Āśvamedhikaparva*, LXXVII.

[44] क्रमेण स हयस्त्वेवं विचरन् पुरुषर्षभ ।
मणलूरपतेर्देशमुपायात् सहपाण्डवः ।। *Āśvamedhika*, LXXVIII. 47.

[45] अथोत्तरां दिशं गत्वा वशे चक्रे नराधिपान् ।
भगदत्तं च निर्जित्य राधेयो गिरिमारुहत् ।।४।।
हिमवन्तं महाशैलं युध्यमानश्च शत्रुभिः ।
प्रययौ च दिशः सर्व्वान्नृपतीन् वशमानयत् ।।५।।
स हैमवतिकाञ्जित्वा करं सर्वानदापयत् ।
नेपालविषये ये च राजानस्तानवाजयत् ।।६।।

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ऐन्द्रं प्रार्थयते स्थानं तपः स्वाध्यायविक्रमात् ।।१८।।
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[42] See *Āśvamedhikaparva*, LXXV and LXXVI.

[43] See *Āśvamedhikaparva*, LXXVII.

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नेपालविषये ये च राजानस्तानवाजयत् ।।६।।

Again in the *Āśramavāsikaparva*, XXI. 10, Bhagadatta is described as the king having his abode in a mountain.[46] He is again said to have been surrounded by a large army of the *Kirāta* and Chinese soldiers.[47] While mentioning the names of the various kings making over presents to Yudhisthira in the coronation ceremony, Durjyodhana describes Bhagadatta the lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa* as a *mleccha lord* and as accompanied by a number of Yavana armies.[48]

The *Pāṇḍavas* roving about in the forest in their exile come to see the *Mandara* mountain. There they come across the river Ganges originating from the *Badarikā* and then the Heavenly Ganges in the mountain *Himālaya*. In the slopy regions below, they see the hill-like remains of the body of Naraka.[49]

A still ancient tradition in the *Mahābhārata* refers to a king Druma in the family of Śivi, a *Daitya* monarch. In that family Vāṣkala is mentioned as the best of the *Asuras*, from whom Bhagadatta is said to have sprung.[50]

अवतीर्य ततः शैलात् पूर्वां दिशमभिद्रुतः ।
अङ्गान् वङ्गान् कलिङ्गांश्च शुण्डिकान् मिथिलानथ ।।७।।
मागधान् कर्कखण्डांश्च निवेश्य विषयेऽत्मनः ।
आवशीरांश्च योध्यांश्च अहिक्षत्रांश्च सोऽजयत् ।।८।।
पूर्वां दिशं विनिर्जित्य वत्सभूमिं तथाऽगमत् ।।९।। *Vanaparva*, CCLV.

[46] तथा शैलालयो राजा भगदत्तपितामहः ।
तपोबलेनैव नृपो महेन्द्रसदनं गतः ।।

[47] भगदत्तो महीपालः सेनामक्षौहिनीं ददौ ।
तस्य चीनैः किरातैश्च काञ्चनैरिव संवृतम् ।। *Udyoga*, XIX. 16.

[48] प्राग्ज्योतिषपतिः शूरो म्लेच्छानामधिपो बली ।।४१।।
यवनैः सहितो राजा भगदत्तो महाबलः ।
आजानेयान् हयाञ्चीघ्रमादायानिलरंहसः ।।४२।।
वलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठति वारितः ।
अश्वसारमयान् भाण्डाच्छुभान् दन्तत् सरूनसीन् ।।४३।।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपो दत्त्वा भगदत्तोऽव्रजत्तदा ।
द्व्यक्षां स्त्र्यक्षां ल्ललाटाक्षान्नानादिग्भ्यः समागतान् ।।४४।। *Sabhā*, LXXVIII.

[49] एतद्विकीर्णं सुश्रीमत् कैलासशिखरोपमम् ।
यत् पश्यसि नरश्रेष्ठ पर्व्वतप्रतिमं स्थितम् ।।१५।।
एतान्यस्थीनि दैत्यस्य नरकस्य महात्मनः ।
पर्व्वतप्रतिमं भाति पर्व्वतप्रस्तराश्रितम् ।।१६।। *Vana*, CXLIV.

[50] यस्तु राजञ्शिवर्नाम दैतेयः परिकीर्त्तितः ।
द्रुम इत्यभिविख्यातः स आसीत्भुवि पार्थिवः ।।
वाष्कलो नाम यत्तेषामासीदसुरसत्तमः ।
भगदत्त इति ख्यातः स जज्ञे पुरुषर्षभः ।। *Ādiparva*, LXVIII, 8-9.
"Vāskala—a son of Hiraṇyakaśipu (Aṁśavat) incarnated as Bhagadatta," from *AN INDEX TO THE NAMES IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA*—by S. Sorensen.

In the *Karṇaparva* Sañjaya enumerates the names of the fallen heroes to Dhṛtarāṣṭra of his own army in which he mentions Kṛtaprajña as the son of Bhagadatta.[51]

(*c*) *Those in the Works of Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa*

Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṁśa* has described that king Aja descended from the elephant through the support on the extended arms of the king of *Kāmarūpa* before his entrance into the assembly in the *Svayamvara* hall.[52]

In the description of Raghu's conquest he is said to have arrived at *Prāgjyotiṣa* directly from the region of the Himālayas.[53]

The list of the kings of *Kāmarūpa* as given in the seventh chapter of the *Harṣacarita* is almost the same as that given in the different inscriptions of the kings of *Prāgjyotiṣa* with the following variations only—Mahābhūtavarmā is given as Bhūtivarmā, Sthitavarmā as Sthitivarmā, Susthitavarma as Susthiravarmā. But the name of king Puṣpadatta unheard of from any other source is inserted between the king Bhagadatta and Vajradatta in the description of the *Harṣacarita*.[54]

(*d*) *Those in the Rājataraṅgiṇī*

The *Svayamvara* ceremony of the Kāmarūpa princess Amṛtaprabhā is said to have been attended by the Kashmir prince Meghavāhana. According to Sir Aurel Stein, Meghavāhana ruled about the year 3088 of the Kali era. Roughly calculated, this comes to about 56 A.D. The question naturally arises who was the king at the time at *Prāgjyotiṣapura* and how could the so-called Varuṇa umbrella said to have been taken away by Śrī Kṛṣṇa while killing Naraka be restored to the *Kāmarūpa* kings?

(*e*) *Those in the Inscriptions*

As stated earlier, Vajradatta is described as the son of Bhagadatta in both the inscriptions of Bhāskaravarmā and those of Indrapāla also.

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[51] भगदत्तसुतो राजन् कृतप्रज्ञो महाबलः ।
श्येनवच्चरता संख्ये नकुलेन निपातितः ।। *Karṇa* II. 17

[52] ततोऽवतीर्याशु करेणुकायाः स कामरूपेश्वरदत्तहस्तः ।
वैदर्भनिर्दिष्टमथो विवेश नारीमनांसीव चतुष्कमन्तः ।। *Raghu* VII.

[53] ततो गौरीगुरुं शैलमारुरोहाश्वसाधनः ।

. . . .

तत्राक्षोभ्यं यशोराशिं निवेश्यावरुरोह सः ।
पौलस्त्यतुलितस्याद्रेरादधान इव ह्रियम् ।।८०।।
चकम्पे तीर्णलौहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः ।
तद्गजालानतां प्राप्तैः सहकालागुरुद्रुमैः ।।८१।।

[54] महात्मनस्तस्य (नरकस्य) अन्वये भगदत्तपुष्पदत्तवज्रदत्तप्रभृतिषु
व्यतीतेषु वहुषु मेरूपमेषु महत्सु महीपालेषु. . . . .

But in the inscriptions of Vanamālavarmadeva, Balavarmā and Ratnapāla, they are described as brothers. The portion of the verses in the *Ḍubi Plates* runs as follows:—

. . . . .तस्यात्मजः श्रीभगदत्तनामा ।।३।।
तदात्मजो वज्रधरप्रभावः श्रीवज्रदत्तः क्षितिपो महात्मा ।

But the relevant portion in the *Parbatīyā Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva gives an opposite version on the line of the *Bhauma* kings.

कृष्णेण तन्निहत्य च सृष्टौ भगदत्त वज्रदत्ताख्यौ ।
तस्य सुतौ तद्वनिताकरुणविलापहतहृदयेन ।।४।।

The same verse is repeated in the *Tezpur Plates*. In the first copper plates inscription of Ratnapāla, Vajradatta is said to have received the kingdom when his brother Bhagadatta died.

राज्यन्तदाप रुचमस्तमिते खरांशौ
भ्रातुः शिखीव बलवानिह वज्रदत्तः ।।५।।

This is a contravention of the tradition maintained in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Kālikāpurāṇa* has a reference to the four sons of Naraka where Vajradatta's name is not found.

ऋतुमत्यान्तु जायायां काले स नरकः क्रमात् ।
भगदत्तं महाशीर्षं मदवन्तं सुमालिनः ।।
चतुरो जनयामास पुत्रानेतान् क्षितेः सुतः ।—Kālikāpurāṇa XL. 1-2.

The *Parbatīyā Plates* of Vanamāla clearly state that while Bhagadatta acquired the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, his brother Vajradatta secured the lordship over *Uparipattana* through the grace of *Īśvara* whom he had propitiated (Verse 5).

The name of the kingdom and its capital *Prāgjyotiṣa* is not found mentioned in the body of the writings of the two charters of *Bhāskaravarmā* but the seal of *Ḍubi Plates* refers to Puṣyavarmā as *Prāgjyotiṣendra*. In the *Nidhānpur Plates*, Bhāskaravarmā is described as—निरन्तरप्रणयरसभराकृष्टकामरूपलक्ष्मीसमालिङ्गनप्रकटिताभिगामिकगुणानुरागवृत्तिः—line 44 wherein the kingdom is distinctly referred to as *Kāmarūpa*. The name of the kingdom is suggested as *Kāmarūpa* in the second *praśasti* verse of the *Nidhānpur Plates*, cf.

भोगीश्वरकृतपरिकरमीक्षणजितकामरूपमविमुक्तं etc. etc.

But in the *Tezpur* and *Parbatīyā Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva, the kingdom itself is described as *Prāgjyotiṣa*, cf.

संप्राप्ते भगदत्ते श्रीमत् प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिनाथत्वम् ।
वनमितरोऽपि तदेत्य प्राराधयदीश्वरन्तपसा ।।५।।
तुष्टेन तेन तस्मै दत्तमुपरिपत्तनाधिनाथत्वम् ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिराज्यं कालेन तदन्वयस्यापि ।।६।।

तस्यान्वयेऽभूत् क्षितिपालमौलिमाणिक्यरोचिस्फुरिताङ्घ्रिपीठः ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषेशः क्षतवैरिवीरः सालम्भ इत्युद्धतनामधेयः ।।७।।

In the seals of the plates of Balavarmā, the word *Prāgjyotiṣa* may refer to the capital city, because in verse nos. 5 of the two plates of Balavarmā, Naraka is described as living in the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* in the *Kāmarūpa* kingdoms.[55] The same idea can be culled from the plates of Ratnapāla.[56] In the two inscriptions of Indrapāla, the seals may refer to the capital of Naraka. But the word Prāgjyotiṣa in lines 32-33 has definitely mentioned the kingdom as *Prāgjyotiṣa*,[57] because the name of the capital city of Ratnapāla is given as *Durjayā* in line 32 (*Śloka* 19).

The word *Prāgjyotiṣa* in the seal of the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka*, the *Khonāmukh* and the *Puṣpabhadrā* inscriptions of Dharmapāla may refer to the kingdom in general, because in the *Puṣpabhadrā* inscription the capital city of Dharmapāla is separately mentioned as *Kāmarūpanagara*.[58] But the capital city of Naraka is clearly stated to be *Prāgjyotiṣa* in the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* and the *Khonāmukh* inscriptions of Dharmapāla.

As regards the river Brahmaputra which is generally known as *Lauhitya* during the period of these inscriptions, we do not find any reference to it in the two charters of Bhāskaravarmā. In the *Hāyuṅthal* grant of Harjaravarmā, the name of the capital city is given as *Hārūppeśvara* (?) but no mention of the river is made. But in the *Tezpur* and

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[55] स्वस्ति श्रीमान् प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपान्वयो महाराजाधिराजश्रीबलवर्मदेवः ।।
also—स कामरूपे जितकामरूपः प्राग्ज्योतिषाख्यं पुरमध्युवास ।।५।।

[56] The reading in the seal of Ratnapāla is
स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपतिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरत्नपालवर्मदेवः ।
Naraka's capital is described as follows—
प्राग्ज्योतिषे वसदसौ प्रवरे पुराणां. . . . .५।।

[57] नृपतिकुलदुर्ज्जयासीन्नगरी श्रीदुर्ज्जया नाम ।।१६।।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यसंख्यातप्रतिहत etc. etc., etc. lines 32-33 of the 1st C. Inscription of Indrapāla.

[58] The text of the seal of the *Śubhaṅkaralipi* runs as follows—
स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपतिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीधर्मपालवर्मदेवः ।
That in the *Puṣpabhadrā* as follows—
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपति श्रीमद्धर्मपालवर्मदेवस्य

It is thus seen that in the latter the word स्वस्ति is not to be found and the title महाराजाधिराज is omitted.

जित्वा शतक्रतुपुरःसरदिक्पतीन् यः
प्राग्ज्योतिषापुरि चिराय शशास राज्यं ।।२।।

Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Inscription of Dharmapāla.

The same *śloka* is repeated in his *Khonāmukh Plates* also.

But, कामरूपनगरे नृपोऽभवद् धर्मपाल इति सान्वयाह्वयः in *śloka* 19 of the *Puṣpabhadrā* charter of Dharmapāla.

Parbatīyā plates of Vanamālavarmadeva, a long and majestic description of the river *Lauhitya* on one of the banks of which stands the city so-called is given. cf—सकलसुरासुरमुकुटमणिमयूखमञ्जरीरञ्जितचरणपीठाभ्यां श्रीकामेश्वरमहागौरीभट्टारिकाभ्यामधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः सततनितम्बक्षालनादधिकतरपवित्रपयः सम्पूर्णस्रोतसा....etc. etc.

In the two inscriptions of Balavarmā, the river Brahmaputra is described as an ocean, cf.—

सुरकरिमदचन्द्रकितं सलिलं लौहित्यवारिधेरमलम् ।
कैलासकटकमृगमदवासितमपहरतु दुरितं वः ॥२॥

The same idea of an ocean of the *Lauhitya* is repeated in the two plates of Ratnapāla.[59] In the charters of Indrapāla the river *Lauhitya* is described as the Lord of the rivers.[60]

7. Construction of Political History of Ancient Kāmarūpa

From the discussions so far made it is clear that the materials for the construction of the history of ancient Assam i.e., *Prāgjyotiṣa* or *Kāmarūpa* are more confusing and scattered than scanty. However some attempt is being made to present an historical account of the comparatively obscure period through shifting of materials provided by the traditional accounts as well as those provided by the inscriptions under study.

(i) *Extent of the Kingdom*

(*a*) *From the Data in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata*—It appears from the traditional accounts that the ancient kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* was much wider in extent than what is understood by the geographical entity of modern Assam. It has been said above that though Suṣeṇa and other monkeys were commissioned for a search of Sītā in the west, still the word *agādhavaruṇālaya* does not convey the sense of the western sea and is used to denote a sea in general. It may be surmised also that the *Varāha* mountains pervaded an area of sixtyfour *yojanas* reaching as far as the sea-coast. Therefore what was intended by Sugrīva in his instructions to the monkeys going westward in a search for Sītā seemed to be that, while a search was to be carried out in the western direction, they could not completely ignore the eastern regions where a king Naraka by name of evil propensities ruled in the city of *Prāgjyotiṣpura*. Whatever it is, the statement in the *Rāmāyaṇa* indicates that the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* extended as far as the ocean in the south. This is also supported by the *Mahābhārata* statement....स किरातैश्च चीनैश्च वृतः प्राग्ज्योतिषोऽभूत् । अन्यैश्च वहुभिर्योधैः सागरानुपवासिभिः ।। (quoted in No. 40 above). But what is intriguing is the statement that Arjuna rushed into *Prāgjyotiṣa* after his conquest of *Śākaladvīpa* as well as the king of the *Saptadvīpa*, which were by common consent to the north of *Indraprastha*. The *Trigartta* country after the conquest of which Arjuna entered into *Kāmarūpa* for the protection of the sacrificial horse was near about the same region. This creates the impression of a separate country of *Prāgjyotiṣa* in the north-western regions of India. The statement that Arjuna after vanquishing Yajñadatta, the son of Bhagadatta, marched into *Sindhudeśa* tends to confirm such an assumption. But the statement that thus wandering the horse in course of time came from *Sindhudeśa* to *Maṇipura* confuses the whole issue. It is not intelligible how *Sindhudeśa* was directly connected with *Maṇipura*, a part of the larger region of *Prāgjyotiṣa*. At the same time it cannot be said that the *Mahābhārata* bard seems not to have cared very much for the logic of geography taking it for granted that topographical conditions of ancient India were almost the same as at present (on this point see the section on culture). Otherwise we cannot reconcile the statement in the Chapter CCXXXV of the *Ādiparva* that Arjuna came to *Maṇipura* directly from *Utkaladeśa*. This statement very well confirms the idea of the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom being on the sea-shore of the eastern oceans.

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[59] पायात् स प्रणिहत्य सर्व्वंकलुषं लौहित्यसिन्धुर्जगत् ।
Ratnapāla's First Inscription, *Śloka* 2.

[60] लौहित्य इत्यधिपतिः सरितां स एष
ब्रह्माङ्गं भूर्न्नुदतु वः कलिकल्मषाणि ॥३॥
Indrapāla's First Inscription.

The idea of a *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom being in the north-west of India though supported and advocated by a good number of erudite scholars cannot find a strong substratum for its subsistence. Because, besides the references to the sea-coast, there is the specific mention of the conquests of Nepala kingdom after Bhagadatta's defeat and the ransacking of the countries like *Aṅga*, *Baṅga* and *Magadha* by Karṇa in his expedition of conquest. The theory of a *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom being in the west is untenable on the face of references to the river Brahmaputra in all these references of the *Mahābhārata*. In the expedition of conquest of Bhīmasena, it is stated that he went to the kingdom near the *Lauhitya* river after ransacking a large number of countries and making the numerous kings on the sea-shore pay taxes and yield various treasures. Here though there is a reference to the river *Lauhitya*, still the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* is not mentioned, cf.—

एवं वहुविधान् देशान् विजित्य पवनात्मजः ।
वसु तेभ्य उपादाय लौहित्यमगमद्बली ।।
स सर्बान् म्लेच्छनृपतीन् सागरानुपवासिनः ।
करमाहारयामास रत्नानि विविधानि च ।। Sabhā. XXX. 26-27

But we find a distinct reference to both *Prāgjyotiṣa* and the *Lauhitya* in the *Mahābhārata* when it describes Śrī Kṛṣṇa's march against Naraka. cf.

मध्ये लोहितगङ्गायां भगवान् देवकीसुतः ।।३१।।
औदकायां विरुपाक्षं जघान मधुसूदनः ।
ततः प्राग्ज्योतिषं नाम दीप्यमानमिव श्रिया
पुरमासादयामास तत्र युद्धमवर्त्तत ।।३२।।

It must not be forgotten that Kālidāsa while describing the conquest of Raghu has narrated that the army of Raghu entered into the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* after it conquered the kingdoms on the *Sindhu* river and the *Kāmboja* country. *Prāgjyotiṣa*, the capital of this *Kāmarūpa* kingdom is definitely on the banks of the *Lauhitya* river and there can be no mistakes at that. Though Kālidāsa may happen to flourish later than the period of the actual compilation of the *Mahābhārata*, still it clearly shows that *Prāgjyotiṣa* even in a comparatively late period was an extensive kingdom covering wide areas from the foot-hills of the Himālaya to the Bay of Bengal including in its sway some portions of China and a large part of Tibet, the Bhutan hills, the entire hilly areas of the north now known as Aruṇācal, the Brahmaputra and the Surma Valleys including Jalpaiguri, Cooch-Behar, Rangpur, Bogra, Mymensingh, Dacca, part of Pabna and the hilly areas of Tipperah and Chittagong. If any credence is to be imparted to the tradition in the verse of the Bengal manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it only shows that the western boundary of *Prāgjyotiṣa* was the *Kośī* river[61] in an earlier phase of the history of the kingdom. Thus the tradition of the capital of Bhagadatta with all the talk of the magnificent buildings in it in the locality around Bhagalpur[62] is a clear pointer to the extensive nature of the kingdom that was once a political force to reckon with.

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[61] Cf. "......We again find from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Amūrtarajas founded the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* close to *Dharmāraṇya*. This Amūrtarajas was the son of Kuśa and grandfather of the famous *ṛṣi* Viśvāmitra. It is stated that Viśvāmitra performed his austerities on the banks of the Kauśikā (modern Kośī). It seems therefore that *Prāgjyotiṣa* included, in the ancient times, the modern district of Purnea in Bihar and extended, on the north-west, as far as the *Kośī*. It is found from epigraphic evidence that, about the beginning of the sixth century A.D., the western boundary of *Prāgjyotiṣa* was the *Kośī* river. *Prāgjyotiṣa*, therefore, touched Videha (Mithilā) on the west. (Early History of Kāmarūpa, pp. 2-3).

We have stated earlier that the verse,

तथामूर्त्तरया धीरश्चक्रे प्राग्ज्योतिषं पुरम् । धर्म्मारण्यसमीपस्य वसुश्चक्रे गिरिव्रजम् ।।

yields a doubtful meaning, because by taking the *samānādhikaraṇatva* of *amūrttarayāḥ* and Vasuḥ, we get the meaning "King Vasu of unlimited speed erected the mountain-fenced city *Prāgjyotiṣa* near *Dharmāraṇya*. But then the repetition of the verb चक्रे becomes inexplicable except on the ground of metre and the word *girivraja* is left out. Vasu is described as the name of a son or a descendant of Naraka or that of Kuśa. He may therefore be Amūrttarajas. In the following reading of the verse—

अमूर्त्तरजसी नाम धर्म्मारण्यं महामतिः । चक्रे पुरवरं राजा वसुर्नाम गिरिव्रजम् ।।

only some city, the centre for the practice of piety in a mountainous tract is said to have been erected by king Vasu alias Amūrttarajasa but its name is not given. That it might have been *Prāgjyotiṣa* is only an inference.

This is likely that once upon a time in very olden times, *Videha* and *Kāmarūpa* were one kingdom. While the former stretched as far as the slopes of the Himālaya, the latter did not cover the eastern Assam region so that the two areas formed a wide composite state with its capital at Girivraja on the banks of the *Kośī*. If we recede further back and associate the verses of the *Mahābhārata* describing the hill-like deposits of the bones of Naraka near the *Mandara* mountain on the banks of the Ganges originating from Badarikā, we may get a clue to the description of a *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom being in the west in the hoary antiquities, because Naraka is associated from time immemorial with *Prāgjyotiṣa*. This might show that the kingdom might have been co-extensive from the sources of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra to their final termination in the sea in the proto-historic period.

Again Arjuna after the conquest of *Kāmarūpa* is said to have gone to the northern direction and conquered the countries named *Antargiri*, *Vahirgiri* and *Upagiri* (see No 41 above). These kingdoms represent a sector comprising big territories within and without (*Antargiri* and *Vahirgiri*) including some portions of the plateau (*Upagirim*) of the northern hills all of which possibly were the parts of a bigger state of *Prāgjyotiṣa* under certain chieftains paying tributes to their lord. This area of the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom might have comprised the hilly areas beyond the hills of the present-day Aruṇācal area and some portions of their plateau extending, it might be possible, as far as the eastern slopes of the Kashmir hills.

That Naraka's kingdom which had its seat in the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa*

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[62] Cf.—"Even if we do not assign to the epic accounts a hoary antiquity, we can safely regard them at least as old as the Buddhist records and the Greek accounts of the fourth century B.C. All these confirm the supposition that about that time practically the whole of Western Sylhet and south of Eastern Bengal and part of South-west Bengal were under a sea though the delta was then beginning to form. The estuaries of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra formed this sea which was dotted with islands called Dvīpas. The epic accounts give this sea the name *Lohita Sāgara* (estuary of the *Lauhitya*). The Greek accounts make mention of islands in the estuary of the Ganges, the least width of which river even within Magadha was eight miles. The group of islands was very likely known as *Vanga*. The Buddhist *Jātakas* say that large sea-going vessels laden with merchandise could sail even from Champā (Bhāgalpur). This shows that the sea then stretched far inland. The southern boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa about 100 B.C. was, therefore, this sea......

Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 5.

621

was very much extensive by nature is also attested to by another reference of the *Mahābhārata* to the existence of four frontier governors under him.[63] Hayagrīva was such a governor under Naraka in the marshy area between the Ganges and the *Lauhitya* and it is after killing him that Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, could arrive at *Prāgjyotiṣa*. There is no clear indication as to whether he arrived at this city after crossing the *Lauhitya* river or not. Nevertheless, the word *audakāyām* inserted in the verse just reminds us of the water-logged area reminiscent of the sea *lauhitya sāgara* spoken of in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus it can be understood that the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kings during the proto-historic period exercised their suzerainty over some part of China, and the Bhutan hills including adjoining hilly areas the strips of which extended as far as the ocean (from the capital of *Prāgjyotiṣa*). Then alone such references as...भगदत्तो महीपालः सेनामक्षौहिनीं ददौ। तस्य चीनैः किरातैश्च काञ्चनैरिव संवृतम् (*Udyoga* XIX. 16) can be reconciled with the statement स किरातैश्चचनैश्चवृतः प्राग्ज्योतिषोऽभवत्। अन्यैश्च बहुभिर्योधैः सागरानुपवासिभिः। (Sabhā XXVII 18).
Thus the tradition maintained in some of our inscriptions of the *Lauhitya* river being an ocean is in complete consonance with those maintained in the epics and the *Purāṇas* and confirms that the kingdom was extended as far as the ocean. This also may be connected with the local traditions in Sylhet that the palacial residence of Bhagadatta was in the northern portions of Sylhet and Mymensingh in the midst of forests and hills. Vidyāvinoda has pointed out that the name of Bhagadatta in those particular regions is synonymous with the general names of the *Kāmarūpa* kings[64] who as we have discussed above ruled as far as the ocean.

Such an extensive kingdom as *Prāgjyotiṣa* must have developed trade and commerce with all its neighbouring countries and made contacts with West Asia from very early times through as far as it is understood a mountainous route that connected Eastern Kashmir with *Prāgjyotiṣa* running across the Tibetan plateau that flanked in its south-eastern side Bhutan or NEFA (at present *Aruṇācal*). This was possibly not a single route but had many by-routes connecting *Prāgjyotiṣa* with various trade-centres in Nepal and hilly regions of the present-day U.P. Raghu's army possibly entered into *Prāgjyotiṣa* or *Kāmarūpa* through such a route. (On this point we shall have occasions to have a detailed discussion later on.) But in course of time, however, such a huge extent of the

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[63] यं मही सुषुवे देवी यस्य प्राग्ज्योतिषं पुरम्।
विषयान्तः पालाश्चत्वारो यस्यासन् युद्धदुर्मदाः ॥६॥
आदेवयानमावृत्य पन्थानं पर्यवस्थिताः।
त्रासनाः सुरसङ्घानां विरूपैः राक्षसैः सह ॥७॥
हयग्रीवो निकुम्भश्च घोरः पञ्चजनस्तदा।
मुरः पुत्रसहस्रैश्च वरमत्तो महासुरः ॥८॥ *Sabhā* LV

[64] See K. S., Page 12, F.N. 1 under Kāmarūparājāvalī.

Prāgjyotiṣa kingdom began to diminish and its size was possibly reduced. Even then from the earliest times its western boundary seems to have reached as far as the *Videha* country which was in its south-eastern portions touched by the *Lauhitya* sea near Bhagalpur. But it is noteworthy that the river Karatoyā, though it is known in the age of the *Mahābhārata* is as yet not mentioned as the western boundary of *Prāgjyotiṣa* but as one of the sacred rivers only.[65] Therefore the tradition, that is recorded in the *Yoginī Tantra* of the four divisions of *Kāmarūpa*, is comparatively of later origin when the river Karatoyā has begun to constitute its western boundary.

(*b*) *From the Data of the Kālikāpurāṇa*—The *Kālikāpurāṇa* which links up the tradition of installing the adopted son of Janaka, the king of Videha, to the throne of *Prāgjyotiṣa* with that of the Karatoyā river being its westernmost boundary seems to have been cut off from the real historical events of ancient Assam. The reasons behind such an impression of the historicity of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* on this particular point is, as shown above, that during the time of Naraka, *Prāgjyotiṣapura* was much extensive and the references to this kingdom in the epics together with those of Naraka make it certain that it was more extensive to the west than to the east during the time of Naraka than in the time of Bhagadatta and that the eastern areas of later *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom did not come within the administrative jurisdiction of Naraka. It may appear that at a time beyond the reach of our historical records the western part of what is later called the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom was possibly under the suzerainty of the king of *Videha*. Naraka, the foster son of Janaka, might have taken advantage of the weakness or affection of a Videha sovereign and have established himself as a paramount monarch, throwing to the wind the tentacles of obeisance to his paternal kingdom, of a kingdom of the name of *Prāgjyotiṣa* in a city of the same name. When a reference is made to king Janaka, Naraka might be contemporaneous with the events of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The tradition in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* attributes the genesis of the name Naraka to the newly born child being placed on a human skull. This name might have completely replaced the real name of the child and might have been transmitted to his descendants. Therefore the name Naraka may stand for that royal house in which many Narakas ruled during a considerable long period. It is also pertinent to point out here that even during the time of the last Naraka of that dynasty, the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom as understood later on during the time of Bhagadatta was not fully consolidated and a separate *asura* monarch Bāṇāsura held sway at *Śonitapura* in the area approximately represented by the Darrang district and the North

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[65] सरयुर्वारिवत्याऽथ लाङ्गली च सरिद्वरा ।
करतोया तथाऽत्रेयी लौहित्यश्च महानदः ॥ —*Sabhā* IX. 26

Lakhimpur sub-division of the present times. A reference is found in the *Mahābhārata* whereby some clue to Bhagadatta's coming from a separate lineage from Naraka's is found in the verse referred to in footnote No. 50 above (बाष्कलो नाम etc.). It is possibly during the reign of Bhagadatta that the eastern regions of Assam were consolidated with the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom. The reason behind the admission of a number of kings going by the name of Naraka in the dynasty is that a considerable time must have elapsed from the days of Janaka of the *Rāmāyaṇa* fame, the foster father of Naraka, to the *Viṣṇu* incarnation *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, the slayer of Naraka, the last scion of the race.

Whatever it is, the *Mahābhārata* has not made any mention of the four *pīṭhas* or territorial divisions of Kāmarūpa, nor the idea of territorial localities like *Puṇḍravardhana*, *Gauḍa* or *Kāmarūpa* has evolved to spot out certain areas.[66] On the other hand the epics do not furnish any direct evidence to the paternal relationship of Naraka to Bhagadatta. Therefore it is not unlikely that Bhagadatta was the chief of a completely different dynasty. After the killing of Naraka, Bhagadatta was installed as the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* and synchronically Vajradatta was made the king of *Uparipattana*. Possibly during the reign of Bhagadatta this *Uparipattana* might have been completely merged with the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom.

It is not possible for want of materials to exactly determine the location of this *Uparipattana*. The primary meaning of the word *pattana* is a port or a harbour.[67] References to a marine fleet or naval soldiers are conspicuous by their absence in the *Mahābhārata* war. But even then the word "*Uparipattana*", it appears to us, might have denoted the kingdom of Bāṇāsura whose capital might have been guarded by a naval fleet. In this connection the contents of the stone inscription of Harjaravarmā at Tezpur might be a pointer to the tradition of a large fleet near the capital. The reference to *Uparipattana* as appertaining to Bhagadatta or Vajradatta creates the impression that to the days of Naraka the last, this area or for that matter the whole of the eastern part of the country was not fully consolidated with the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom. It is also not unlikely that on the upper ridges of the Lauhitya sea there might have been a commercial centre with trading boats huddled up together and the area around it might be denoted by the word "*Uparipattana*".

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[66] cf. "The late Mr. A. Barooah in his 'Ancient Geography of India', prefaced to the third volume of his English-Sanskrit Dictionary wrote that to the east of the *Kauśikā* lay the country of the *Puṇḍras* called also *Gauḍa* and that to the north-east of *Puṇḍra* lay the important kingdom of *Kāmarūpa*. The latest opinion however is that the *Puṇḍras* mentioned in the epics were to the south of Magadha (See Map. No. 5, Cambridge History of India, Vol. I). It is perhaps a mistake to associate the *Puṇḍras* with the stretch of country which came to be known as *Puṇḍra Vardhana* during the Gupta period. *Gauḍa* is a still more recent name and it was evidently to the south of *Kāmarūpa*. To the east of Videha was ancient *Prāgjyotiṣa* at a time when the names *Puṇḍravardhana*, *Gauḍa* and *Kāmarūpa* were unknown"—From the "*Early History of Kāmarūpa*"—by Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur, B.L., page 3 foot-note.

[67] cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*—2.6.3.

सीता भागो वलिः करो वणिक् नदीपालस्तरो नावः पत्तनं विवीतं वर्त्तनी रज्जुश्चोररज्जुश्च राष्ट्रम्——translated by K. P. Kangle as—"Agricultural produce, share, tribute, tax, the trader, the river-guard, the ferry, ships, the port, pastures, road-cess, land-survey and chief-catching—these constitute country" i.e. incomes from these sources are the incomes of the State.

Again—2.28.4.

पत्तनानुवृत्तं शुल्कभागं वणिजो दद्युः, यात्रावेतनं राजनौभिः संपतन्तः

Whatever be the extent of the kingdom of Naraka, *Prāgjyotiṣapura* was the capital of the country and this city was certainly situated somewhere on the south bank of the Brahmaputra. It was, it is likely, originally on the banks of the Kośī river. But ultimately some Naraka of the later days shifted it to the south bank of the Brahmaputra. Even now the Narakāsura hills towards the southern outskirts of the town of Gauhati and the rampart after the name of the king bear witness to the residential area of Naraka which is nothing but the capital city *Prāgjyotiṣa*. Some scholars identify the two villages Jātia and Dispur on the south-west of Gauhati as the site where the *Prāgjyotiṣapura* city was located (Jātia >jyotis : : Dis >tis; the word *jyotis* seems to have been so split into two parts to evolve the names Jātia and Dispur).[68] We do not know how far south the site of original *Prāgjyotiṣa* extended and we believe the site is not very much circumscribed in extension and penetrates deep into the jungles and the mountainous regions of the far south. Only a systematic exploration of the site on scientific lines can reveal the antiquities of the capital if at all. Notwithstanding this, the recent discovery of a number of ancient images with implements of worship of obsolete variety testifies to the high antiquity of the area *Gaṇeśaguri*, originally *Gaṇeśagiri*, near Jātia and Dispur. In this connection the following verse is noteworthy—

कालेश्वराच्च्वेतगिरिं त्रिपुरान्नीलपर्वतम् ।
कामरूपाभिधो देवि गणेशगिरिमुर्द्धमम् ।। *The Śaktisaṅgama* III 7.10

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translated by K. P. Kangle as:—

"Traders shall pay a part (of the goods) as duty according as it may be current at the ports, those travelling by the king's ships (shall pay) hire for the voyage."

[68] Even today a village near Gauhati is known as Dispur, and the village of Jātia with Dispur stands jointly for Jyotiṣpur which with the addition of prefix, *Prāg*, makes *Prāgjyotiṣpur*. In making this identification, it must be remembered that the ancient boundary of *Prāgjyotiṣa* extended up to the sea through south-east Bengal. ....Dr. P. C. Chowdhury in his "*The History of Civilisation of the People of Assam*", p. 30.

(*ii*) *The Evolution of the Name of Kāmarūpa*

The extent of the kingdom during the rule of Bhagadatta has already been discussed above. In course of time, however, this kingdom came to be known as *Kāmarūpa* also and its kings were associated with the worship of a number of goddesses indigenous in character. Naraka, the adopted son of Janaka, it can be easily understood, was a protagonist of theAryan culture. But in course of time, however, the kings of the Naraka family got themselves involved in the worship of *Kāmākhyā* and indulged in all that the cult stood for. The country therefore came to be known as *Kāmarūpa* from the word '*Kāmā*' which designation also invariably denoted the goddess *Kāmākhyā*. Thus the word *Kāmarūpa* by invariable association with *Kāmākhyā* attained a celebrity from the earliest times and stood for the whole country. We have a reference to the country by this name together with *Prāgjyotiṣa* in Kālidāsa's famous epic *Raghuvaṁśa* and this is a sure proof that from the 1st century B.C. the word *Kāmarūpa* was used to denote the country.

(*iii*) *The Ascendancy of Kāmarūpa after the Śūṅga Period*

Puṣyamitra Śūṅga ascended the throne of *Magadha* in the year 184 B.C. He is said to have performed two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices to establish his paramountcy over the lords of the surrounding regions. The conquest of the quarters which Kālidāsa has described under the guise of the conquest by Raghu relates to the exploits of this Puṣyamitra who possibly discomfitured in battle some monarch of *Kāmarūpa*—an episode so aptly described by the great poet. This line of *Kāmarūpa* kings in its state of decline had to bow before the all-engulfing power of Agnimitra and remain in a state of vassalage as the ordinance of fate. Regarding this insult to be too much to bear for the royal house of *Prāgjyotiṣa* some Chief of *Kāmarūpa* possibly reasserted the sovereignty of *Kāmarūpa* and disowned the tutelage to the *Magadha* empire. This particular chief possibly established the *Bhauma-Naraka-Varman* dynasty in *Kāmarūpa* and assumed the name Puṣyavarmā just to show his equality with the progenitor of the *Śūṅga* dynasty and assert his country's independence of the Magadha domination. (See K. L. Barua, p. 41.)

(*iv*) *State of the Kingdom in the Gupta Period*

It is likely that from some time anterior to Puṣyamitra Śūṅga the royal house of *Kāmarūpa* began to show signs of weakness and the administration became very loose with the result that the extent of the kingdom was very much reduced. Till the time of Bhagadatta the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* was very much wide in its extent and he was referred to as a monarch with high dignity commanding a large army of varied groups. The copper-plates of *Kāmarūpa* aver that the dynasty of Naraka ruled with glory for a period of three thousand years after which Puṣyavarmā became the king. The last Naraka of the dynasty must have flourished at a period a little earlier than that of the *Mahābhārata* war, which took place according to the orthodox view near about the beginning of the *Kali* age i.e. 3101 B.C.[69] Therefore the age by which Puṣyavarmā established himself as a sovereign monarch of *Kāmarūpa* can be roughly determined as 1st century B.C. Though Puṣyamitra conquered the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa*, he did not, it is likely, subjugate it to the Śuṅga empire and was satisfied with the tutelage of this kingdom. Therefore it is likely that till that time the kingdom of Magadha was the western boundary of *Kāmarūpa*. What was later on known as *Puṇḍravardhana* did not as yet come into being. Therefore it can be safely assumed that even in the days of Puṣyavarmā, the *Kośī* river formed the western boundary of *Kāmarūpa*. In this connection a reference to the area known as *Bhadrāśvavarṣa* in some of the Buddhistic accounts is noteworthy, cf.—"We know that the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (58-59) and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (45) include *Mandara*, *Karatoyā*, *Lauhitya* and *Prāgjyotiṣa* in *Bhadrāśvavarṣa*. ....In the Buddhistic accounts *Bhadrāśva* is replaced by the name *Pūrvavideha* and the limits of *Bhadrāśva* include the regions from Videha to Lohita".[70]

Therefore the account of Kalhaṇa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the Kashmir king Meghavāhana was chosen by princess Amṛtaprabhā as her groom in the *svayamvara* ceremony organised by her father, the king of *Kāmarūpa*, can be construed as appertaining to a king of this period. For, Sir Aurel Stein, who has translated into English this particular annal of the Kashmir kings has computed in his "Chronological Table of Kashmir Kings" the 1st century A.D. as the period in which king Meghavāhana flourished.[71] This establishes beyond any shade of doubt that the *Kāmarūpa* monarchs of this period were all very powerful and that they established diplomatic relationship with other states of

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[69] See Chapter I— "*The Date of the Mahābhārata War*", pp. 55—

of Book II—*The Mahābhārata As A History*" in *The Mahābhārata: A Criticism* (Second Edition 1929)—by C. V. Vaidya, published by the Bombay Book Depot, Girgaum, Bombay.

[70] Dr. Choudhury, above book p. 411.

It appears that the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom during the reign of Naraka extended further west and seems to have approximated the area spoken of in the *Vāyupurāṇa* including the regions around the *Mandara* mountain i.e. the area beyond the Himālaya mountain.

[71] See the verses under foot-note No. 17 above: also the *Kāmarūpa-rājāvalī*, pp. 6-7, an introductory note to the *Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvali* by P. N. Vidyāvinoda. It may be that after Puṣyavarmā some weak kings occupied the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa and some chiefs in the west professing Buddhistic faith might be so powerful as to be independent in the areas near the Kośī.

India. But possibly later on, a time came when the kings of *Prāgjyotiṣa* began to diminish in their political splendour and the kingdom became reduced to the level of a frontier state owing allegiance to the Gupta empire.

In the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta *Kāmarūpa* is mentioned as a frontier kingdom along with *Samataṭa Ḍavāka*, Nepala, *Kartṛpura* the kings of which pleased the stern imperial monarch by paying taxes, carrying out orders and doing obeisance.................. cf. सर्व्वकरदानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-परितोषितप्रचण्डशासनस्य....................etc. This clearly proves that during the time of the Guptas, at least during the rule of the powerful monarchs of this dynasty, *Kāmarūpa* was split into a number of petty principalities with its western territories within the *Kośī* and the *Karatoyā* possibly merged into the empire. The *Samataṭa* was comprised of the areas of south-east Bengal the lands to the east whereof comprising Southern Mymensingh, Western Sylhet and portion of Comilla and Noakhali were probably under water. Ḍavāka is the portion of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom around the *Kapili* valley.[72] It is said to have maintained its separate existence during the reigns of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II and it must have lost its identity from the days of Kumāragupta and must have been merged into the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom. The embassy which V. A. Smith refers to have been sent from Ḍavāka to China[73] in the year 428 A.D. must have been sent by the King of *Kāmarūpa* who by that time must have occupied the said kingdom taking advantage of the decline of the Gupta power.

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[72] Compare *Gāchtal Rock Inscription*—
सीमा एरिया यवन उवाकत गयत इत्यादि । As the rock was fixed in the Gāchtal locality in the area of Ḍavāka, it is now easy to identify the area as such.

[73] "Vincent Smith mentions that in the year 428 A.D. during the reign of emperor Kumāragupta, an embassy was sent to China by an Indian King named Yue-Shi (Moon-faced) who was lord of the Kapilī country. Lt. Col. Wilson has identified Kapilī with the Kapilī river of Assam named in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* as *Kapila Gaṅgā*, and Vincent Smith has tentatively accepted this identification. As we have already suggested, the Kapilī Valley which is still called *Ḍavāka*, may be identified with the kingdom of *Ḍavāka* mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. The embassy may, therefore, have been sent by the king of Ḍavāka whose name was either Candrapriya or Chandra Vallabha. It should however, be mentioned that there was a king of *Kāmarūpa* named Candramukha (moon-faced) who was the great grandfather of Bhāskara-Varmā. He cannot however be assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century. It seems that in the sixth or the seventh century this kingdom of Ḍavāka was absorbed by Kāmarūpa, for according to Yuan Chwang's account the *Kapilī Valley* was included in Kāmarūpa" (From K. L. Barua, pp. 46-47)—We have subsequently treated this question separately and have shown that Kalyāṇavarmā is this moon-faced king who being the master of *Ḍavāka* sent an embassy to China.

(*v*) *During the Rule of Bhūtivarmā*

Yuan Chwang's account is corroborated by the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā of the Bhauma Naraka dynasty: "Thus the Baḍagaṅgā inscription speaks of *Paramadaivata Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Bhūtivarmā, a performer of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice during whose reign a royal officer named Avaguṇa, who was the governor of a district of Bhūtivarman's kingdom, made an *āśrama* at the findspot of the epigraph for the longevity of his master. The area governed by Avaguṇa seems to have comprised parts of the present Nowgong District of Assam and the adjoining area including the valleys of the river *Hārkāthī* and *Dīghalpānī* mentioned above. An interesting information supplied by the inscription is that the Nowgong-Sibsagar area formed a part of the dominions of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings of *Kāmarūpa* at least during the reign of Bhūtivarman who as will be shown below, must have flourished in the sixth century A.C."[74]

The *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā was first deciphered by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, Dacca, and its text was published with a detailed note of that scholar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII. The erroneous character of the reading adopted by that scholar has been very fittingly pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sarkar[75] in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, pp. 62-67. Dr. Bhattasali's comments on the extent of the kingdom of Bhūtivarmā require examination and therefore we quote them below—

"In the Harṣacharita, the genealogy of the Varmans of *Kāmarūpa* begins from Bhūtivarman, fifth in ascent from Bhāskaravarman, though it is generally the custom to name only three generations. This probably indicates that he was the person with whom the dynasty began to rise into importance. The remarkable attempt at aryanising this frontier land by the settlement of about three hundred Brahmins of different *gotras* in what is at present known as the *pargaṇā* of *Pañcakhaṇḍa* in the Sylhet District, gives us a glimpse into the activities of this man of zeal; and when we find his *Viṣhayā-mātya* Āryyaguṇa founding an *āśrama* on the Baḍagaṅgā rivulet in the Gupta year 234-554 A.D., almost under the shadow of the Mahāmāyā Hill and the Mahāmāyā temple in the Nowgong District, we at once realise that this intrepid king had taken advantage of the decline of the Guptas and had made himself emperor of Eastern India by welding together *Kāmarūpa, Davāka*, and *Samataṭa* into one empire and had declared his overlordship over them by the performance of an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice." (pp 21-22)

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[74] "Note on *Bargaṅgā Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā"—by D. C. Sarkar in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX. pp. 64-65.

[75] See note on the nature of the text of this inscription by Dr. D. C. Sarkar who has pointed out certain mistakes in the readings of Dr. Bhaṭṭāśalī.

The *Nidhānpur Copper Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā were the re-enactment of a deed of donation of land by Mahābhūtivarmā, the great grandfather of Bhāskaravarmā. As the original deed of Bhūtivarmā was lost, it was most likely that the royal officers would, for want of a documentary proof, insist on the payment of taxes on these lands by the Brahmins in whose favour the original deed conferring the title on them was made. When Harṣavardhana was marching his victorious army over the capital of *Gauḍa* from his camp at *Karṇasuvarṇa* joined by his ally and friend Bhāskaravarmā, possibly these Brahmins while congratulating the king in his march of victory offered their blessings to him requesting for a re-enactment of the deed granting again the right to the enjoyment of the said lands free of taxes. The plot of land in question was in the collectorate of district known as *Candrapuri* in the region *Mayūraśālma-la*, dedicated for the purpose of granting sustenance to the Brahmins, cf. the language of the inscription—

चन्द्रपुरिविषये वर्त्तमानभाविनो विषयपतीनधिकरणानि च समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतामेतद्विषयान्तःपाति मयूरशाल्मलाग्रहारक्षेत्रं राज्ञा श्रीभूतिवर्म्मणा कृतं यत् तत्ताम्रपट्टाभावात् करदमिति महाराजेन ज्येष्ठभद्रान् विज्ञाप्य पुनरस्याभिनवपट्टकरणाय शासनं दत्त्वा इत्यादि—lines 49ff.

The land so donated is particularised with the following demarcation of the boundaries—

सीमानो यत्र पूर्व्वेण शुष्ककौशिका ।। पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन सैव शुष्ककौशिका डूम्बरीच्छेदसं वेद्या ।। दक्षिणेनापि डूम्बरीच्छेदः । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन गङ्गिणिका डूम्बरीच्छेदसंवेद्या ।। पश्चिमेनाधुना सीमागङ्गिणिका ।। पश्चिमोत्तरेण कुम्भकारगर्त्तस्सेव च गङ्गिणिका प्राग्भूज्यमाना ।। उत्तरेण बृहज्जाटली ।। उत्तरपूर्व्वेण व्यवहारिखासोकपुष्करिणी सैव शुष्ककौशिका चेति ।। (Lines 128-132).

The inscription was found in the village of Nidhānpur in *Pañcakhaṇḍa* in Sylhet. That the inscription in question has been found in the Sylhet district has led many a scholar to conclude that the *Mayūraśālmalāgrahārakṣetra* in the *Candrapuriviṣaya* is in Sylhet. But they have forgotten the fact that the find-spot of an inscription does not determine the location of the donated land.[76] The land donated by king Bhūtivarmā was on the bank of the river *Kauśikā*; it was on the sides of a certain dried up tributary of the said river described as the *Śuṣka Kauśikā* and was possibly flanked on its south-western sides by the streamlet *Gaṅgiṇikā*. This plot of land consists of a large cultivable area dedicated to the Brahmins as a tax-free grant. While determining the location of the plot, one cannot ignore the fact that the gift land of the copper-plates inscription of Vanamālavarmadeva has its boundary in the south-east of *Candrapuri* and was on the west of the *Trisrotā.*[77] As many of the readings in the *Tezpur Grant* of king Vanamāla are of doubtful authenticity, because the plates are lost, the word *Candrapari* of the said inscription may be read as *Candrapuri* which may be taken as identical with the *viṣaya* mentioned in the Nidhānpur plates of Bhāskaravarmā. Therefore it is certain that the *Mayūraśālmalāgrahāra* in the *Candrapuri Viṣaya* is in between the *Trisrotā* and the *Kośī*. Thus it is clear that during the reign of Bhūtivarmā, the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom was extended beyond *Puṇḍravardhana.* On the other hand, the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* definitely shows the extent of Bhūtivarmā's kingdom as being comprised of the *Samataṭa* and *Davāka* territories extending as far as the present day Upper Assam.

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[76] It can be pointed out in this connection that the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, a later king of *Kāmarūpa* was found at Banaras and it is a known fact that Vaidyadeva's kingdom did not extend as far as Vārānasī.

Ignoring the clear demarcation of *Candrapuri* as being on the west of the *Trisrotā* in the *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāla, Dr. Bhattasali's identification of the *Mayūraśālmalāgrahāra* in the *Candrapuri Viṣaya* with a modern village named Candpur in *Pañcakhaṇḍa* of Sylhet based on the identity of the names *Kauśikā* and *Gaṅgiṇikā* with the *Kuśiarā* and *Gāṅgiṇā* respectively cannot be accepted. Such a conclusion will on the one hand be wrong and on the other will reduce the extent of Bhūtivarmā's kingdom—a fact which cannot be accepted on account of the affirmation in the Tezpur grant of Vanamāla of *Candrapuriviṣaya* being on the western bank of the *Tistā.* J. C. Ghosh holds a similar view upon the location of the gift land of the Nidhānpur plates and referring to the *Chandrapuri* of the grant of Vanamāla, he says that it is not described therein—as a *viṣaya.*[78] Ghosh thinks that the gift of land to the *Brāhmaṇas* by Bhūtivarmā was in Sylhet and cites the place-name called *Bhāskarateṅgerī* as a memory of Bhāskara's occupation. The name of the place *Bhāskarateṅgerī* occurs also in the Bhātera grant of Govinda Keśava Deva (A.D. 1049).[79]

It is likely that the traditions around the place name *Bhāskarateṅgerī* may refer to the memories of occupation of the area by the king *Bhāskaravarmā.* But the name of the place cannot be associated with its occupation by king Bhūtivarmā who originally enacted this deed of donation of the said land. That practically the whole of Southern Assam including Sylhet and Tripura was under the domination of the *Kāmarūpa* kings is indicated by the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā who established his paramountcy over the area by the celebration of a horse sacrifice. Though the clay seals of Bhāskarvarmā do not make any reference to the performance of a horse sacrifice by Bhūtivarmā, still we cannot ignore such a categorical statement as in the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription*, because the time lapse from the days of Bhūtivarmā to Bhāskaravarmā is considerable and in this particular reference, the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* will be much more reliable. Dr. D. C. Sarkar's remarks on the performance of the horse sacrifice by Bhūtivarmā as a ruling prince while his father was still the actual monarch are not convincing.[80] The *Ḍubi Plates* credit Bhūtivarmā with the performance of a horse sacrifice synchronising the declaration towards the fag end of his life of his position as a Supreme monarch stated in his *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription*, cf.—

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[77] त्रिस्रोतायाः पश्चिमतः सजलस्थलसंयुतं ।
अभिशूरवाटकाख्यमष्टसीमापरिच्छदं ।।३३।।
पूर्व्वेण दशलाङ्गलसहसीमा पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन चन्द्रपुरिससीमा दक्षिणेन अवारिससीमा ।

[78] See *Śrīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta* Pt. IV (F.N.) p. 74 by A. C. Chowdhury ; also *Indian Historical Quarterly* VI pp. 60-71.

[79] *Epigraphia Indica* XIX. pp. 277.

पित्र्यं संप्राप्य राज्यं सुरपतिसदृशः ख्यातवीर्योऽमितश्रीर्
न्निर्ज्जित्यारातिचक्रं स्वभुजयुगवलादात्तशस्त्रं समस्तं ।
देव्यां विज्ञानवत्यां शशिसमवदनं सूनुमुत्ताद्य धीमान्
इष्ट्वासौ वाजिमेधन्नरपतिरगमच्छक्रवासं यशस्वी ।।३१।।

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[80] "It will be seen that Bhūtivarmā, called an *aśvamedhayājin* in the *Bargaṅgā* inscription, is not credited with the performance of the horse sacrifice in the legend on Bhāskaravarmā's seals, although his father Nārāyaṇavarmā and grandson Sthiravarmā are both endowed with the epithet "performer of two *Aśvamedhas*". As has been explained in my paper referred to above (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI. pp. 143-45) I do not accept Dr. Bhaṭṭāśālī's suggestion that, according to the legend on Bhāskaravarmā's seals, Mahendravarmā, father of Nārāyaṇavarmā, performed the two horse-sacrifices and am inclined to attribute them to Nārāyaṇavarmā. It has been shown by me that the epithet *dvir-aśvamedhayājin* admittedly refers to the following name of Sthiravarmā in the legend and that, on the same analogy, the epithet *dvis-turagamedhāharttā* should refer not to the preceding name of Mahendravarmā but to the following name of Nārāyaṇavarmā. I have further shown that the position of the queen-mothers' names, in the two expressions, viz, Śrī-Bhogavatyām *dvir-aśvamedha-yāji-Śrī*-Sthiravarmā and *dvis-turagamedhāhartā Śrī*-Suvratayāṃ Śrī-Nārāyaṇavarmā, does not make any difference in Sanskrit Syntax. Now the omission in the legend on Bhāskaravarman's seals of any reference to the horse-sacrifice that was celebrated by Bhūtivarmā according to the Bargaṅgā inscription is really inexplicable; but I suggested that the second of the two *aśvamedhas* attributed by the seal-legend to Bhūtivarmā's father Nārāyaṇavarman may have been celebrated when that king was too old and his son Bhūtivarmā was ruling the country on his father's behalf and that this was possibly the reason why Bhūtivarmā is said to be the performer of the horse-sacrifice in the record of his own reign"—D. C. Sarkar from the *Epigraphia Indica*—Vol. XXX-pp. 65-66. But in such an assessment, he has clearly overlooked the fact that the Ḍubi plates have solemnly declared Bhūtivarmā as the performer of horse-sacrifice. cf.

देव्यां विज्ञानवत्यां शशिसमवदनं सूनुमुत्पाद्य धीमान्
इष्ट्वासौ वाजिमेधन्नरपतिरगमच्छक्रवासं यशस्वी—lines 41-42.

At the same time we cannot completely ignore the following line from the Ḍubi plates—ईजे स राजा क्रतुभिर्म्महेन्द्रवच्छ्रीसुव्रताञ्चाप शचीमिव प्रियाम्—which evidently refers to the performance of the horse sacrifice by *Śrī* Mahendravarmā.

(vi) *Aggrandisement during the Rule of Mahendravarmā*

Equally unconvincing is his remark that Nārāyaṇavarmā was the performer of two horse sacrifices when the seal of Bhāskaravarmā on the *Ḍubi Plates* gives the following clear statement—श्रीयज्ञवत्यां श्रीमहेन्द्रो द्विस्तुरगमेधाहर्त्ता. Therefore Mahendravarmā may be deemed as the very important ruler in the Bhauma-Naraka-Varman dynasty who might have first established himself as a paramount monarch by the performance of two horse sacrifices. The period of his reign may be placed towards the second part of the 5th century A.D. when the rule of the declining Gupta empire under Skandagupta came to be very weak. Though there was a temporary resuscitation of this regime under Budhagupta and Vainyagupta, the Gupta control over Bengal was not so strong as to control the rising power of *Kāmarūpa* and was extended towards the west. Whatever it is, it cannot be denied that the *Kāmarūpa* king after Kumāragupta taking advantage of the weakness of the Gupta rule tried to expand its sway towards the south-east of Bengal. The *Kāmarūpa* power at least did not sit idle and it not only completed the process earlier begun during the reign of Kalyāṇavarmā of throwing away the Gupta yoke but also tried to extend the boundary of the kingdom. Therefore the statement attributing two *aśvamedha* sacrifices to Mahendravarmā implies the complete absolvement from the Gupta tutelage of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom and formal declaration of its sovereignty. The following statement in the *Ḍubi Plates* regarding Mahendravarmā can be read in this context—

स यक्षदेवीतनयो जितारिर्म्महेन्द्रवर्म्मामरराजविक्रमः ।
बुभोज राज्यं रजनीकराभः पपौ च सम्यक् स्वसुतमिव प्रजाम् ।।२३।।
विजित्थ गां सागरमेखलान्तां द्विषः समानीय वशं बलेन ।
ईजे स राजा क्रतुभिर्म्महेन्द्रवच्छीसुव्रताञ्चाप शचीमिव प्रियाम् ।।२४।।

It is clear from the above verses that king Mahendravarmā subdued all his enemies and extended the kingdom as far as the ocean. This may imply the extension of Mahendravarmā's dominion over the entire waterlogged area of Mymensingh and its far-flung nature reaching as far as distant Chittagong and Tripurā. This may also be a fact that the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom which originally touched the eastern bank of the *Kośī* river might have by the time of the imperial Guptas shrunk to the *Karatoyā* river owing a nominal allegiance to that powerful empire. It is therefore quite likely that Mahendravarmā could not make much headway through his conflicts with Budhagupta in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area but his success in the south-east Bengal area could be taken as a certainty from the texts of the inscriptions themselves.

(vii) *Beginning of the Process of Reassertion—Kalyāṇavarmā*

Such a process of re-establishment began as a matter of fact from the days of Kalyāṇavarmā who with the termination of the rule of the powerful Gupta monarch Chandragupta II and accession of Kumāragupta to the throne began to aggrandise the political power of the ruling *Kāmarūpa* house. The kingdoms stretching on the south such as *Ḍavāka*, *Tripurā*, *Samataṭa* were all won over from the imperial control of the Guptas and transferred their loyalties to the king of *Kāmarūpa* who brought under his control the monarchs of all these states. To signalise such a position of power and glory and to consolidate his royal authority over the newly acquired areas the king of *Kāmarūpa* might have sent a diplomatic mission to China. The establishment of such a diplomatic mission abroad with a neighbouring powerful kingdom might have indicated the suzerain nature of the kingdom itself inspiring the petty principalities around to spontaneous homage. According to the *Shung Shu* in the period of time covered by the years 420-479 A.D., an ambassador was sent to China by a king of the *Kapili valley* who was described as the Moon-faced".

The kings of *Tripurā* possibly established earlier a sovereign state which, it can be imagined, spread over the entire Kapili valley, North Cachar Hills and the present Kachar District. Later on this kingdom seemed to have owned allegiance to the Gupta empire being itself disintegrated into a number of petty principalities. When the Gupta hold over the area became very weak, Kalyāṇavarmā annexed the entire region to his kingdom and to make the influence of his paramountcy felt in a wider area sent a diplomatic mission to China. The king of the Kapili valley who sent the mission to China is called by the *Shung Shu* Yu Chai (the moon-faced). Records do not furnish the name of any powerful king ruling in the Kapili valley at that period nor is it believable that a Tripurā king sent such a mission. King Kalyāṇavarmā is described as having a moon-like face, as being very much powerful like Indra and as committing massacre in the flanks of the enemy's army".

वृत्रारिशक्तिर्न्निहतारिपक्षः क्षपाकराकारमुखो महौजाः। *Ḍubi-śloka* 18

Thus Kalyāṇavarmā's identification with Yu Chai rests on the authority of epigraphy also.[81] Chandra Vallabha is possibly a nick-name and the real name of the king is not known from the reference under discussion i.e. *Shung Shu*. K. L. Barua giving the name as Yu-ai (Moon-loved) states that a king of the *Ḍavāka* country whose name was either Chandra-Priyā or Chandra Vallabha might have sent the embassy to

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[81] cf. "The identification of Kalyāṇavarmā with Yu Chai, on the basis of epigraphy, seems to rest on a valid ground, and it was he who sometime before the sending of the mission in A.D. 428 conquered Ḍāvaka. This assumption equally fits in with the chronology of that ruler. It may be that a reigning Tripura king was ousted from the *Kapilī valley* and Kalyāṇavarmā signalised his victory by the incorporation of *Ḍāvaka* within *Kāmarūpa* and sending a diplomatic mission to China. The performance of *Aśvamedha* by a subsequent ruler has nothing to do with this achievement of Kalyāṇavarmā"—from Dr. P. C. Chowdhury's "*The History of Civilisation of the People of Assam*"—p. 140.

China.[82] Though Mahendravarmā freed the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom from the yoke of the Gupta tutelage and formally declared the unfettered overlordship of the region by performing two *Aśvamedha* sacrifices subsequently, still attempts had been made from the times of Kalyāṇavarmā to establish the kingdom as a fully sovereign state. The first fruit of this attempt was perhaps the annexation of the entire southern area to the state of *Kāmarūpa*. If this is accepted we cannot say that the entire area of the Kapili valley has been annexed to the kingdom from the days of Bhūtivarmā alone.

(*viii*) *Sylhet a Part of Kāmarūpa*

P. N. Bhattacharya refuting the location of *Candrapuri* in the district of Sylhet says that it was an independent kingdom and the independent character of Sylhet is borne witness to by a separate reference to it in the accounts of Yuen Chwang along with six other territorial divisions of the region in the period under reference. But this might be a reference to the mere geographical division of the area and purely traditional in nature as in the *Yoginī Tantra*. He cites another evidence to support his proposition of the independent status of Sylhet. He says near about 600 A.C. a *praśasti* from Jālandhara records the dedication of a temple to *Lord Śiva* by Īśvarā, the daughter-in-law of the royal race of *Siṁhapura*, and above the *praśasti* in the centre there are some obscure letters possibly of a later date which seem to read श्रीहट्टाधिश्वरेभ्यः. This inscription, it appears, has nothing to do with Sylhet, for both *Siṁhapura* and *Jālandhara* lay in the Punjab. Dr. P. C. Chowdhury opines on this particular point as follows:—"It is likely that it stands for the supreme lord *Śiva*, the presiding deity of *Śrīhaṭṭa*, for whom the temple was erected by Īśvāradevī. The name *Śrīhaṭṭa* is derived from *Hāṭakeśvara Śiva*, who is said to have been worshipped by the *Nāgar Brāhmaṇas* originally in the region about Kashmira. In any case the expression may best be taken to have a religious import rather than a political one, and it has nothing to do with the independent status of Sylhet, during either the reign of Bhūtivarmā or that of Bhāskara."[83]

(*ix*) *Completion of the Process of Re-assertion*

Thus it is clear that *Kāmarūpa* began to re-assert itself as a sovereign kingdom from the days of Kalyāṇavarmā by unifying with it the whole of the *Kapilì valley* including *Tripurā* and Mahendravarmā might have consolidated the newly acquired kingdom by exerting his influence over *Tripurā* and Sylhet and over possibly some areas of *Samataṭa* and finally removed the last vestige of Gupta control by performing two *aśvamedha* sacrifices. This was followed up by Bhūtivarmā who extended his kingdom over what was known as *Puṇḍravardhana*. The *Bargaṅgā* epigraph testifies to his consolidation of conquests in the south, south-west and eastern directions by which he brought under his control Sylhet, *Tripurā*, *Ḍavāka* and other territorial areas of eastern Assam.

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[82] "*Early History of Kāmarūpa*"—p. 46.

[83] Dr. Chowdhury—p. 148.

The position of the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* as related to the contemporary events of Indian History as far as can be imagined may be as follows—Kalyāṇavarmā might have freed the kingdoms around the *Kapili valley* from the thraldom of the Guptas and established his sway over the entire region during the reign of Kumāragupta and to signalise this achievement he might have sent an embassy to China. These kingdoms might have behaved as independent principalities again during the rule of Gaṇapativarmā or it might be that Kumāragupta reconquered the area to annex it to the Gupta empire. Mahendravarmā not only recovered these kingdoms to the state of *Kāmarūpa* but also annexed some of the areas of south-east Bengal and by performing a horse sacrifice established his paramountcy over the area. This implies a complete obliteration of the Gupta influence over the area. Later on when he could repulse a possible attack of Budhagupta from the western side of the state, Mahendravarmā performed the second *aśvamedha* sacrifice to re-assert the independence of *Kāmarūpa* of Gupta rule.

(*x*) *Fading of the Glory after Bhūtivarmā*

The rise of Yaśodharma and the decline of the Guptas are two contemporary events. The *Māndāsor Stone Pillar Inscription* of Yaśodharmadeva dated 525-35 A.D. has recorded the fact that the chieftains from all the regions of India including the vast expanses on the river Lauhitya marked by the grooves of palm trees bowed down before the tremendous might of Yaśodharma (see No. 27 above) of Malwa. But this cannot be accepted as a case of conquest of *Kāmarūpa* and it is unbelievable that Yaśodharmadeva conquered the whole of India. The rise of Yaśodharma is synchronous with the ascendancy of Bhūtivarmā to power in the eastern region. It is therefore likely that Bhūtivarmā took full advantage of the decline of the Gupta power in Magadha and conquered the region of *Puṇḍravardhana* to the west of *Trisrotā*. The invasion of Yaśodharmadeva could leave no imprint on the soil of Assam.

(*xi*) *Chandramukhavarmā*

The uneventful career of Candramukhavarmā leaves no record as to the political activities he pursued. It is possible that he very often came in conflict with the *Maukharis* of *Kośala* and the Later Guptas of Malwa who were struggling for supremacy in *Magadha* and *Gauḍa*. In the *Ḍubi* plates it is said of him—

कृत्वासौ विधिवद्द्रुतं बलवतां मानापभङ्गं द्विषां
जित्वा सागरमेखलां वसुमतीमिष्ट्वा च यज्ञैर्म्मुहुः ।
दानेनार्थिजनं श्रिया च सुहृदः सन्तोष्य पृथ्वीपतिर्—
र्य्यातः शक्रसलोकतां पृथुबलः संस्थाप्य पुत्रं क्षितौ ।।३७।।

It is possible that he had to wage constant wars against the rebellious kings of the vast empire which Bhūtivarmā built up. It is doubtful whether he could bring under his control these rebellious princes and maintain the unity of the kingdom which in the days of Bhūtivarmā extended as far as the ocean. The above verse appears to be panegyric in character which only states that he abdicated in favour of his son and that too might be in utter frustration.

(*xii*) *Re-expansion during the Days of Sthitavarmā*

His son Sthitavarmā referred to as Sthiravarmā in *Ḍubi* grant could regain the full control over the entire kingdom acquired by Bhūtivarmā. This is manifest from the reference to the performance of two *aśvamedha* sacrifices by him in the Nālandā clay seal of Bhāskaravarmā. One was performed possibly when he could establish his mastery over the kings of southern Assam and south-east Bengal. The other *aśvamedha* sacrifice might have been performed just to celebrate his unrivalled mastery over the areas to the east of *Magadha* and north of *Gauḍa* when the sons of Īśāṇvarmā Maukhari and the Later Guptas were locked in a struggle for supremacy in *Magadha* and probably in *Gauḍa*.[84] The erection of a new capital city on the bank of the holy river (*Lauhitya*) might be synchronous with the victory over his formidable enemies.

(*xiii*) *A Set-back before Bhāskara's Advent: Power Alignment in India*

But such an expansion in territory and power received a severe set-back during the rule of Susthitavarmā when there was a different alignment of political powers in Northern India. The decline of the imperial Guptas and failure of Yaśodharma to build a permanent empire saw the rise of a number of powers in Northern India, viz, the *Pusyabhūtis* of *Sthāneśvara*, the *Maukharis* of *Kanauj*, the Later Guptas of *Malwā* and *Magadha*. There was a constant struggle for supremacy among these powers with fortunes swinging from one end to the other. But with the rise of Mahāsenagupta, both *Magadha* and *Gauḍa* seemed to have come under the sway of *Malwā*.

It is likely that the kings of *Kāmarūpa* took full advantage of the struggle of the *Gauḍas* and the *Maukharis* and consolidated their positions in the *Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti*. Susthitavarmā possibly tried to extend his expedition of conquests to *Magadha*. Whatever it is, the hold of the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kings over *Puṇḍravardhana* confined the activities of the *Gauḍa* and the *Maukhari* kings also those of the Later Guptas to Southern and Western Bengal. Dāmodaragupta perhaps made an unsuccessful attempt at occupying the possessions of the *Kāmarūpa* kings. Susthitavarmā probably tried to make fresh conquests in Bihar and to further consolidate his position in the area.

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[84] See H. C. Roychowdhury's *Political History of Ancient India* (5th and 6th Edition) pp. 605 ff.

Such an enviable position of the *Kāmarūpa* kings possibly turned the attention of Mahāsenagupta who is said to have attacked the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom and secured a victory over the illustrious Susthitavarmā on the bank of the river *Lauhitya* (see No. 28 above). The reference to this victory is only poetic and it does not seem very likely that Mahāsena advanced far into *Kāmarūpa* and the western boundary of the kingdom was pushed back further east from the river *Karatoyā*. It is likely that the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom suffered some loss of territories in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area but the total loss suffered seemed not to be compatible with the preparations made for this campaign of conquest. Whatever it is, Mahāsenagupta carried the battle to the frontiers of the country of *Kāmarūpa* and Susthitavarmā might have died immediately after his defeat in it. The following verse from the *Ḍubi grant* seems to suggest that after the death of Susthitavarmā, the two princes, Supratiṣthita and Bhāskara who showed signs of great challenging valour (*praspardhi sattvodgamau*) were crowned kings in order of seniority (*Kramāt*). This clearly shows that there was a time-gap from the attack of Mahāsenagupta to the coronations of the princes and the attack by the *Gauḍa* army: The verse under discussion reads as follows— यावेतौ प्रथमे वयस्यपि पृथु-प्रस्पर्द्धिसत्त्वोद्गमौ
शक्रांशं विधिना प्रगत्य पितरि क्ष्मान्तर्न्निलीने क्रमात् ।
प्राप्ते गौड़बले बलिन्यपि जले विस्रम्भसंरम्भतः
स्तोकैरेवबलाच्युताविव बलैय्यौं लीलयोपस्थितौ ।।६८।।

The verse under reference clearly alludes to the attack of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom by the army of the *Gauḍa* monarch. It is quite likely that when Mahāsenagupta's occupation of the *Kāmarūpa* territories in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area followed in the heels by the death of Susthitavarmā reduced the power of the ruling house of *Prāgjyotiṣa* considerably, the *Gauḍa* king launched an attack on the kingdom when it was being ruled by an inexperienced prince of tender age. The reference to an attack by the *Gauḍa* army in this verse is very clear and the question of a second attack by king Mahāsenagupta is completely out of the picture.[85] Dr. Sarkar rightly points out that "there is no reference in the extant portion of his description to his struggles with Mahāsenagupta of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty as known from the *Aphsaḍ* inscription."[86]

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[85] There can be no reference to the two sons of Susthita in the *Aphsaḍ* inscription, because the fight mentioned is between Susthita and Mahāsenagupta. But the reference in the *Ḍubi* plates is to a fight between the king of *Gauḍa* on the one hand and the two *Kāmarūpa* princes on the other. The question of Mahāsenagupta leading a second attack on *Kāmarūpa* is nowhere suggested.

The *Ḍubi plates* supply a number of important informations hitherto not procured from any other source. Thus it is seen from the above verse that while both Supratiṣthitavarmā and Bhāskaravarmā were very tender in age, their father Susthitavarmā died and when their father was dead (पितरि क्ष्मान्तर्निलीने), they were in due time in order of seniority endowed with the qualities of Indra according to the rites of the *Śāstras* i.e., coronated in due course of time in order of seniority (of course after the elder's death). When the army of the king of the country of *Gauḍa* arrived, though it is very much powerful in naval warfare, the two brothers with a dose of over-confidence met it with a very small army like *Balarāma* and *Acyuta.*

According to Dr. D. C. Sarkar the comparison of the two princes with *Balarāma* and *Acyuta* is with reference to their fight with the demon chief Bāṇa described in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa.* He says—"The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* describes the victory of *Balarāma* and *Kṛṣna* over Bāṇāsura. It may be pointed out that *Balarāma*'s contribution in this battle is not regarded as conspicuous and is hardly emphasised in the account of the battle found in various sources.

"It is thus rather strange that the battle with Bāṇa was singled out by the poet from the numerous stories of the joint victories of *Balarāma* and *Kṛṣṇa* over their enemies. The poet may have been inspired to refer to Bāṇa's battle with *Balarāma* and *Kṛṣṇa* by the fact that the main battle between the *Gauḍa* elephant force (indirectly compared with Bāṇa's hosts) and the two brothers Supratiṣthitavarmā and Bhāskaravarmā (compared with *Balarāma* and *Kṛṣṇa*) was actually fought near Tezpur on the Brahmaputra in Assam, which is traditionally identified with Bāṇa's capital *Śoṇitapura* where the battle described in the epic and Purāṇic literature is said to have taken place."[87]

Though there is a comparison of the two princes with *Balarāma* and *Acyuta* and a reference to the battle with Baṇāsura, the learned scholar has strained his imagination too far to connect a fact of imagination with another imaginative fact. In doing so, the learned scholar has lost sight of the fact that in the battle of *Śoṇitapura*, *Balarāma* and *Kṛṣṇa* were the victors whereas in the battle under discussion the two princes were the vanquished. Therefore the comparison is inappropriate so far as the introduction of the battle of *Balarāma* and *Śrīkṛṣṇa* with *Bāṇāsura* near Tezpur is concerned. The poet, it appears, makes the comparison keeping in view the appropriateness of the indomitable energy and intrepidity of the two sides i.e. the two princes on the one hand and *Balarāma* and *Kṛṣṇa* on the other. Therefore by no stretch of the imagination the battle can be described as being fought in an interior place like *Śoṇitapura* in the state of *Kāmarūpa*. As we have stated earlier the attack of Mahāsenagupta reduced the extent of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom resulting in the loss of territories in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area, when the *Karatoyā* became the western boundary. With the death of Susthitavarmā, *Kāmarūpa* house could hardly regain its original power when another attack was launched on its territories, after a lapse of few years it seems, by the king of *Gauḍa* on the frontiers. But it cannot be said as is asserted by Dr. Sarkar that these two princes were taken captive to *Gauḍa*. This becomes apparent when we closely follow the text of the verses referred to by Dr. Sarkar. For a closer view of the wordings we quote the verses below:—

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[86] *Epigraphia Indica.* Vol. XXX. pp. 292-93.

[87] Ibid....pp. 293.

नाना सायकशक्तिचक्रकनयप्रासासिधातैः शितैः कृत्वा
व्याकुलविह्वलं बलमहो तत्तूर्णमेव द्विषाम् ।
तिग्मैस्तच्छरतोमरैः सुबहुशश्छन्नौ हि मोहं गतौ
वन्याभिः करिणां घटाभिरहितैर्व्यावेष्टय चासादितौ ।।७०।।
देशं स्वकं विधिवशादुपनीतयोश्च
तैच्छत्रुभिः खलु ययोर्गुणवत्तयैव ।
प्राप्य स्वराज्यमचिरात्पुनरागतौ तौ
पित्र्यं जगद्भृशमिदन्तु ननन्दतुश्च ।।७१।।

The translation of the above verses may be on the following lines:— "These two agitated and overwhelmed the army of the enemy by means of sharp blows from various weapons like arrows, javelins, discs and swords brandished with a clicking sound; alas ! all on a sudden being covered thickly by sharp missiles of the enemy fell into a swoon overtaken by the enemy by means of a large army of wild elephants."

"Through luck again they were taken to their own land by the enemy (themselves) owing certainly to their good qualities. Having arrived at their own kingdom within a very short time these two having returned caused excessive delight to their paternal kingdom."

Here from these references in the inscription it is clear that the army of *Kāmarūpa* was fully able to cope with the situation in the naval battle by its superiority in armoury but a simultaneous attack from all sides with a wild elephant force with spears and javelins caused the two princes to fall into a swoon.

Dr. Sarkar has given the verse an interpretation as follows:—". . . . . but, alas (*aho*), as the second half of the stanza says, they were completely covered by the striking weapons of the *Gauḍas* and fell into swoon (*mohaṅgatau*), when the enemies caused them to be encircled by their fierce elephants and captured both of them. The first half of verse 71 describes how the enemies i.e. the *Gauḍas*, took the two brothers to their own country (i.e. *Gauḍa*). This is said to have been due to their ill luck (*vidhivaśāt*); but the good qualities (*guṇavattāyaiva*), as said in the latter half of the stanza, soon enabled them to return home."[88]

The above explanation cannot be accepted on the following grounds—the word आसादित has no etymological meaning of being captured but meeting with, getting, attacking, overtaking. Therefore the two princes cannot be said to have been captured but they were overtaken by a large elephant army. The word "*aho*" is used to denote a sense of impending danger, a turn of the fortunes in the adverse direction. Therefore the word "*vidhivaśāt*" in the next verse is redundant in the sense of "as ill luck would have it" but is very much appropriate in the sense of "sheer good luck" which is used just to counteract the sense of "*aho*" used in the previous verse and to denote a sense of the change in fortune for the better. As regards his contention that Bhāskaravarmā re-accepted the royal fortune after a ceremony of purification because it once passed on to the enemy's hands, the less said the better, because, it is unbelievable that the *Gauḍa* king occupied the whole of *Kāmarūpa* carrying the battle as far as Tezpur. What appears probable is like this—after the death of Susthitavarmā, after a few years of his battle with Mahāsenagupta, Supratiṣthitavarmā ascended the throne. The kingdom which was much reduced in size on the west by this attack could not recover from this shock and was not being stabilised under the rule of a young and inexperienced ruler when the *Gauḍa* attack was launched. The two princes Supratiṣthita and Bhāskara, redoubtable as they were, launched a counter attack on the waters on the *Karatoyā* or some other stream forming the boundary. But the enemy who was very much powerful overwhelmed the *Kāmarūpa* army by a rear attack with a large elephant force and the princes then retreated through some other way and found themselves in their own state with the aid of some enemy agent the latter being charmed with their qualities. Instead of as a statement of fact, the retreat is poetically described. The fortunes of the state were accepted after the ceremony of purification after his brother's death. So this has no reference to the re-acceptance of the kingdom after it was conceded to him by the enemy after payment of ransom.

Thus it is seen that the kingdom was never wholly occupied by the enemy and that it suffered in prestige through the attack of the *Gauḍa* king ending in the death of Supratiṣthitavarmā, perhaps, a few years after the battle with the *Gauḍa* king, who might have been the powerful monarch Śaśāṅka himself.

(*xiv*) *Expansion of Kāmarūpa during Bhāskara's Time*

As soon as Bhāskaravarmā ascended the throne, he found himself in a predicament, because on the one hand the lost territories in the *Puṇḍravarḍhana* area through the attack of Mahāsenagupta could not have been redeemed by this time allowing the kingdom to suffer not only in prestige but also a diminution of size and on the other he had to witness the growth of a very formidable enemy in the shape of the *Gauḍa* power. So as soon as he came to the throne, Bhāskara was always on the lookout for an opportunity for retrieving the lost glory of Kāmarūpa by recovering the lost kingdom in *Puṇḍravardhana* and thwarting the evil designs of expansion at the cost of *Kāmarūpa* by the powerful *Gauḍa* house.

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[88] Ibid....p. 294.

We have given above an alignment of the state powers prevailing before the rise of Mahāsenagupta.[89] Originally the *Pusyabhūtis* of *Sthāneśvara* were matrimonially allied to and therefore in good relationships with the Later Guptas. But when the throne of Malwa was occupied by Devagupta, the *Puṣyabhūtis* contracted matrimonial relations with and became the friends of the *Maukharis*. This drove the later Gupta king Devagupta into all alliance with the *Gauḍa* king Śaśāṅka. Some time after Rājyavardhana's accession to the throne of *Sthāneśvara*, Devagupta in collusion with the *Gauḍa* king Śaśāṅka led an expedition against the *Maukharis* of Kanauj and was responsible for the murder of the *Maukhari* king Grahavarmā to whom was married Prabhākaravardhana's daughter Rājyaśrī. After the death of her husband, she was thrown to the prison at Kanauj. Rājyavardhana as soon as he received the news of the death of Grahavarmā led an expedition to Kanauj to release Rājyaśrī, his sister, and inflicting a crushing defeat on Devagupta brought the kingdom of Malwa under his control. But on his return to his capital after his victory at Kanauj he was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka, the *Gauḍa* king. At such a critical moment of besetting enmity and bristling problems did Harṣavardhana come to the throne of Sthāneśvara.

In a sense the political conditions of their states under which both Harṣavardhana and Bhāskaravarmā ascended their thrones were more or less allied in nature. Rājyavardhana the brother of Harṣa was murdered as also Supratiṣthita, the brother of Bhāskara died of the shocks of a *Gauḍa* attack. Śaśāṅka posed a great threat to the existence of both the states as a potential enemy and possibly the Gupta kingdom of Devagupta of the Later Guptas was extended to the frontiers of both the kingdoms. Both Śaśāṅka and Devagupta were allied in their machinations against their respective neighbouring kingdoms.

Bhāskaravarmā who in his predicament was so long on the lookout for an opportunity of avenging his defeat at the hands of the *Gauḍa* king and recovering the lost territory in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area immediately seized this opportunity and offered his hand of friendship to Harṣa.

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[89] See in this connection also "*Epigraphia Indica*", Vol. XXX. No. 47, p. 296.

This offer of friendship is very vividly described in the seventh chapter of the *Harṣacarita*.[90] It is stated there when the news of the murder of Rājyavardhana reached the court of Harṣa, he immediately started on a campaign for the recovery of Kanauj from Śaśāṅka's occupation. While on the way, Haṁsavega, the messenger from the court of Bhāskara met him and offered to him the hand of friendship of the king of *Kāmarūpa*. While this alliance is described in details in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, nothing concrete is known of the results of this alliance. Bāṇabhaṭṭa describes how Harṣa meets his sister in a state of monkhood in the forest and rescues her with words of promise and persuasion. In a sense the *Harṣacarita* ends where it should have begun for the supply of historical materials. Therefore nothing concrete is known as the result of this alliance. The Chinese sources say that Harṣa completed his course of expeditions and brought the "five Indias" under control within six years.[91] Such statements in the Chinese sources are quite vague in nature because the Ganjam plates aver the existence of Śaśāṅka as late as 619 A.D.[92] The *Harṣacarita*, however, gives indications of the coming battles of Harṣa with the king of *Gauḍa*. This clearly shows that Harṣa could not have finished his wars within six years. Harṣa appears to have continued his fights till almost the end of his career as is proved by his Koṅgoda (Orissa) campaign in about 643 A.D.

Therefore while nothing is known by way of the result of this alliance between Harṣa and Bhāskara from other sources, the *Nidhānpur Copper Plates Grant* of Bhāskaravarmā throws further light on the occupation of *Gauḍa* by Bhāskara. This charter was issued from the victorious military camp at *Karṇasuvarṇa* and confirms a land grant at *Chandrapuri viṣaya* in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area. This shows that both *Karṇasuvarṇa* and *Puṇḍravardhana* were under the dominion of Bhāskara who issued the grant immediately after the entry of his victorious army into *Karṇasuvarṇa* just again to confirm and consolidate his possession in the areas beyond *Karatoyā* lost during the military expedition of Mahāsenagupta. That the charter was enacted in *Karṇasuvarṇa* by Bhāskaravarmā while the whole host of the army present was announcing the victory all around the tent is clear from the wordings of the inscription itself, cf.—स्वस्ति महानौहस्त्यश्वपत्तिसम्पत्त्युपात्तजयशब्दान्वर्थस्कन्धवारात् कर्ण्णसुवर्ण्णवासकात्—*Nidhānpur Plates*, Plate I—lines 2-3.

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[90] अयमस्य च शैशवादारभ्य सङ्कल्पः स्थेयान् स्थाणुपादारविन्दद्वयादृते नाहमन्यं नमस्कुर्यामिति। ईदृशश्चायं मनोरथस्त्रिभुवनदुर्लभस्त्रयाणामन्यतमेन सम्पद्यते सकलभुवनविजयेन वा मृत्युना वा यदि वा प्रचण्डप्रतापज्वलनदिग्दाहेन जगत्येकवीरेण देवोपमेन मित्रेण—*Harṣacarita* VIIth Chapter. (Kāne's Edition, P 63, Second Edition, 1965).

[91] (Watters T: *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* I-II (Tr) 1904) cf. Watters T., p. 343 (W.I); also Beal. p. 213 Vol. I. cf. Beal Life p. 13.

(S. Beal—*Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Si Yu Ki) I-II London 1905. *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, London 1888, 1914).

[92] ओं स्वस्ति। चतुरुदधिसलिलवीचीमेखलानिलीनायां सद्वीपायां सागरपत्तनवत्यां वसुन्धरायां गोप्ताब्दे वर्षशतत्रये वर्त्तमाने महाराजाधिराज श्रीशशाङ्कराज्ये शासति गगनतल.....
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

The wordings of the charter do not indicate a joint victory over the king of *Gauḍa* as is asserted by P. Vidyāvinoda.[93] Possibly after the re-occupation of Kanauj by Harṣa from Śaśāṅka, and the conclusion of an alliance between himself and Bhāskara, the act of subduing the king of *Gauḍa* was left entirely to the latter and the inscription gives no indication of any credit of victory to Harṣa.

Some scholars hold that the victory achieved against the king of *Gauḍa* was one against Jayanāga and not Śaśāṅka. But it appears improbable that Bhāskara was making such colossal preparations to meet an insignificant king as Jayanāga. It is likely that after Mahāsenagupta's attack, when *Kāmarūpa* became weak to some extent and lost some areas in the *Puṇḍravardhana bhukti*, the *Gauḍa* king Śaśāṅka took advantage of this decline in power of the *Kāmarūpa* house after Susthita's death. If this is accepted we can say that Mahāsena attacked *Kāmarūpa* in the early nineties of the sixth century before the attack of the Chalukya king Kīrtivarmā who is credited to have conquered *Aṅga*, *Vaṅga*, *Kaliṅga* and *Magadha*. Kīrtivarmā's last date is 597-98 A.D. So allowing a few years for the death of Susthita, the *Gauḍa* ruler who attacked the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom in its frontiers might be Śaśāṅka. Bhāskara might have been wide awake to the dangers which a powerful *Gauḍa* king might pose to the security of *Kāmarūpa*. Therefore he availed of the first opportunity to forge an alliance with Harṣavardhana so that some of the forces of the later Guptas allied to the *Gauḍa* house might be engaged with him, and Bhāskara might be engaged with the *Gauḍa* power alone. The adoption of such a strategy by Bhāskara might have frightened Śaśāṅka who, with the advance of the *Kāmarūpa* army into *Gauḍa*, might have fled into Orissa. That *Gauḍa* and *Karṇasuvarṇa* were under the occupation of Bhāskara is proved by the fact that both Bhāskara and Yuan Chwang passed through *Gauḍa* to pay a visit to Harṣa's court.[94] Many scholars believe that Śaśāṅka's kingdom was occupied only just before the second meeting of Bhāskara with Harṣa. "Their main difficulty is that they cannot reconcile the expulsion of Śaśāṅka at an early date with his existence in Orissa as late as A.D. 619. Whatever may have been the participation of Harṣa in this act of the expulsion of Śaśāṅka, the fact remains that this was definitely done before Harṣa's campaigns against Pulakeśin II. He would not have gone to war with Pulakeśin if he had a dangerous enemy on his flank. While R. D. Banerjee's theory of Śaśāṅka's overthrow through the combined efforts of Harṣa and Bhāskara seems inconclusive since there is no reference to such a campaign in any source, he is right, when he holds, that the expulsion took place before the Ganjam plates 'and at the time he (Śaśāṅka) had lost his possesions in Bengal and was the master of Orissa only'. B. N. Sircar rightly contends that Harṣa's sway never reached Bengal and Śaśāṅka's kingdom passed on to Bhāskara, as otherwise the latter could not have controlled the sea-route to China, as testified by the pilgrim's biographer."[95]

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[93] *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*—p. 5.

[94] Also the following fact conclusively proves that a major portion of Bengal was under the occupation of Bhāskaravarmā—The river Gaṅgiṇikā forming the north-western boundary of the donated land of the *Nidhānpur* plates has also constituted the western boundary of the village Krauñcaśvabhra in the *maṇḍala* of *Vyāghrataṭa* of *Puṇḍravardhana bhukti* of the *Khālimpur Copper Plate Inscription* of Dharmapāla cf. श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्द्धन भुक्त्यन्तःपातिव्याघ्रतटीमण्डलसम्वद्ध-महन्ताप्रकाशविषये क्रौञ्चश्वभ्र नाम ग्रामोऽस्य च सीमा पश्चिमेन गङ्गिनिका lines 30-32 From the *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions* by S. K. Maity and R. R. Mukherjee.

Harṣa died in the year 648 A.D. and after his death his minister Arjuna usurped the throne of Kanauj. As soon as Yuan Chwang returned to China, he was able to prevail upon the Chinese emperor to send a diplomatic mission to the court of Harṣa's successor. But instead of receiving the envoy of this mission with courtesy and respect, Arjuna ill-treated the members of the mission and killed some of them. The rest led by Wang-hiuen-tse escaped to Nepal. The kings of Nepal and Tibet helped Wang-hiuen-tse with a large force and Bhāskara also sent a large force of thirty thousand men. With such a big force, Wang-hiuen-tse overthrew Arjuna and took him captive to China. Bhāskaravarmā's reign possibly did not last long after this event in his career.

We have already discussed above that Sylhet and Tripura came to be under the sway of the *Kāmarūpa* kings from the days of Kalyāṇavarmā. The same applies during the reign of Bhāskaravarmā also, who very firmly established his rule in the area by setting up a certain number of feudatories kept under control by the brandishing of the might of his own arm. This is suggested in the *Nidhānpur Plates* themselves, cf.—स्वभुजबलतुलितसकलसामन्तचक्रविक्रमः समरविजितनरपतिशतविहितविविधनुतिवचनकुसुमरचितकीर्त्तिचित्रावतंसाङ्क.....(lines 38-40)

The discovery of the clay seal at Nālandā is an important event and is in complete consonance with the application of the epithet "King of Eastern India" applied to Bhāskara by the Chinese sources. Probably the epithet implies Bhāskara's dominion besides including the whole of present Assam included a major portion of Bengal and some portions of Bihar as far as the Nālandā region. The account of the pilgrim points out that the rulers of *Kāmarūpa* controlled the sea-route to China. This must evidently be through the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. The same pilgrim learnt from the people that to the east of *Kāmarūpa* was a series of hills which reached as far as the confines of China. This clearly shows that the eastern boundary of *Kāmarūpa* touched the hilly regions bordering on China and Burma. The route which is said to have been taken by the pilgrim himself to come over to *Kāmarūpa* is as follows—The pilgrim crossed over a large river and entered *Kāmarūpa*. The kingdom was more than a myriad *li* in circuit and its capital about thirty *li*.[96] It is probable that the Nālandā region came under the sway of Bhāskara not long after the recovery of the areas in *Puṇḍravardhana* who placed a relative of his, Devavarmā by name as ruler in the area described as the king of Eastern India ruling in the first half of the seventh century A.D. "This is confirmed by the accounts of I-Tsing, who states that the temple lands along with the revenue of 20 villages near about Nālandā belonging originally to Śrīgupta, reverted to Devavarmā of Eastern India who was willing to give back the whole endowment in case any priest came from China."[97]

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[95] Dr. Chowdhury—p. 176.

(*xv*) *Advent of the Sālastambha Family*

The first copper-plates inscription of Ratnapāla gives the information that when the kings of the *Bhauma-Nāraka* dynasty were ruling the earth, Sālastambha, a lord of the *Mleccha* family, occupied the throne through an adverse turn in the fortune and the number of kings that ruled in this family was twice ten, cf.—

एवं वंशक्रमेण क्षितिमथ त्तिखिलां भुञ्जतां नारकानां
राज्ञां म्लेच्छाधिनाथो विधिचलनवशादेव जग्राह राज्यम् ।
शालस्तम्भः क्रमेऽस्यापि हि नरपतयो विग्रहस्तम्भमुख्या
विख्याताः सम्बभूवुर्द्विगुणितदशतासंख्यया संविभिन्नाः ।।६।।

From the above verse it is quite clear that after the end of the rule of Bhāskara a coup was organised by someone of the name of Sālastambha to occupy the throne of Bhāskara. From the Tezpur Plates of Vanamālavarmadeva we know that this Sālastambha is the ancestor of the line of kings in which Prālambha and Śrī Harṣadeva ruled, cf.—

तस्यान्वये भूत् क्षितिपालमौलिमाणिक्यरोचिः स्फुरिताङ्घ्रिपीठः ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषेशः क्षतवैरिवीरः प्रालम्भ इत्यद्भुतनामधेयः ।।७।।
स हि पूर्व्वैर्नरपतिगुणसमूहरागानुरञ्जितदिगन्तः
सालस्तम्भप्रमुखैः श्रीहरिषान्तैर्महीपालैः ।।८।।

Some of the words of these two verses from the Tezpur plates of Vanamāladeva differ in their readings in the Parvatiya plates of the same king. Thus the name प्रालम्भ is given as सालम्भ, अद्भूत as उद्धत, हरिष as हर्ष। These differences are due to the fact that the Tezpur plates were lost long ago.

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[96] K. L. Barua—p. 85. *Watters on Yuan Chwang* Vol. II. p. 187.

[97] Dr. Chowdhury—p. 180.

Whatever it is, we know it for certain that after Bhāskaravarmā a new line of kings was established in the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom by a lord of the *Mlecchas* whose name was Sālastambha. This definitely establishes the Non-Aryan character of the new house and therefore connection of Sālastambha with Bhāskara is obscure.

It is an important question to decide whether Sālastambha occupied the throne immediately after the death of Bhāskaravarmā or a time-gap followed his death when he established himself in Bhāskara's place. It can be inferred from the existing records that Bhāskara left no issue behind him; at least there is no reference to his having any progeny or entering into a married life. This possibly left a void after his death and there being many aspirants to the royal throne, it is likely that a scramble for power followed and ultimately a chief of the *Mleccha* dynasty occupied the throne.

(*xvi*) *Devavarmā's Rule*

We have stated above that Devavarmā was appointed by Bhāskara as his regent to administer the possessions of the Nālandā regions. This Devavarmā is identified by many a scholar with Sālastambha stating that such names are *viruda* and are allied to many other names such as Raṇastambha, Saṃgrāmastambha, Vigrahastambha etc. The purpose is to show that Devavarmā is a surname and stands for Varmadeva. The king according to many scholars is Avantivarmā>Avantivarmadeva mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa*. The reason behind this identification is stated to be the molestation of the kingdom by the *Mlecchas* during the rule of the said Avantivarmā (*mlecchairudvījyamānā*) the establishment of whose identity with the *Kāmarūpa* house is facilitated by a reference to the Boar incarnation of Lord *Viṣṇu*. While doing so these scholars overlook the fact that while Avantivarmā is described as himself subduing the rebellion of the *Mlecchas*, Sālastambha is described as leading the *Mleccha* rebellion leading ultimately to the occupation of the *Kāmarūpa* throne. Moreover the reading *pārthivo'vantivarmā* in the said *Bharatavākya* is of doubtful authenticity and is not universally accepted.[100] Therefore, to make the verse a premise of argument for a certain conclusion on the political situation of the time, the date of

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[100] वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमतनुबलामास्थितस्यानुरूपां
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगतां शिश्रिये भूतधात्री।
म्लेच्छैरुद्वीज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना पीवरं राजमूर्त्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः॥

Bharatavākya of the *Mudrārākṣasam*

Viśākhādatta is to be conclusively determined first, for on it depends which of the three readings Avantivarmā, Candragupta and Rantivarmā is to be accepted.

Therefore we cannot definitely say that some monarch whatever his name whether Avantivarmā or Devavarmā ruled after Bhāskara. It is far-fetching to bring Devavarmā, a governor of Bhāskara in the Nālandā region to the throne of *Kāmarūpa* and then allow a few years to lapse after the death of Bhāskara before the throne was occupied through a *Mleccha* resurrection by Sālastambha. What seems probable is like this—when with the death of Bhāskara, the firm rule of the *Kāmarūpa* house came to an end, his governors in the different areas, probably all selected from the royal family, fell out with one another for the throne and ultimately Sālastambha a local chief of the *Mleccha* tribe came out successful in the fray to occupy the throne. Sālastambha though a *Mleccha* Chief is not an usurper in the real sense of the word, because Bhagadatta from whom the *Bhauma-Naraka-Varman* family claims descent was himself a scion of the race of the *Kirātas* and the *Cinas*. Dr. P. C. Chowdhury is right when he observes—"The supposed gap between Bhāskara and Sālastambha is not supported by any genuine source, and we have reasons to believe that Sālastambha was not an usurper" (p. 189). But it is very difficult to agree with him when he observes "......so, it appears likely that Sālastambha had another name with the surname '*Varmadeva*'. If Devavarmā of the Chinese records was only a surname with its components reversed, we may identify him (with the surname 'Varmadeva') as Avantivarmā of the *Mudrārākṣasa*" (p. 194) because it rests on very weak premises of chain suppositions and a doubtful reading of the text in the *Bharatavākya* of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

(*xvii*) *Possession of the Throne of Kāmarūpa by Sālastambha*

It is quite likely that while Sālastambha became the master of the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa*, he occupied the entire possessions of Bhāskara including those in *Puṇḍravardhana* excepting the Nālandā area where Devavarmā possibly continued to rule until it was occupied by Ādityasena near about 673 A.D., because the accounts of I-Tsing give the information regarding the occupation of Magadha by Devavarmā.

(*xviii*) *The Name of the Capital City*

Of all the kings of this dynasty we have so far possessed inscriptions only of three kings, Harjaravarmā, Vanamālavarmadeva, and Balavarmā. These inscriptions—the *Hāyunthal Grant* and the *Tezpur Rock Inscription* of Harjaravarmadeva, the *Tezpur Plates* and the *Parvatīyā Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva, the *Nowgong* and the *Howrāghāṭ Inscriptions* of Balavarmā—are six in number. These inscriptions give the name of the capital city of the kings of this dynasty as *Hārūppeśvara*. The *Hāyuṅthal Grant* of Harjaravarmā records as follows:

श्रीमान् हारूप्पेश्वरावासि जयस्कन्धावारपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपरममाहेश्वरमातापितृपादानुध्यातहर्ज्जरवर्म्मदेवः कुशली (Lines 21-22).

The *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva give a very imposing description of the capital city which is named as *Hārūppeśvara* situated on the bank of the Brahmaputra. The *Nowgong Plates* of Balavarmā III record the name of the capital city as *Hārūppeśvara* (line 29). But Dr. D. C. Sarkar while determining the texts of the *Howrāghāṭ Plates* of Balavarmā III and the *Parvatīyā Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva adopts the reading *Haḍappesvara*[101] in place of *Hārūppeśvara*. His remarks on the name of the capital city of the second line of *Prāgjyotiṣa* kings are pertinent.[102] Additionally it has been suggested that *Haḍappeśvara* the capital city of the second line of the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kings (the *Sālastambha dynasty*) was situated at *Dah-Parvatīyā* in the vicinity of modern Tezpur in the Darrang District of Assam.[103] But this cannot be accepted as final until the location of the temple of *Śrī Kāmeśvara* and *Mahāgaurī* on the *Kāmakūṭa Hill* is finally determined, because the reading in the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamāla definitely places *Haḍappeśvara* not only on the bank of the *Lauhitya* but also near the *Kāmakūṭa* hill on which is situated the temple of the said deities.[104]

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[101] *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XXXII. p. 22; line 32 of the inscription Ibid Vol. XXIX p. 156; line 47 of the inscription.

[102] In his introductory notes to the *Parbatīyā Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva he remarks—"......verse 24 of the present record as well as of the lost plates refers to the re-building of a fallen temple of Hetuka-śūlin (Śiva) by Vanamālavarman. Whatever may be the real significance of the word *Hetuka* in this context, Bhaṭṭāchārya's emendation *Hāṭapa-śūlin* to indicate the god installed at the city of *Hāṭapeśvara* seems to be entirely beside the mark. Sixthly, it is usually believed that the name of the capital city of the second dynasty of *Prāgjyotiṣa* kings was *Hārūppeśvara*. This is no doubt the reading of the name preferred by R. Hoernle in line 29 of the Nowgong plates of Balavarman. It must however be pointed out that Hoernle did not forget to note that "the first two *akṣaras* of the name are not quite distinct; possibly *sarū*. In line 21 of the *Hāyuṅthal plate* of Harjaravarman, Bhaṭṭāchārya reads the name as *Hāṭappeśvara* (although not the slightest trace of *ā* sign on *h* is found in the photograph of the plate published by him) and corrects it to *Hārūppeśvara*. In line 1 of the *Tezpur Stone Inscription* of the same king, the reading seems to be *Haṭappeśvara* although Bhaṭṭāchārya suggests *Hārūppeśvara*. The late Mm. H. P. Śāstrī reads the name in this record as *Hārūppeśvara*. As regards the first *akṣara*, however, he says, "the *ā* stroke has been obliterated by a fissure in the rock; but we know from other inscriptions of this dynasty that the name of the capital was *Hārūppeśvara*." In regard to the second *akṣara* of the name, he says, "There is a slight peeling off of the stone close to the left-hand limb of *ra*. Hence the Govt. epigraphist (H. Krishna Śāstrī) read it as *kka*." In a note on the reading of this damaged inscription that master epigraphist, F. Kielhorn, read the name as Ha—ppeśvara and observed as follows "Of the name which follows upon *svasti* the initial consonant (*h*) is clear, but it is uncertain whether the first syllable of the name is simply *ha* or *hā* or *hu*; and the second syllable which I have omitted is quite doubtful. The same name we apparently have in line 5 of plate II b of the Nowgong District plates of Balavarmadeva of *Prāgjyotiṣa* where by Dr. Hoernle it has been read *Hārūppeśvara*, with the note that the first two syllables might possibly be *saru*. But in the published photograph of the plates the second syllable hardly looks to me like *rū* and in the impressions on our stone inscription to read *rū* seems impossible. It will thus be seen

(*xix*) *Location of the Capital City*

But it is pertinent to point out here that the Copper Plates Inscription II of Indrapāla refers to the donated land as coming under the district of *Mandī* in the *Paṇḍarī* area and bound in the east by a portion of the village *Markkamyīkokva Rājaputra* dedicated to the deities *Mahāgaurī* and *Kāmeśvara*.[105] But the most notable feature in the description of the land and the reference to *Kāmeśvara* and *Mahāgaurī* in this inscription here is that in the reference, the *Kāmakūṭa hill* is conspicuous by its

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that the reading of the first two *akṣaras* of the name *Hārūppeśvara* is doubtful in all these cases, though the first of them is probably *ha* and not *hā*. As to the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarma the name is found in the rough transcript published in the JASB as *Harayesana*, although it may be pointed out, the letter *ḍ* has always been read by the transcriber as r as a result of the resemblance between the forms of the two letters. The *Parbatīyā* plates under discussion read the name of the capital city of the second line of *Prāgjyotiṣa* kings (i.e. the house of Sālāṣtambha) unmistakably as *Haḍappeśvara* which was apparently also the reading of the lost plates. This seems to suggest that the readings intended in the records of Harjaravarmā and Balavarmā were *Haṭappeśvara* and *Haḍappeśvara* respectively."—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX No. 20 pp. 150-51.

[103] E.I. Vol. XXIX. No. 20 p. 152; also see *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Introduction, p. 22, fn. 2.

[104] cf.. सकलसुरासुरमुकुटमणिमयूखमञ्जरीरञ्जितचरणपीठाभ्यां श्रीकामेश्वरमहागौरीभट्टारिकाभ्यामधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः सततनितम्बक्षालनादधिकतरपवित्रपयः सम्पूर्णस्रोतसा . . . . श्रीलौहित्यभट्टारकेण सनाथश्रीहारुप्पेश्वरात्. . . .etc. etc.
But the *Nowgong Plates* of Balavarmā III state merely that the city *Hārūppeśvara* is on the bank of the *Lauhitya* cf.—

अभवज्जयकरिकुम्भस्खलितोर्म्मेरमलवारिधेस्तस्य ।
लौहित्यस्य समीपे तदेव पैतामहं कटकम् ।।२५।।
तत्र श्रीमति हारुप्पेश्वरनामनि कटके कृतवसतिरित्यादि ।

[105] सीमा पूर्व्वेण महागौरी । कामेश्वरयोः सत्कशासनमर्क्कम्यीकोक्वराजपुत्रपाटक ।
Second Copper Plates Grant of Indrapāla line 49.

Here the meaning of the prākṛtised words are not clear. Therefore the translation given may or may not approximate the sense intended by the composer.

absence. So it is quite likely that in the *Mandī* district there might have been a plot of land endowed for the management of the temple of *Kāmeśvara* and *Mahāgaurī*. Moreover the area known by the name of *Paṇḍarī* is even now traceable and the mauza in which the present Rangia railway station of N.E.F. Railway is situated is still known as Pāṇḍurī.[106] This area leaves no trace of the ruins of such a temple. Again it is quite unlikely that the waters of the Brahmaputra would have been described as being sanctified by the touch of the foot of a hill situated a few miles interior from its actual streams. Therefore the argument that the city was somewhere near the present Tezpur town may appear plausible. But at the same time we also cannot overlook the fact that the deities *Kāmeśvara* and *Mahāgaurī* might have been the names of *Mahādeva* and *Kāmākhyā* on the Nīlācala mountain. Nevertheless if in the Tezpur Rock Inscription of Harjaravarmā the reading प्रवरभूमित्यवरपर्वंत उत्तरात् referring to the Abor hills as forming the northern boundary of the area around *Haḍappeśvara* is correct, it is impossible to state that the city was somewhere near the present Tezpur town, because the Abor hills are more than a hundred miles away to the north-east instead of being in the proximate north. The word *Abara* here may stand for particular ethnic group of people of the northern hills.[107] In that case our previous reference to the area of *Uparipattana* somewhere being on the upper stream of the *Brahmaputra* might be correct and it is likely that some scion of the race of Bhagadatta might have been ruling from the earlier times in that area at *Haḍappeśvara* as a governor representing the house of *Kāmarūpa*. With the end of the rule of Bhāskaravarmā, Sālastambha might have declared himself the lord of the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom as far as the *Puṇḍravardhana* area. This problem of identifying the location of the city of *Haḍappeśvara* is intimately connected with a systematic exploration of the area. The traces of a very high civilization recently dug out in the Aruṇācal region with the lay-out of a big township are very important and the determination of the nature and content of this civilization will be very pertinent to the determination of the location of the city of *Haḍappeśvara*. Until this is done, nothing could be definitely said on this point. As to the contents of the *Tezpur Rock Inscription* of Harjaravarmā, the incorporation of the name of *Haḍappeśvara* does not imply that Tezpur or its suburbs were the capital itself. The reading in the text is very clear and precludes the area from being the location of the city, cf.— हारूप्पेश्वरपुरावस्थित.......etc. etc. This shows that the king was residing in the city *Hārūppeśvara* (that was at a distance from the place) and that the area was under the direct management of a great feudatory general (*Mahāsāmanta Senādhyakṣa*) Śrī Sucitta by name at that particular time—महासामन्तसेनाध्यक्षश्रीसुचित्तस्यअधिकारदिने। Such an assumption fits in well with the description of the city in the *Tezpur Copper Plates Inscription* of Vanamāladeva and lucidly explains in that description such portions as—उदयवेलाचलोत्थितोत्तुङ्गतरुशरणविश्रान्तमत्तवर्हिणकेकारवोद्भ्रान्तभुजगव्रातमुक्तफुत्कार प्रकम्पितानेक तरुविगलित कुसुमनिकरपरिमलसुरभिसलिलेन and उदयतटमहीधरोपवनगन्धिपर्णाङ्कुरभुजां.... कस्तूरिकामृगाणां मदगन्धेन.....etc. etc. What the Tezpur copper plates grant establish beyond any shade of doubt is that the *Brahmaputra* waters near this town both up-stream and downstream were a strong naval base for the defence of the capital city *Haḍappeśvara* the location of which is still uncertain.

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[106] See *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*—p. 131 and foot-note No. 3.

[107] The word Abara, if it is a correct reading may stand for the tribes of the northern hills as represented by the present day *Aruṇācal* area.

Col. Dalton*** thinks that they (Abors) are the same people as the Hill Miris, Daflas and Akās, though in personal appearance at any rate they differ materially from the last-named clan. (*Assam Census Report*, 1901, Part I, Ch XI, p. 121) quoted from the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī pariśiṣta* p. 191 fn.

Some scholars say that not to speak of the days of the earlier monarchs of the line of Śālastambha, even during the time of Harjaravarmā, *Haḍappeśvara* was not the capital city and that from an encampment at *Haḍappeśvara* during the course of his victorious march Harjara issued the *Hāyuṅthal* grant.[107a] Such an inference is based on a wrong understanding of the line that refers to the capital city *Hārūppeśvara* in the *Hāyuṅthal* grant stating as follows—श्रीमान् हारुप्पेश्वरावासि जयस्कन्धावारपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपरममाहेश्वर मातापितृपादानुध्यातहर्जंखर्मदेवः कुशली। It is quite clear from the line itself that the king was a resident of *Hārūppeśvara* and that he was on a victorious march in a camp or was proceeding with his victorious army when the charter was issued by the crown prince. It may be noted in this context that the word स्कन्धावार means not only an encampment but also an army, a division of an army, a royal residence (cf.—Apte's Dictionary, p. 1003). So the word स्कन्धावार has a wider scope for interpretation here. Additionally it is relevant to point out here that the reading in the original as determined by P. Vidyāvinoda was हाटप्पेश्वरावासी which is split from the long compound in the reading of the *Śāsanāvalī*.

[107a] "The city of *Hārūppeśvara* where the king is said to have resided temporarily, is called an excellent camp, indicating that it was not his permanent capital, to which we have already made a reference. It was therefore, a second capital, with a grandeur befitting the beautiful scenery on the bank of the Brahmaputra and its establishment was no doubt considered important, to maintain contact with the neighbouring tribes"—Dr. Chowdhury, p. 223.

अभवज्जयकरिकुम्भस्खलितोर्म्मेरमलवारिधेस्तस्य।
लौहित्यस्य समीपं तदेव पैतामहं कटकम् ॥

The word कटक here means a capital. cf.

कटकोऽस्त्री नितम्बेऽद्रेर्दन्तिनां दन्तमण्डले।
सामुद्रलवणे राजधानीवलययोरपि ॥ इति मेदिनी।
कटकस्त्वद्रिनितम्बे बाहुभूषणे सेनायां राजधान्याञ्च इति हैम।

Even if the meaning be a "camp" as determined by Dr. Chowdhury, a camp cannot be so permanent as to be hereditary.

(xx) *The Reign of Harjaravarmā—Extent of His Kingdom*

Ignoring therefore the question of the location of *Haḍappeśvara* we are pretty certain that the administration of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom under the new dynasty of rulers was carried out from *Haḍappeśvara*. It is quite likely that the crown prince issued this charter from the capital itself and when nothing is known about the time, and circumstances of its issue, surmises on these points will lead us nowhere. But this is certain that Harjara was a paramount monarch and the high dignities conferred on him by the above phraseologies परमेश्वर and परमभट्टारक are in complete agreement with the role, when the local mountain powers are locked among themselves in battles for taking possession of the disputed territories, of an intermediary or arbiter which indicates nothing but a position of supremacy over all these chiefs.[108] His suzerainty over the mountain chiefs indicates that his kingdom extended over a wide mountainous area and therefore this can be concluded that the entire eastern Assam with all its hilly areas was included in his kingdom. His *Tezpur Rock Inscription* does not give any indication of the extent of his kingdom and the word therein *vardhamānavijayarājye* gives an inkling of a constantly expanding dominion through conquests. Therefore we shall not be far away from the truth if we say that the *Hāyuṅthal* grant might have been issued by crown prince Vanamāladeva when the king was sojourning in campaigns of conquest. Anyway the words गिरिदरिप्रान्तेषु यस्ता स्थिताः (cf.—the *śloka* under No. 108) indicate that a larger number of mountain chiefs owed allegiance to the king of *Kāmarūpa* and remind us of the description of king Bhagadatta who was said to have been surrounded by a large army of *Kirātas* and *Cīnas*.

We do not know how far in the west the kingdom of Harjaravarmā extended. In the absence of documentary evidence, it is possible only to draw inferences and say that it did not shrink into the east of the *Karatoyā* river and extended beyond that river to the west, for we do not hear of any catastrophe or land-slide victory of foreigners through invasions in the period preceding the reign of Harjaravarmā from the days of Harṣavarmā who has been referred to on a slab of black stone placed behind the bull opposite to the western door of the temple of

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[108] राज्यार्थं विजिगीषवो गिरिदरिप्रान्तेषु यस्तास्थिताः
सन्ध्यर्थं शरणङ्गता नृपसुताः स्थाने यमध्यासते ।
देवे यत्र गुणा वसन्ति च समं सर्व्वात्मना श्रेयसि
पर्य्यालोचनगोचरादविरसो यस्य क्षणो लभ्यते ।।१२।।

Paśupati, as the Lord of *Gauḍa, Odra, Kaliṅga* and *Kośala* and as the scion of the race of Bhagadatta whose daughter Rājyamatī was married to king Jayadeva of Nepal. (See F.N. verse in No. 29 above.) Though there is a controversy as to the identity of this king Harṣadeva, still by common concensus, he is agreed upon as the Harṣavarmā, the predecessor of Harjaravarmā of the *Sālastambha* dynasty.[109] This is therefore a clear proof that the kingdom of Harjaravarmā was much extensive from very early times and that even during the rule of Harṣavarmā it extended as far as Orissa. This does not mean that these kingdoms came under the actual domination of the *Kāmarūpa* house but that it shows that by actual conquests the sphere of influence of the royal *Kāmarūpa* house was much widened so as to comprise areas bordering on the sea-coast. This appears as not mere exaggeration but a statement of facts, because we are sure that during the reign of Bhāskaravarmā the entire Nālandā and *Gauḍa* areas were under the *Kāmarūpa* dominion. When Sālastambha occupied the throne, he might have occupied all the areas of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom except Nālandā where Devavarmā possibly remained the king.

(*xxi*) *Kings of the Sālastambha Dynasty before Harjaravarmā*

After Sālastambha, the kings Vijaya and Pālaka seem not to be very much powerful and might have possibly somehow maintained the original limits of the kingdom. After Pālaka, ruled Kumāradeva who might not have been famous. Although we have an inscription donating a copper-bell for the worship of Indra by one Kumārarāja, still he cannot be identified with this Kumāra. The possibility of this king being Bhāskaravarmā cannot be lost sight of when he is spoken of as Kumāra.[110] After him king Vajradeva is said to have occupied the throne, but his is a mere name and no records of his life are left. When the kingdom was ruled after Sālastambha by these insignificant rulers it was quite natural that the kingdom showed signs of disintegration and the neighbouring powers were trying to catch hold of this weakness. It therefore appears quite likely that Śrī Harṣavarmā of *Kāmarūpa* had to wage a number of relentless wars to consolidate his position in his own state and after entering into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Nepal had carried his victorious arms to the distant countries like *Odra, Kaliṅga, Kośala* etc. so that these powers might be kept at bay in a state of vassalage.

After Harṣavarmā came to the throne Balavarmā. The *Hāyuṅthal* grant is very clear on this point, cf.—

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[109] See on this point Dr. Chowdhury pp. 204-206

[110] For this see our introductory note to the same inscription.

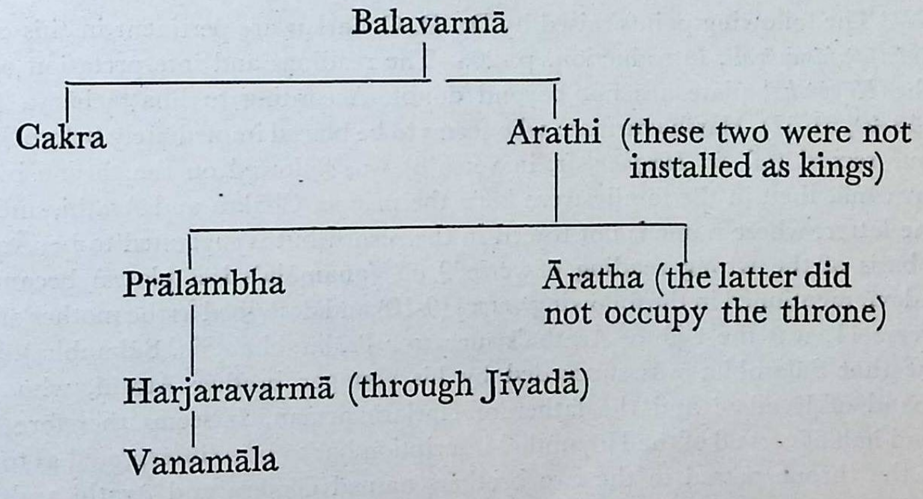
नाकपृष्ठं गते राज्ञि तस्यैव तनयो भुवि ।
बलवर्म्मालिं नृपतिः सोऽपि मृत्युवशं गतः ।।७।।

This king appears to have died an early death. The *Hāyunthal* grant narrates that he had two sons Cakra and Arathi who were very much haughty and were disloyal to their father. Therefore the son of the younger of these two brothers ascended the throne. The readings after this are very much indistinct, the plate being defaced, and the name of the queen only can be read as Jīvadevī who is described as the mother of Harjara. But in the lost plates of Vanamāladeva i.e., the *Tezpur Plates*, both Prālambha and Āratha are described as brothers, the former having ascended the throne, it is likely, after Balavarmā's death. It is very clear from the statement in the said inscription that Āratha actually was a king. The inscription reads as follows[111]—

दिवमारूढ़ो ह्यस्य च भूमिभुजोथैकवैरिवीरोऽभूत् ।
भ्राता शौर्य्यत्यागैरसमानादारथोतिनृपः ।।६।।

This verse rendered into prose reads as follows—अथ शौर्यत्यागैः असमानाद्(हेतोः) अतिनृपः आरथ इति अस्य भूमिभुजः (प्रालम्भस्य) वैरिवीरः भ्राता दिवमारूढ़ः अभूत् ।।

Here Āratha is described as surpassing the kings by virtue of his superiority in valiance and benevolence, and he appears to have become king after Sālambha. Āratha's queen is Jivadevī from whose womb was born Harjaravarmadeva. From these two inscriptions the genealogy of this dynasty is constructed by P. N. Vidyāvinoda as follows:


Balavarmā
Cakra
Arathi (these two were not installed as kings)
Prālambha
Āratha (the latter did not occupy the throne)
Harjaravarmā (through Jīvadā)
Vanamāla

It may be noticed in this connection that the *Hāyunthal* grant is incomplete and the middle plate of this inscription that is in hand is mutilated and cannot properly be read. The original *Tezpur Plates* have been completely lost and the readings adopted are those of Col. Jenkins in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. P. N. Vidyāvinoda has claimed some improvement upon the readings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal through his own imagination. Therefore the reading of these two inscriptions as adopted in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī* by P. N. Vidyāvinoda are not clearly authentic and cannot entirely be accepted as the basis for the construction of the genealogy of the *Śālastambha* dynasty. But the *Parvatiyā Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva are still preserved in the Assam State Museum and the readings there are very clear. According to the reading of this plate, Prālambha is a mistake for Sālambha and that Harjara's father is not Sālambha, but his brother Arathi who became king after Sālambha and begot Harjaravarmā through his queen Śrī Jīvadevī. P. N. Vidyāvinoda by his doubtful reading and wrong interpretation of verse 8 of the *Hāyuṅthal* grant introduces Cakra and Arathi. Again by wrong analysis and interpretation of verses 7, 8, 9, 10 of the *Tezpur Plates* he states that it is doubtful whether Āratha occupied the throne and that Prālambha was the father of Harjara by his queen Śrī Jīvadevī. The above verses of the lost *Tezpur Plates* even as read by P. N. Vidyāvinoda are clear and how he could interpret them in the manner cited above is not intelligible. If the word "*divamārūdhah*" is constructed with the name of the king Prālambha, we get the meaning in complete agreement with the verses in the *Parvatīyā Plates* of Vanamāladeva.[112]

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[111] We have retained the readings of the Tezpur Plates adopted by P. N. Vidyāvinoda and showed their differences from those of the *Parvatīyā* Plates in foot-notes.

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[112] The following points raised by Dr. D. C. Sarkar are pertinent in this context—"*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, introduction, p. 20.—The readings and interpretation of verse 8 of the *Hāyuṅthal* plate are not beyond doubt. According to Bhaṭṭāchārya (op. cit., pp. 48-49, 51-52), Harṣhavarman, who seems to be placed immediately before Sālambha in our record (cf. *Śrī Harṣhāntair*, in verse 8) was followed on the throne by his son Balavarmā, then in the family were born the princes Chakra and Arathi, and the son of the latter, whose name is not traced in the record but is suggested to be Āratha (on the basis of the wrong reading of verse 9 of Vanamāla's lost plates) became king; Jīvadevī, mentioned in the following verses (9-10) and described as the mother of Harjara in verse 11, was the wife of Āratha's successor Prālambha (Sic. Sālambha). We now know that Sālambha was succeeded by his younger brother Arathi, who was the husband of Jīvadevī and the father of Harjaravarman. It seems therefore that the second half of verse 8 of the Hāyuṅthal inscription has to be so interpreted as to indicate that the throne passed to the two brothers named Chakra and Arathi and that the younger of the two brothers was the husband of Jīvadevī. If this has to be accepted, then it has possibly to be suggested that Chakra was another name of Sālambha and that the rule of Balavarman intervening between that of Harṣhavarman and Sālambha was ignored in Vanamāla's records because that king was succeeded by Chakra alias Sālambha after a very short rule." —From the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, No. 20, p. 149, foot-note 4.

(*xxii*) *Extent during the Reign of King Vanamālavarmadeva*

But when we come to the days of Vanamāladeva, we get clear proof that his rule extended over a large part of modern Bengal and possibly the entire *Puṇḍravardhana* area along with parts of *Gauḍa* and Bihar was under his occupation, because the *Tezpur Plates* clearly state that the donated land was to the west of the Teesta river (See foot-note 77 above). On this point P. N. Vidyāvinoda has opined as follows—"The donated land of the inscription was to the west of the *Trisrotā*. The present name of the *Trisrotā* is Teestā. Therefore the land in question must have been situated in the modern Rangpur district. So it is clear that the traditional boundary of *Kāmarūpa* the *Karatoyā* river (described in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* through such expressions as करोतोयां समारभ्य) after crossing which Yuan chwang was said to have entered into the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom was maintained during the days of Vanamālavarmadeva." (*Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, p. 59). This remark of the Vidyāvinoda is not acceptable in view of the fact that the *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāla clearly state that the king exercised his sway as far as the ocean—cf.,

जलनिधितटवनमालासीमावधिमेदिनीपतित्वस्य ।
योग्य इति नाम धाता चक्रे वनमाल इति यस्य ।।१७।।

However we cannot exactly determine the courses of the two rivers the *Karatoyā* and the Teestā then flowing or in the alternative we do not know whether these two rivers ultimately formed one stream before flowing into the Brahmaputra. Again the *Chandrapuri Viṣaya* that is mentioned in the *Nidhānpur Grant* of Bhāskaravarmā and that is described as the western boundary of the donated land in the *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamālavarma is between the Teestā and the *Kośī* rivers. Therefore the statement of P. N. Vidyāvinoda that during the reign of Vanamāla the *Karatoyā* river formed the western boundary of Assam cannot be accepted. The big river which Hieun Tsang is said to have crossed before landing his foot on the soil of Assam might also be the *Kosī* river.

(*xxiii*) *Extent of the Kingdom during the Rule of Balavarmā III*

Be that as it may, it is certain that the frontiers of *Kāmarūpa* during the days of Vanamāla lay beyond the *Karatoyā* and the large kingdom of Śrī Harṣavarmā stretching as far as *Kaliṅga* in the south and Nepal in the north might have again been reduced in size during the rule of the weak kings following him. We actually do not know from the extant inscriptions whether Jayamāla alias Vīrabāhu was able to maintain intact the large kingdom built up by Vanamāladeva or the kingdom suffered diminution during his days. But the gift lands in the *Nowgong Plates* of Balavarmā III are described as being located in the *Dijjinā Viṣaya*[113] which is the present Dinajpur district lying to the west of Teestā or *Karatoyā* in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area[114]. Almost a century later king Dharmapāla also donated land to the *Brāhmaṇas* by his *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Grant*, in the same area[115]. There is the adjunct दक्षिणकुले in the statement describing the location of the village. This creates the impression that the donated land was on the south bank of the *Brahmaputra*. But the real meaning of the word दक्षिण is right-hand and the donated land was on the right-hand side of the *Brahmaputra* i.e., on its north bank[116]. Moreover the donated land if it is to be actually on the south will have to be placed much inside Assam, because towards the *Karatoyā* regions of Assam the Brahmaputra is not flowing east and west but north and south and therefore not south and north banks but the east and west banks. The *Howrāghāṭ Plates* on the other hand ascribed the gift land to the *Bappadevapāṭaka* in the *Vārāse Viṣaya* (lines 36-37). Dr. P. C. Chowdhury locates *Vārāse* in the Barpeta subdivision and identifies the *viṣaya* with village *Bāḍā*.[117] In this connection the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sarkar in the introduction to the published edition of the *Howrāghāṭ Plates* is quite relevant—"The gift land was situated in the locality called *Bappadeva-pāṭaka* which belonged to the district called *Vārāse-paṭṭana*. The location of these places cannot be determined with any amount of certainty, although the name of *Vārāse-paṭṭana* reminds us of that of the Barasai range of hills about 50 miles to the south-west of Silchar."[118] The find spot of this inscription also tends to lend support to such a presumption. If this can be accepted as correct we assume that king Balavarmā first in the 5th year of his reign consolidated his authority in the south by the issue of this charter and established his victorious arms in west by donating lands to the *Brāhmaṇas* by his Nowgong Charter. Such an assumption confirms the belief that Balavarmā by his expedition of conquests consolidated the vast kingdom of Vanamālavarmadeva tending to grow loose in authority during the ineffective rule of Jayamāla alias Vīrabāhu.

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[113] दक्षिणकुले दिज्जिन्नाविषयान्तःपातिनी धान्यचतुस्सहस्रोत्पत्तिमती हेङ्सिवाभिधाना भूमिः—
—Balavarmā's *Nowgong Plates*—line 33.

(xxiv) The Establishment of the Pāla Dynasty

An obscure period follows after Balavarmā's rule to the rule of Tyāgasiṁha the 21st and the last king in the dynasty according to the

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[114] See *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, pp. 164 ff. and also J.A.R.S. II, pp. 82-84.

[115] दिज्जिन्नाविषयान्तःपाति घान्यषट्सहस्रोत्पत्तिक श्रोलिन्दापकृष्टकञ्जियाभिट्विशुभङ्करपाटकभूमौ इत्यादि—Dharmapāla's *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* Inscription—lines 31-32.

[116] See *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 85 f.n. 1.

[117] The exact location of the land is doubtful, but if this *viṣaya* is identical with the Bāḍā *viṣaya* of the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, it is probable that the region lay near about the present village of *Baḍā* in Barpeta sub-division.—Dr. Chowdhury, p. 223.

Also his paper in the Asom *Sāhitya Sabhā Patrika*, 15th year, III pp. 187 ff.

[118] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII. No. 33 p. 20.

Bargaon Grant of king Ratnapāla when the subjects elected a new king, Brahmapāla to establish a new dynasty, the Pāla dynasty of Assam. The portion relating to this information runs as follows:

निर्वंशं नृपमेकविंशतितमं श्रीत्यागसिंहाभिधं
तेषां वीक्ष्य दिवङ्गतं पुनरहो भौमो हि नो युज्यते ।
स्वामीति प्रतिचिन्त्य तत् प्रक्रतयो भूभाररक्षाक्षमं
सागन्ध्यात् परिचक्रिरे नरपतिं श्रीब्रह्मपालं हि यः ।।१०।।

It is therefore certain that the last king Tyāgasiṁha of this dynasty died issueless and that on this account the subjects elected Brahmapāla the king, who was a scion of the race of *Bhauma Nāraka*. The same vein of the lineage is given in the *Khonāmukh Plates* of Dharmapāla, cf.—

तस्मिन् महीपतिकुले कुलशैलकल्पः प्राचीपतिप्रतिकृतिर्न्नृपतिर्ब्बभूव ।
श्रीब्रह्मपाल इति विश्रुतनामधेयो ध्येयो द्विषां गुणवताञ्च भयानुरागैः ।।४।।

A similar strain of description is maintained in the *Śubhaṅkara Pāṭaka* (verse 4) and the *Puṣpabhadrā Grants* (verse 3). The verse in the latter grant runs as follows:

तस्मिन्नेव महान्वये नयनिधौ श्रीब्रह्मपालादयो
भूता ये नृपपुङ्गवाः कथयितुं तेषां गुणान् कः क्षमः ।। इत्यादि ।

The *Gāchtal Inscription* of Gopāladeva (as deciphered by Dr. P. C. Chowdhury) gives the following statement:

तस्य वंशजलधेः कलानिधिर्ब्रह्मपाल इति निर्मलोदयः इत्यादि ।।

Not only in the description of Brahmapāla, but in those of Ratnapāla and Indrapāla, this tradition of the lineage is distinctly maintained, cf.—

सिंहासनेऽथ नरकान्वयजाब्जभानुं
संवेश्य तं दिवमगादकलङ्कगण्डः ।। *Bargaon Grant*, Verse 15.

Again: प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिताशेषरिपुपक्षश्रीवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरत्नपालवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमदिन्द्रपालवर्म्मदेवः कुशली ।।

(xxv) Extent Squeezed during the Rule of Brahmapāla

The *Belava grant* of Bhojavarmā states that Jātavarmā, grand-father of Bhojavarmā, discomfited the fortunes of *Kāmarūpa* (परिभवंस्तां कामरुपश्रियम्). From this, K. L. Barua concludes that Jātavarmā invaded *Kāmarūpa* and defeated its king but could not annex the kingdom.[119] This might have implied loss of territories of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom when Jātavarmā made donations of lands in the *Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti* as stated by K. L. Barua. But Jātavarmā is stated to be a contemporary of Vigrahapāla III of Bengal and therefore cannot be placed earlier than the middle of the 11th century A.D.[120] This inscription at the most may refer to the loss of territories by the *Kāmarūpa* king in East Bengal where donation of land was made at a later period. (We are subsequently dealing with this point.)

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[119] *Early History of Kāmarūpa*. p. 137. cf. "It seems that during Brahmapāla's reign *Kāmarūpa* was attacked by Jātavarmā, son of Vajravarman of the Varman dynasty which ruled probably in Eastern Magadha when the Pāla power began to wane. This invasion is mentioned in the *Belava Copper-plate Inscription* of Bhojavarma Deva, the grandson of Jātavarmā, who thereby granted lands in the *Pauṇdra bhukti*, the grant being issued from the victorious camp at Vikramapura." E.H.K. p. 136.

Nevertheless we have no evidence to prove the extension of Brahmapāla's kingdom to the *Puṇḍravardhana* area. The Candras by the time of Brahmapāla or his son Ratnapāla established a petty kingdom in East Bengal and became very much powerful from Vikramapura. Śrīcandra donated lands in *Puṇḍravardhana* as witnessed from his two grants.[121] In the east Brahmapāla's kingdom extended as far as Nowgong, because the small principalities like *Ḍavāka* were included in the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom, as we have seen, from the days of Kalyāṇavarmā.

From verse 15 of the *Bargaon Grant* of Ratnapāla, it is clear that Brahmapāla abdicated in favour of Ratnapāla, his son, when he became old in age.

(xxvi) King Ratnapāla—His Capital Durjayā

The capital city of Ratnapāla was Durjayā. The statement in the *Bargaon Plates* of the king is as follows: प्राग्ज्योतिषेषु दुर्ज्जयाख्यपुरमध्युवास। (line 40). The reading is very clear here and the word प्राग्ज्योतिष used in the plural distinctly refers to the kingdom as distinguished from the capital of the same name, for in the same inscription king Naraka is stated to be residing in the capital city प्राग्ज्योतिष used in the singular number (cf. प्राग्ज्योतिषे वसदसौ प्रवरे पुराणां). In other places while reference is made to the city either singular number or the word पुर after प्राग्ज्योतिष is used.[122] Therefore it appears that when the Sālastambha family ruled from *Haḍappeśvara* for nearly three hundred years, the old capital *Prāgjyotiṣapura* was possibly laid in ruins. When Brahmapāla was elected king, it is most likely that he preferred to erect his capital somewhere near the old capital of the *Bhauma Nāraka* dynasty of kings and named it *Durjayā*. As stated by P. N. Vidyāvinoda, it might have been situated on the Brahmaputra on its south bank, because in the *Bargaon Plates* of Ratnapāla and the *Gauhati* and the *Guākuci Plates* of Indrapāla the gift lands are stated to be located on the north bank as distinguished from the south bank where the capital might be supposed to have been situated.[123] It is also likely the word *Durjayā* might imply a city of impregnable forts protected by ramparts around a very big area. Though it is described in the *Bargaon Grant* of Ratnapāla as being situated on the bank of the *Lauhitya* (लौहित्याम्भोधिना विराजमानं) still the suggestion of the city being in the midst of mountainous areas in the interior jungles is there, cf.—सुभटबाहुविटपाटवीसङ्कटमपि महाजननिवासयोग्यं। समदसुन्दरीस्मितसुधाधवलितसौधशिखरसहस्रान्तर्हिततरणिमण्डलम्। मलयाचलस्थलीरुहकाननमिवानेकभोगिशतसेवितं॥ Whatever it is, one fact is certain that the city of *Durjayā* was very much well fortified so as to make it impregnable as indicated by the name itself. It is stated in the descriptions that the city with all its outskirts was surrounded by a rampart that was a terror to the invading army of the powerful kings from the distant countries. The text of the *Bargaon Plates* in the portion under reference runs as follows: यच्च शकक्रीडाशकुनिपञ्जरेण गुर्ज्जराधिराजप्रज्वरेण दुर्द्दान्तिगौड़ेन्द्रकरिकूटपाकलेन, केरलेशाचलशिलाजतुना वाहिकतायिकातङ्ककारिणा दाक्षिणात्यक्षौणिपतिराजयक्ष्मना क्षपितारातिपक्षतया क्षितिपवक्षःकपाटपटेनेव प्राकारेणावृतप्रान्तम्।[124]

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[120] Dr. Chowdhury, p. 228.

[121] R. C. Majumdar, History of Bengal, I. pp. 190-97.

[122] Dr. Chowdhury's following remarks on the face of these clear distinctions made in respect of the country and the capital city of the same name are not acceptable—"The epithet "*Prāgjyotiṣādhipati*" seems to have stood rather for the city than the country in this particular case, though it may have stood for both. The latter alternative is made improbable by the fact that *Kāmarūpa* was still the name of the kingdom"—p. 231.

It may be noticed in this connection that the kingdom has acquired a new name, yet reference to it under the name of *Prāgjyotiṣa* is still found just to maintain the ancient character of the kingdom as in the seals of even the later kings.

It is evident that by that time the Śaka menace in India was already over, not to speak of its attack on the eastern state of *Kāmarūpa*. Therefore it can be said that those particular powers actually did not attack *Kāmarūpa* but these are thrown into the descriptions just to show the impregnable character of the capital city or to show the greatness of the kingdom itself so much so that those powers looked with an eye of envy upon the *Kāmarūpa* house requiring the fortification of the capital city. Incidentally this is connected with the pedantry of the panegyrist tending to show off historical knowledge and acquaintance with the classical style. Dr. Hoernle's opinion on this particular line is noteworthy, cf.—"Of Ratnapāla it is related that he came into hostile contact with the kings of *Gurjara*, *Gauḍa*, *Kerala* and the *Dekkan*, and with the *Bāhikas* and *Tāikas*. Assuming that Ratnapāla's age has been rightly fixed at about 1010 to 1050 A.D., the king of *Gurjara* of that period would be the Western Chalukya king Jayasiṁha III or Someśvara I. By the Kerala king the Chola Rājarāja is perhaps intended. The *Gauḍa* king may have been Mahīpāla or Nayapāla of the *Pāla Dynasty* of Bengal and Bihar. To whom the term "King of *Dākshiṇātya* or the Dekkan may refer I do not know. The *Bāhikas* and *Tāikas* are generally taken to be Trans-Indus people—those of Balk and the Tajiks. But..... the panegyrist probably only wished to parade his familiarity with Sanskrit literature and further attempts at identification would be waste of labour".[125] The *Gāchtal Inscription* of Gopālavarmadeva refers to king Ratnapāla's victory over a king, Rājyapāla by name, the lord of the *Gauḍa* kingdom.[126] From the wordings of the verse under reference it can be understood that the waters of the river Ganges (मन्दाकिनी) have been made bluish in character by the overflow in moon formations i.e. in the shape of the moon as it were of the ichor of the enemy's elephants as if that river has been transformed into the *Yamunā*. This clearly shows that Ratnapāla carried the battle to the *Gauḍa* country, as far as the Ganges in the south-west. Therefore it can be inferred that he was always on the alert against any possible attack from his enemies and thus the description of or reference to the strong-fortifications around *Durjayā* is not a mere poetic imagination or exaggeration but a statement of fact. That he extended his victorious arms as far as the Ganges cannot be questioned in view of the above clear statement in the *Gāchtal Inscription*. The attack on the same *Gauḍa* king by Ratnapāla is probably alluded to in verse 14 of the *Bargaon grant* of Ratnapāla wherein mention is made of the enemy's elephants.[127] Such references may also indicate his attempts to expand his kingdom to the west in North Bengal. Be that as it may, that Ratnapāla was a very powerful monarch is denoted by the use of such epithets in the inscriptions as '*Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*". By the recent discovery of a Copper Plate Grant, the third one issued by Ratnapāla, he is credited with the gift of land to *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Habung* locality in the *Ceca* river area of the North Lakhimpur District. If this is correctly informed, then we can say with certainty that Ratnapāla's kingdom extended as far as the eastern end of Assam merging into the areas of modern Aruṇācal Pradeśa.

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[123] *Kāmarūpa-śasanāvali*, Introduction, p. 25.

[124] Lines 34-36.

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[125] J.A.S.B. Part I. No. I of 1898, p. 105.

The word *Vāhika* occurs in the *Karṇaparva*. XLIV.

पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः ।
तान् धर्म्मबाह्यानशुचीन् वाहीकान् परिवर्ज्जयेत् ।।७।।

From this it appears *Vāhika* was in the direction of the Punjab of the present times. *Tāyika* might have been the name of a neighbouring country. In the *Bhūmikāṇda* of the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* by Hemacandra it is stated as follows:

जालन्धरा स्त्रिगर्त्ताः स्युस्तायिकास्तर्जिकाभिधाः ।
कश्मीरास्तु माधुमताः सारस्वता विकर्णिकाः ।।२४।।
वाहिकाष्टक्कनामानो..........इत्यादि ।

This clearly proves that the *Tāyika* was situated near Jālandhara, Kashmir. Therefore *Vāhika* and *Tāyika* are mentioned together (see Vidyāvinoda, p. 105 F.N.)

Vidyāvinoda surmises that by the word *dākṣiṇatyakṣauṇipoti* some contemporary ancestor of the Sena king of Bengal might be indicated, since in the *Deopārā* inscription, Vijayasena's lineage is traced from a dynasty of Deccan kings, cf.—

वंशे तस्यामरस्त्रीविततरतकलासाक्षिणो दाक्षिणात्य—
क्षौणीन्द्रैर्व्वीरसेनप्रभृतिभिरभितः कीर्त्तिमद्भिर्ब्बभूवे ।।४।।

[126] दोर्द्दर्पधुर्ल्लड़ितमाजिषु गौड़राजं यो राज्यपालमवजित्य भुजद्वयेन ।
मन्ये गजेन्द्रमदचन्द्रकसान्द्रतोयां मन्दाकिनीमपि कलिन्दसुतां चकार ।।१५।।

[127] दुर्वारवैरिकरिकुम्भभिदाभवास्रस्रोतोवहाहतिचलत्करिमुक्तिकाभः ।
यद्युद्धभूर्व्विपणिवद्धृतपाद्मरागाशोभिष्ट वीरवणिजां निकरैः प्रकीर्णा ।।१४।।

(xxvii) *Purandarapāla—Crown Prince and Regent of Kāmarūpa in the North-Eastern Region*

Purandarapāla, the son of Ratnapāla and father of Indrapāla is described as a prince of accomplished virtues and refined culture. In the *Gauhati Grant* of Indrapāla, Purandarapāla is represented as a prince of noble fame, a protector, liberal, pure, accomplished in all the arts, a good poet as well as a hero capturing many heroic kings in the battles. He is said to have married a princess, Durlabhā by name, of the extensive kingdom conquered by Paraśurāma by dint of his arm.[128]

From these references in the charter, it is clear that the prince was made the protector (*bhoktā*) of a certain region of the kingdom and the matrimonial alliance above alluded to speaks of his being the governor of the extreme north-eastern region. The reference to the conquest of the area by Jāmadgnya certainly locates the area around the Sadiya region where the Paraśurāma Kuṇḍa is situated. This area, it might be recalled, was first explored by Paraśurāma in course of his wanderings to holy places to expiate the sin of matricide and was initiated to the Aryan civilisation by the settlement of a few Aryan families. Incidentally it may be mentioned that as stated in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, Naraka, the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* was installed to the throne after his marriage with Māyā the princess of *Vidarbha*. Śrī Kṛṣṇa also is said to have married Rukmiṇī, the princess of *Vidarbha* and the capital of this kingdom *Kuṇḍila* is named after a river said to have flown by the side of the city. A city of the name of *Kuṇḍina* of the king *Bhīṣmaka* is also referred to in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[129] and the ruins existing to the north-east of Sadiya of forts and temples testify to the existence of such a city. All these references in the ancient texts to this frontier kingdom point out to its flourishing state and when Ratnapāla's son was matrimonially connected with the ruling house of this kingdom, Ratnapāla's sphere of influence reached, it may be concluded, as far as the south-eastern fringes of China. His rule might be supposed to be sufficiently long, because his 1st copper plate charter (the *Bargaon Plates*) was issued in the 25th and his second one (*Śuálkuci Grant*) in the 26th regnal years.

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[128] आसीदुदारकीर्त्तिर्द्दाता भोक्ता शुचिः कलाकुशलः ।
तस्य पुरन्दरपालः सूनुः शूरश्च सुकविश्च ॥११॥
कृतमतिकौतुकमसकृन्मृगयारसिकेन येन समरेऽपि ।
क्षणविरचितशरपञ्जरबद्धै रिपुराजशार्द्दूलैः ॥१२॥
जामदग्न्यभुजविक्रमार्ज्जितप्राज्यराज्यनृपवंशसम्भवां ।
दुर्ल्लभेति स तु लोकदुर्ल्लभां प्राप्य सम्यगभवत्कलत्रवान् ॥१३॥

[129] Book V Chapter XXVI.

Purandarapāla died earlier and his death took place before he was elevated to the throne. This information we have gathered from the inscriptions of Indrapāla wherein it is stated that he had to inherit the reigns of government from his grandfather.[130]

(xxviii) Indrapāla—Extent of His Kingdom

After Ratnapāla Indrapāla occupied the throne. His *Gauhati Grant* was issued in the 8th and the *Guākuci Grant* in the 21st year of his reign[131]. He also continued to rule from the same city of *Durjayā* (verse 19 of the *Gauhati Grant*). By his *Gauhati Grant* Indrapāla donated lands from the locality *Bhaviṣā* in the region of *Kāsīpāṭaka* in the administrative division of *Hapyoma* (line 35). The identification of this area is not possible. By his *Guākuci Grant* land was donated in the *Paṇḍarī* area in the administrative division *Mandi* to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Devadeva, son of Vāsudeva and Anurādhā, grandson of Somadeva, a resident of the village *Vaināmaka* of *Sāvathi*[132] which is but a prakṛtisation of *Śrāvasti* identified as an extensive area in the *Puṇḍravardhana bhukti*. (On this point see below.) This clearly establishes the hold of Indrapāla over the area. Mention may be made of a *mahāmāṇḍalika* named Īśvaraghoṣa who was a contemporary of Indrapāla ruling at *Dhekerī* and was said to have been granted lands after taking his bath in the *Jātodā* river flowing at present through Jalpaiguri and Kochbehar. But according to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (LI-87) it flows through *Kāmarūpa* having its western boundary in the *Karotoyā* river. This shows clearly that Īśvaraghoṣa was a feudatory of the *Kāmarūpa* king. Indrapāla was able to effect this territorial aggrandisement possibly taking advantage of the weakness of king Vigrahapāla of *Gauḍa*.[133]

It is also recorded (and this might be a subsequent event) in the *Gāchtal Inscription* of Gopālavarmadeva that Indrapāla defeated Kalyāṇa-candra, son of Śrīcandra of *Vaṅga.*[134] The *Candra* dynasty of kings who ruled from Vikramapura and established their principalities in East Bengal became very much powerful towards the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century A.D. and conquered even *Gauḍa*. By his victory over Kalyāṇacandra, Indrapāla brought under his dominion even *Gauḍa* and therefore it is likely that his kingdom tended to extend as far as the ocean in the south. He probably consolidated this vast possession by his matrimonial alliance with the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* by marrying a princess of that family Rājyadevī by name.[135] This matrimonial contact of the ruling house of *Kāmarūpa* with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas just widened the political horizon of the fierce struggle for supremacy of the powers concerned viz., the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, the *Gurjara Pratihāras* of Kanauj and the *Pālas* of *Gauḍa*.

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[130] स्वर्गं गते पितरि यस्य यशः शरीरे
पौत्रस्य पूतमनसा हरिविक्रमेण ।
राज्ञा वयः परिणतेन गुणानुरूपम्
इत्यर्प्पिता स्वयमियन्निजराज्यलक्ष्मीः ।।१७।।

[131] शासनीकृत्य भूरेषा तस्मै दुष्करशासिने ।
द्विजाय दत्ता यत्ताय राज्येऽष्टसमे मया ।।२५।।—*Gauhati Grant.*
द्विजायास्मै मही धान्यसहस्रद्वयसम्मिता ।
मया राज्यस्य दत्तेयमेकविंशतिवत्सरे ।।२५।। *Guākuci Grant.*

[132] See *Guākuci Grant*—lines 41-46.

[133] See Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, p. 238.

(*xxix*) *King Gopālavarmadeva*

After Indrapāla, his son Gopāladeva occupies the throne of *Kāmarūpa* and seemed to have reigned towards the earlier part of the last half of the 11th century. His own *Gāchtal Inscription* gives the information that he was the son of Indrapāla and Rājyadevī, a princess of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* family (verses 22-23). This grant has credited Gopāla with the deed of donation of land in the village *Khārikoṇākoñcī* in the administrative division of *Bārāsrajambubā*. The name of the donee along with the location of the area is not known. Dr. P. C. Chowdhury's identification of the locality with the *Bārāsepattana* of the Howraghat plates is not convincing, because the former is associated with a certain *koñcī*, typical of the names of certain existing Assamese villages whereas the latter name gives no such indications. The issual of such a grant, however, bears testimony to the power and stability of the kingdom of which Gopāla was the Lord. Any way it points out to the fact that the majesty which Indrapāla diffused over a wide kingdom did not tend to diminish during the days of Gopāladeva, his successor and the epithets and adjuncts used against the name of this king in this inscription as well as in those of Dharmapāla may confirm such a conclusion.

One very significant fact hitherto unnoticed in the *Gāchtal Inscription* has been the reference to a very beautiful city of the name of *Haḍapyakā*. The verse under reference describes the city like this : "That excellent king had a holy city *Haḍapyakā* by name lovely with women of divine grace like *Amarāvatī* of the good king (Indra) resorted to by good people of god-like lofty character."[136] It is not definitely mentioned whether this city was the capital of the king and nothing definite is stated as to how and why this city was built up. But it is also significant that the first inscription of king Dharmapāla, the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Charter* makes no mention of any capital city and it is only in the *Puṣpabhadrā* inscription that a change in the capital of Dharmapāla is referred to, cf: कामरूपनगरे नृपोऽभद्धर्मपाल इति सान्वयाह्वयः ।। (*Śloka* 20)

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[134] माद्यद्गौड़ विमर्ददुर्द्दमभुजः श्रीचन्द्रसूनुः स्वयं
प्राप्तः संगरसीम्नि वङ्गनृपतिः कल्याणचन्द्रो बली ।
चञ्चत् काञ्चन-चक्रचामरचितं नौचक्रमत्रास्थितः
सोयं यद्विजितः सहैव यशसा दीनः प्रलीणः क्वचित् ।।२१।।

[135] तस्य खलु राष्ट्रकूटान्वयजलधिभुवा बभूव कमलाकरा ।
पुरुषोत्तमस्य महिषी लक्ष्मीरिव राज्यदेवीति ।।२२।।

From the same verse it is generally taken for granted that from the days of Ratnapāla administration of the line of kings was conducted from its capital seat at Durjayā. But it may be that king Gopālavarmadeva transferred his capital from Durjayā to *Haḍappyakā*. The similarity of the name of this city with *Haḍappeśvara* naturally raises the question whether this king built a township around *Haḍappeśvara* with the intention of transferring his capital. It is also significant that the panegyrists of the inscriptions of Dharmapāla do not mention of the capital city of Harṣapāla. In the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* and the *Khonāmukh* inscriptions of Dharmapāla this king is referred to as the vanquishor of the enemies in the battle field[137] and endowed with poetic qualities. Whatever be the number and nature of references to the king Harṣapāla in the inscriptions of Dharmapāla, it can be imagined that he was not a very powerful king and the references to his war-like qualities merely show that he had to wage relentless wars against a number of external foes that made an attack against his kingdom.

(xxx) King Harṣapāla—Fading of the Glory

In a foregoing discussion we raised the question of Jātavarmā's invasion of *Kāmarūpa*. This *Varman* dynasty of kings ruled from Vikramapura in East Bengal during the 11th century A.D. when the *Pāla* rule after Mahīpāla I declined in *Gauḍa*.[138] Therefore it is certain that this invasion by Jātavarmā did not take place during the days of Brahmapāla as is supposed by K. L. Barua but took place during the rule of a subsequent king of the *Pāla* dynasty of Assam. We have stated earlier that Indrapāla was a very powerful king who fought the expanding power of the *Candras* of Vikrampur occupying a part of *Gauḍa* and held them at bay in the area to which they belonged, and to consolidate his possession he made a matrimonial alliance with the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* of the south. Gopāladeva as far as can be gathered from the available materials was able to maintain the integrity of the kingdom of Indrapāla. But when Harṣapāla occupied the throne, the *Varmans* of Vikramapura led by Jātavarmā became very much powerful and actually attacked the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa*. But it is unlikely that he actually occupied the kingdom or a part of it. Therefore the statement of K. L. Barua that Jātavarmā defeated Brahmapāla is definitely wrong (see F. N. 119 above). Nor can it be said conclusively that taking advantage of the revolt of Varendra of *Kaivartas* under Divya he marched against *Kāmarūpa* and annexed the kingdom. P. N. Vidyāvinoda seems to be perfectly right when he says that the words *Aṅga* and *Kāmarūpa* here are *śliṣṭa*. The verse, it may be said, instead of directly referring to the conquests of a certain number of countries, emphasises upon the excellence of Jātavarmā over certain other kings. This is very clear from the wordings of the verse itself[139]. The following verse may be cited here from the stone inscription of the Nepal king Jayadeva in support of such a proposition:

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[136] गीर्वाणचारुचरितैः सुजनैर्न्निषेव्या दिव्याङ्गनाकृतिभिरुज्ज्वलिता वधूभिः ।
तस्याभवन्नृपवरस्य हड़प्यकेति पुण्या पुरी सुनृपतेरमरावतीव ।।३१।।

[137] तस्माद्बभूव तनयः पितृहर्षपालः श्रीहर्षपाल इति साधुजनोपगीतः ।
सम्प्राप्य चारुचरितं चिरमाप सख्यसौख्यामृतं कमलया भारतीयं ।।६।।
सन्तर्प्पिताः समरभूमिषु येन शश्वत् शस्त्रप्रहारदलिताहितकुम्भिकुम्भैः ।
रक्षो गणाः प्रचुरफेनविमिश्रमश्रमुष्णोष्णमाशु तृषिताः परितः पिवन्ति ।।१०।।

[138] R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 197-204.

अङ्गश्रिया परिगतो जितकामरूपः काञ्चीगुणाढ्यवनिताभिरुपास्यमानः ।
कुर्व्वन् सुराष्ट्रपरिपालनकार्यचिन्तां यः सार्व्वभौमचरितं प्रकटीकरोति ।।१६।।

See P. N. Bhaṭṭācārya K. S. (Intro.) p. 39; also, Indian Antiquary Vol. IX, p. 179.

Therefore R. D. Banerjee's conclusion[140] that Jātavarmā actually conquered Kāmarūpa and that of P. L. Paul[141] that he crippled the power of the *Kāmarūpa* house are not acceptable. What seems probable, as we have stated earlier, in spite of all the extolment of the virtues of king Harṣapāla, is that he was a very weak king and he might have lost certain territories in North Bengal through Jātavarmā's attack. There is another factor which might lead to the confirmation of the weakness attributed to king Harṣapāla. The *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa records that the *Cālukya* king Vikramāditya VI made an attack on the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa*[142]. This might mean not an actual subjugation of the kingdom to the *Cālukya* empire nor an annihilation of the kingdom but loss of supremacy which the kingdom enjoyed towards Southern Bengal in the days of Indrapāla. Thus it is quite likely that the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* suffered diminution during the days of Harṣapāla and therefore when Dharmapāla ascended the throne, *Kāmarūpa* lost much of its old glory which this new king had to restore.

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[139] See *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*—Introduction. p. 39.
गृह्लन् वैण्यपृथुश्रियं परिणयन् कर्णस्य वीरश्रियं
योऽङ्गेषु प्रथयच्छ्रियं परिभवंस्तां कामरूपश्रियम् ।
निन्दन् दिव्यभुजश्रियं विकलयन् गोवर्द्धनस्य श्रियम्
कुर्व्वन् श्रोत्रियसाच्छ्रियं विततवान् स्वां सार्व्वभौमश्रियम् ।।८।।
Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III. p. 20.

[140] *Bāṅglār Itihāsa* I, p. 277.

[141] *Early History of Bengal,* p. 79.

[142] गायन्ति स्म गृहीतगौड़विजयस्तम्बेरमस्याहवे
तस्योन्मूलितकामरूपनृपतिप्राज्यप्रतापश्रियः ।
भानुस्यन्दन चक्रघोष भुषितप्रत्यूषनिद्रारसाः
पूर्व्वाद्रेः कटकेषु सिद्धवनिताः प्रालेयशुद्धं यशः ।। III. 74

(xxxi) Dharmapāla—His Glorious Rule

We have three charters issued by this king Dharmapāla. The *Khonāmukh Plates* were issued in the first regnal year of the king while his *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* inscription was issued in the third regnal (line 48) year. His *Puṣpabhadrā* grant which indicates no regnal year of its issue seems to have been issued in his advanced age.[143] Whatever it is, by his

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[143] The reasons for this may be adduced as follows:

(*i*) The *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* and the *Khonāmukh* inscriptions as all other inscriptions of the dynasties of Kāmarūpa kings begin with a salutation to *Mahādeva* in his *Ardhanārīśvara* manifestation whereas the *Puṣpabhadrā* inscription begins with an obeisance to *Viṣṇu* in the *Varāha* incarnation.

(*ii*) In all the other inscriptions of the dynasty including the *Khonāmukh* plates of Dharmapāla the reference to the personal name of the king followed by the word *kuśalī* is preceded by a reference to his fore-fathers, at least by the previous king, whereas in the *Puṣpabhadrā* inscription this is not seen.

(*iii*) In the inscribed portions of the seal, the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* has strictly followed the convention established by the kings of *Kāmarūpa* viz., there is the word स्वस्ति followed by the name of the king in the first case-ending singular preceded by the words महाराजाधिराज and प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपति whereas in the seal of the *Puṣpabhadrā* grant the word स्वस्ति is absent, the reference to the king is in the sixth case-ending singular and is bereft of the word महाराजाधिराज signifying a royal splendour, though there is the word प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपति ।

(*iv*) The *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* as well as the *Khonāmukh* plates describe the dynasty from six generations preceding Dharmapāla whereas the *Puṣpabhadrā* refers to only two generations ahead. This clearly shows that, when later on the king attained celebrity, confirmation of the position of the king in the dynasty by an elaborate reference to his predecessors was felt to be unnecessary.

(*v*) The *Puṣpabhadrā* inscription gives a clear indication of the advanced age of Dharmapāla, cf. the following verse:

हे भाविनो नृपतयः प्रणयेन याच्ञां
श्रीधर्म्मपालनृपतेः शृणुतेति यूयम् ।
विद्युच्छटाचपलराज्यमृषाभिमान–
स्त्याज्यः कदाचिदपि नित्यसुखो न धर्म्मः ।।७।।

The king must have realised the transitoriness of the world in the last part of his life, as he was described in the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* as "though given to religion, he was addicted to wealth also." As a matter of fact his detached outlook in old age was the resultant of a balanced addiction to both *artha* and *kāma*, cf.—

Khonāmukh charter, he granted lands to Brahmins in *Merupāṭaka* in the area *Digalaṇḍī* belonging to the district of *Purajī*, cf.—पुरजीविषयान्तः पातिदिगलण्डीभूम्यपकृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकमेरुपाटकभूमौ.... (lines 29-30). The same *Purajī viṣaya* is the venue for the cession of a village *Digḍolavṛddhagrāma* to Brahmins by king Dharmapāla by his *Puṣpabhadrā* grant.[144] The location of these areas cannot be properly determined nor can it be said with any amount of certainty that these names are Austric or *Boḍo* in origin, as is done by Dr. B. K. Kakati[145]. The names may give the prākṛtised forms of the names of some villages over which king Dharmapāla's sway extended. His *Śubbaṅkarapāṭaka* grant donated land to Brahmins in the village *Śubhaṅkara* in *Kañjiā* within *Dijjinnā viṣaya*, which is identified with the modern Dinajpur district of Bengal. As the donated land lay in the district of Dinajpur and the donee hailed from the village *Krośañja* in the *Śrāvasti* area, it may be presumed that both these areas formed the territories of *Kāmarūpa* during the rule of Dharmapāla.

(xxxii) *Śrāvasti of Uttarakośala Formed Part of the Kāmarūpa Kingdom during the Pāla Regime*

Śāvathi of the *Guākuci* grant of Indrapāla may be accepted as the *prākṛta* form of *Śrāvasti* and also the village *Krośañja* is located in *Śrāvasti* which is the name given to a wide area. The following two *ślokas* from the *Kūrma* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* respectively are pertinent to our discussions:

श्रीधर्म्मपाल इति धर्म्मपरोऽपि काम–
मर्थंच्च पालयति सुसमीक्ष्य कालं ।।१२।।

(*vi*) King Dharmapāla himself composed, it appears, the entire *Puṣpabhadrā* inscription, cf.—

पालान्वयाम्बुजरविः कविचक्रवालचूड़ामणिः कलितसर्व्वकलाकलापः ।
श्रीधर्म्मपालनृपतिर्गुणरत्नसिन्धुरेतां प्रशस्तिमकरोदवदातकीर्त्तिः ।८।।

Herein the king is described as कविचक्रवालचूड़ामणि whereas in the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* and the *Khonāmukh* inscriptions he is described as जितवीरारातितिचक्रः (*Śloka* No. 14). This shows that while he was a valiant warrior in his youth, he acquired the poetic virtues in the later part of his life.

(*vii*) The extent of the donated land both in the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* and the *Khonāmukh* inscriptions was as denoted by the yield of only six thousand paddy whereas in the *Puṣpabhadrā* it is ten thousand. This may indicate proclivity to piety with advancing age.

[144] पूरजिविषयान्तः पातिधान्यदशसहस्रोत्पत्तिक गुहेश्वरदिग्डोलवृद्धग्रामभूम्यपकृष्ट इत्यादि —(line 46). Here Vidyāvinoda has adopted the reading पूरजि in the *Puṣpabhadrā* inscription, P. Banerjee has read the name of the *viṣaya* as पुरुजी while publishing an edition of the *Khonāmukh* plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Whichever reading may be correct, the word certainly refers to the same place-name.

[145] App. to *Cultural History of Assam*, I. p. 207.

तस्य पुत्रोऽभवद्वीरः श्रावस्तिरिति विश्रुतः ।
निर्म्मिता येन श्रावस्तिर्गौड़देशे महापुरी ।। I. xx, 19.

श्रावस्तश्च महातेजा वत्सकस्ततसुतोऽभवत् ।
निर्म्मिता येन श्रावस्ती गौड़देशे द्विजोत्तमाः ।। xii. 30.

From the above two *ślokas*, it is generally believed that *Śrāvasti* is a tract of land in the *Gauḍa* country. R. G. Basak has quoted these two verses from the above *Purāṇas* in support of his contention that *Śrāvasti* mentioned in the *Śilimpur* inscription is in the *Gauḍa deśa*. But he has not noticed the fact that *Śrāvasti* in the *Śilimpur* inscription is the name of a wide rural area forming a vast territory and that in the two *ślokas* cited above is the name of a city constructed. As a matter of fact a country or a kingdom is not constructed but is inhabited or colonised. The *Śrāvasti* spoken of in the *Śilimpur* inscription is not a city but a wide tract of countryside land as is proved by a mention of the village *Tarkkāri* forming a part of it. For convenience we quote the relevant portions below:

तेषामार्यजनाभिपूजितकुलं तर्क्कारिरित्याख्यया
श्रावस्तिप्रतिबद्धमस्ति विदितं स्थानं पुनर्ज्जन्मनाम् ।।२।।
यस्मिन् वेदस्मृतिपरिचयोद्भिन्नवैतानगार्ह्य
प्राज्यावृत्ताहुतिषु चरतां कीर्त्तिभिर्व्योम्नि शुभ्रे
व्यभ्राजन्तोपरि परिसरद्धोमधूमा द्विजानां
दुग्धाम्भोधिप्रसृतविलसच्छैवलालीचयाभाः ।।३।।
तत् प्रसूतश्च पुण्ड्रेषु सकटीव्यवधानवान् ।
वरेन्द्रीमण्डनं ग्रामो बालग्राम इति श्रुतः ।।४।।[146]

From the above it is quite clear that *Tarkkārigrāma* was in *Śrāvasti* and that *Bālagrāma* was in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area. Moreover the *Tarkkārigrāma* in *Śrāvasti* as described above is a village given to the performance of sacrifices, so also the village *Krośañja* was covered by a screen of smokes emitted by the sacrificial fires making the area impervious to the sins of the dark age.[147] This similarity of description may conveniently lead to the conclusion that these two villages were in the same locality of one bigger area. Dr. Cunningham states that *Gauḍa* is only a part of *Uttara Kośala* and the ruins of an ancient city of *Śrāvasti* are discovered in the district of Goṇḍa. His remarks amply clarify the point—"These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that *Gauḍa* is only a sub-division of *Uttara Kośala* and that the ruins of *Śrāvasti* have actually been discovered in the district of *Gauḍa*, which is the Goṇḍa of the Maps (from the *Epigraphia Indica*, XIII, p. 287)." R. G. Basak raises an objection against the identification of Goṇḍa with *Gauḍa*. But this objection cannot stand on a valid ground in view of the formations of some other words in a similar manner, cf.—*daṇḍa>dāñḍa; ṣaṇḍa>ṣāñḍa* etc.

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[146] Text as adopted by R. G. Basak in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 290.

[147] ग्रामः क्रोसञ्ज नामास्ति श्रावस्त्यां यत्र यज्वनां ।
होमधूमात्वकारान्वं नाविशत् कलिकल्मषं -*Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* charter, verse 16.

P. N. Vidyāvinoda is of the opinion that *Śrāvasti* in *Uttara Kośala* was a great centre of Buddhist activities. Affected by the spread of Buddhism, these Brahmins came out to *Kāmarūpa* in search of a land free from the Buddhistic influences. The kings of *Kāmarūpa* allowed the settlement of these *Brāhmaṇas* in the territory whereupon they colonised certain areas which they named after their own localities very recently left behind in *Uttara Kośala*. Brahmins were however settled on the fringes of *Kāmarūpa* state and when *Puṇḍravardhana* was freed from the clutches of Buddhistic influences, some of these Brahmins were settled in that area. The case of the Brahmin Prahāsa of the *Śilimpur Inscription*, Vidyāvinoda says, is relevant in this connection with whom land was settled in *Bālagrāma* in *Puṇḍradeśa* after his migration from *Tarkkāri* of *Śrāvasti*.[148] The real position is that a part of *Gauḍa* which earlier formed a part of *Uttara Kośala* was merged into the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* which in its powerful days comprised the districts of Dinajpur, Bogra etc. over and above Rangpur and Jalpaiguri. Thus *Śrāvasti* automatically comes within the state of *Kāmarūpa*. There is the reference to a village called *Vai* in the *Śrāvasti* area in the *Guākuci* grant of Indrapāla, cf.—सावथ्यामस्ति वै नामा ग्रामो धाम द्विजन्मनाम्, (line 41).

Again land is donated for the *Viṣṇu* temple to augment its resources through a charter called the *Vaigrāma Copper-plates Inscription* of the Gupta year 128 (448 A.D.). (See *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, p. 78 where *Vaigrāma* is mentioned as *Vāyigrāma*.) This *Vaigrāma*, it appears, is a village in the Bogra district and must be the same as the one referred to in the *Guākuci Grant*. Thus *Śrāvasti* can definitely be located in the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa*, though it might be a colony raised by the *Brāhmaṇas* coming from the original *Śrāvasti* of *Uttara Kośala*.

We have it from the evidences of the inscriptions that Brahmin families from *Śrāvasti* were settled farther east in *Kāmarūpa* by the Kāmarūpī kings. The Brahmin Somadeva with whom land was settled in the *Paṇḍarī* area of the *Mandiviṣaya* by king Indrapāla by his *Guākuci Grant* belongs to the *Śrāvasti* region. We know that the donee Himāṅga hails from the village *Krośañja* in *Śrāvasti*, the Brahmin Prahāsa of the *Śilimpur* grant belongs to the *Śrāvasti* area. Though *Śrāvasti* is said to have been situated in *Uttara Kośala* above, it is very difficult to believe that all these Brahmins actually came from *Śrāvasti* in *Uttara Kośala*, intervened in between it and *Kāmarūpa* by the *Aṅga* or *Magadha* area. At the same time it cannot be said that there are no positive evidences which vouch for the existence of *Śrāvasti* in *Kośala* in the 11th or 12th century A.D. with all its past glamour. Therefore it is likely as stated by P. N. Vidyāvinoda that there was a colony of the same name raised by the Brahmins migrating from the original *Śrāvasti* area somewhere in the *Gauḍa* area on the western boundary of *Kāmarūpa*. With the advance of time, some of the Brahmin families were granted land in the *Puṇḍravardhana* area. As the territory of *Puṇḍravardhana* and the adjoining areas like *Chandrapuri* and *Dijjinā* almost always formed the western frontier of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom, its kings always wanted to assert their authority over the area by donations of lands through royal writs issued from time to time from the days of Bhūtivarmā. It may be true that during the rule of king Harṣapāla, Jātavarmā might have annexed North Bengal and *Puṇḍravardhana* areas to his kingdom. But his successors were very weak rulers. Therefore it is quite likely that Dharmapāla reconquered *Puṇḍravardhana* including North Bengal and re-established his mastery over the area. It seems probable that he in order to signalise this recovery made donations of land in the area by settling Brahmins from the *Śrāvasti* area. This simply implies not only the restoration of the traditional boundary of *Kāmarūpa* but also pushing it up farther west.

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[148] See *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*, pp. 165-66.

(*xvxiii*) *Kāmarūpanagara—the New Capital*

We have seen above that the *Puṣpabhadrā* charter of Dharmapāla was issued towards the last part of his reign. It is stated there that king Dharmapāla was residing in the *Kāmarūpanagara* (*śloka* 20). From it, it is definitely understood that *Kāmarūpanagara* was the capital city of king Dharmapāla. In the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* grant it is recorded as follows: प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिताशेषरिपुपक्षश्रीवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक .... महाराजधिराज श्रीमद् धर्मपाल देवपादाः कुषलिनः—(lines 28-30) ।।

The same strain of description is also found even in the *Puṣpabhadrā* grant of later days (lines 16-18). Here the description, it seems, only attributes the tradition of the ancient *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom to that of Dharmapāla also and does not refer to the capital, because had *Prāgjyotiṣa* been the capital, separate mention of *Kāmarūpanagara* as the city of Dharmapāla would have been irrelevant. We know that from the times of Ratnapāla the capital was shifted from *Haḍappeśvara* to *Durjayā*. The *Gāchtal Inscription* of Gopāladeva, as we have noticed earlier, refers to the creation of a city somewhere by the name of *Haḍapyakā*. It might be that the old capital of the *Bhauma Nāraka* family was renovated as an honour to the haloed memory of the past dynasty of kings. Similar references to a renovated city of the name of *Haḍappyakā* are found in the *Hābuṅgiyā* grant of king Ratnapāla[149]. It may be safely concluded that the kings of *Kāmarūpa* while laying the foundations of a new capital city did not pay scant attention to the preservation of the former capitals of the ancient dynasties. It is therefore quite sure that king Dharmapāla's first inscription, the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* charter, does not mention *Pārgjyotiṣa* as the capital city of the king, and it is completely silent on the point. Hence no valid proof can be adduced for a change of capital of king Dharmapāla till the time of issue of the *Puṣpabhadrā* grant.

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[149] A Copper Plate inscription of the days of king Ratnapāla recently discovered but not published is stated to have it recorded like that.

The location or the site of the capital city *Kāmarūpanagara* is not definitely known. P. N. Vidyāvinoda has stated that whereas in the course of the description of the capital city of *Haḍappeśvara* and *Durjayā* attributes are lavishly showered in an attempt to throw in the majesty on the *Lauhitya* river, references in any form to the big river, leave alone its connection with the capital city of *Kāmarūpanagara,* in the inscription of Dharmapāla are conspicuous by their absence: even the directions relating to the situation of the donated lands either on the south or the north bank of the *Lauhitya* are not to be found. So it appears that the capital city *Kāmarūpanagara* might have been built up from days prior to the rule of Dharmapāla far away from the Brahmaputra, somewhere in the western side of the state. He infers that, later on, the name of this *Kāmarūpanagara* is changed into *Kamatāpura.* The structure of arguments he has built up for this change is as follows. Another name of the goddess *Kāmakhyā* is *Kāmadā* (*Kālikāpurāṇa,* LXII, 2). Therefore the transition from *Kāmadā* to *Kāmatā* is easy to comprehend. Another name of the goddess is *Kāmarūpā* (*Kālikāpurāṅa,* XLIV, 73). Though the dialectal evolution of *Kāmarūpā* into *Kāmatā* is difficult to contemplate, still the two words seem to have sprung from one common source. Another analogy that may support such a proposition is from *Bhāvatā* < *Bhāvagrāma;* similarly *Belatā* < *Bilvagrāma.* So also *Kāmā* > *Kāmadā* > *Kāmatā* > *Kāmarūpā* (cf. *Kālikāpurāṇa,* LXII, 2). But actually when the name of *Kāmarūpa* was changed to *Kāmatā* it is very difficult to say. That it did change like that is a certainty. In support of this statement of his, P. N. Vidyāvinoda has reproduced from the History of Assam a statement of Sir Edward Gait (see K. S., p. 31, Introduction, F.N. 1) which evidently refers to a subsequent period of Assam's history. In the same foot-note, the Vidyāvinoda has given the following information from the writings of Śrī Bijayanath Sarkar, ex-secretary of the *Varendra Research Society*—"Kāmatā is referred to in two of the inscriptions of Hussainshah (*Maldah Madrasa Inscription* and the recently discovered *Kāntaduār Inscription*). In both of them, *Kāmatā* and *Kāmaru* are given together as if they are synonymous. The Muslim historians generally drop the "*pa*" of *Kāmarūpa. Kāmarūpa* is written down as *Kāṅgura* in the *Śrī-Dharmamaṅgala* of Ghanaśyāma."

(xxxiv) *Kāmarūpa and Kāmatā are Two Different Names*

But the Vidyāvinoda has not taken notice of the fact that the above statement applies not to the same place at the same time but to two different places at different times. The earlier Muslim historians refer to *Kāmarūpa* as *Kāmrūd*. When Minhaj wrote his *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, *Kāmatā* or *Kāmatāpura* was not known but *Kāmarūpa* was known as *Kāmrūd*, and its ruler as "*Rae of Kāmrūd*"[150]. The later Muslim historians mention *Kāmatā* and *Kāmru* together because the capital of the state of *Kāmru* was at *Kāmatā*. Therefore it is seen that the name *Kāmarūpa* did not change into *Kāmatā* as is supposed as axiomatic by P. N. Vidyāvinoda. The western part of *Kāmarūpa* including Kochbehar and some portions of Dinajpur was later on carved out into a separate state. Therefore the splitting up of *Kāmarūpa* into the state of *Kāmatāpura* is a latter phenomenon. The *Kānāi-baraśī Rock Inscription* has it on record at North Gauhati that as far back as 1205-6 A.D., Bakhtiyar came up to Gauhati and met with his inevitable defeat. It is also likely that the invasions of the later Muslim conquerors in 1226 and 1256 A.D. reached as far as Gauhati. The *Gāchtal Pillar Inscription* gives the information that a large contingent of a Muslim army reached as far as *Ḍavakā* in the Nowgong district. This is therefore evident that by 1362 A.D. the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom had not only the *Kāmatāpura* state in the west overrun by the Muslim invaders but other states split from the parent kingdom which they tried to conquer. Therefore the development of *Kāmatāpura* is a subsequent event and cannot be linked up with the shifting of the capital from *Durjayā* to *Kāmarūpanagara* during the rule of Dharmapāla. The testimony cited by P. N. Vidyāvinoda of Buchanon Hamilton to the existence of *Kāmatāpura* relates to a later period when the Muslims ransacked the entire area. Thus the Dharmapāla who is associated with the ruins of *Kāmatā* or Rangpur cannot be the same as that of the *Puṣpabhadrā Grant* having his seat of administration at *Kāmarūpanagara*.

That the Muslim invaders had to come as far as the Brahmaputra advancing upon the *Kāmarūpa* capital indicates that *Kāmarūpanagara* was somewhere on the Brahmaputra. Dr. P. C. Chowdhury is of the opinion that the capital *Kāmarūpanagara* must have been in the area now known as North Gauhati, for according to him there is a strong tradition of a king Dharmapāla ruling over the area and there are ruins over a wide area of fortifications, temples and roads of an old city. These relics of an old city may be ascribed to a period not later than the 12th century A.D. and might be the monuments of the capital of the Pāla kingdom. Another strong evidence of the capital *Kāmarūpanagara* being at Gauhati is according to Dr. Chowdhury that the eastern part of North Gauhati is still called the *Rajāduār*. The find spot of the *Puṣpabhadrā* grant is Rājmahal, he says, near the capital. So according to him *Kāmarūpanagara* may definitely be placed somewhere near the North Gauhati area. *Kāma-*

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[150] H. C. Raverty's Translation, I, pp. 560. f. and also Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, p. 244.

rūpanagara according to Dr. Chowdhury is only an extension of *Prāgyotiṣapura* on the other bank of the mighty river.[151]

However cogent the arguments in favour of the North Gauhati area being adopted as the capital of *Kāmarūpanagara*, it is very difficult to finally accept them, because there is no indication in the inscriptions concerned that the *Kāmarūpanagara* was on the banks of the Brahmaputra. Contrarily there is an eloquent silence on the point which, therefore, precludes the possibility of the establishment of the capital on the Brahmaputra. The term '*Rajāduār*' may refer to the North Gauhati area being the gateway to *Prāgjyotiṣapura* from the North. It appears to us that the term is intimately connected with the days of Ahom administration and is not connected with a very high ancient tradition. The find-spot of the *Puṣpabhadrā Grant* is the dried up bed of the river so-called and not Rājmahal. Under the circumstances such a categorical conclusion as Dr. Chowdhury's seems to be hazardous and is fraught with a certain number of points not as yet settled. At the same time the traditions of a king Dharmapāla with a capital city in the Rangpur district, who is being confused with other kings of the same name cannot be overlooked, because the Dharmapāla Nagara of Dr. Hamilton Buchanon seems to have been on the eastern side of the *Karatoyā* the western boundary of *Kāmarūpa* even in the days of later Muslim invasions. Therefore it is unlikely that some Dharmapāla of *Gauḍa* intruded into the *Kāmarūpa* state just to erect the capital city inside it.[152]

(xxxv) After Dharmapāla, Jayapāla

The inscriptions of Assam are all silent on the successors of Dharmapāla and on this account, it is generally accepted that the Pāla house of *Kāmarūpa* came to an end with Dharmapāla. But a stone slab inscription from Śilimpur under the Kethāl thana in the district of Bogra recording the erection of a temple in which a Brahmin Prahāsa by name installed the image of Amaranātha highly eulogises the want of covetousness on the part of the Brahmin saying that in spite of being constantly supplicated, this Brahmin refused to accept a gift of gold from the *Kāmarūpa* king Jayapāla equal in measure to the weight of the king and a land gift yielding ten thousand measures of paddy.[153] The name of this king is mentioned in a manuscript of the book *Chandogapariśiṣṭaprakāśa* preserved in the India Office Library of London. Here in the manuscript, the Brahmin, Umāpati, the chief of *Paṇḍits* and leader of the *Prābhākaras* is said to have received the donation of '*mahāśrāddha*' and many other gifts from king Jayapāla.[154] This Umāpati must have been the Umāpati with the surname of Dhara who is the writer of the *Deopārā* inscription of Vijayasena and who must have been the minister of his grandson Lakṣmaṇasena of *Gauḍa* for some time. Therefore we can very safely say that this Umāpati accepted the *Śrāddha* gift from Jayapāla towards the 1st quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Therefore Jayapāla of *Kāmarūpa* came after Dharmapāla and he may be his son or grandson directly succeeding him.[155]

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[151] See Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, pp. 244-45.

[152] On this point see Introduction, *Kāmarūpasāsanāvalī*, p. 35 and foot-note No. 2.

[153] यः कामरूपनृपतेर्ज्जयपालनाम्नस्तुलापुरुषदातुरचिन्त्यधाम्नः ।
हेम्नां शतानि नव निर्भरमथ्यमानो नैवाददे दशशतोदयशासनं च ॥
—*Silimpur Stone Slab Inscription*, Verse No. 22.
(From *Epigraphia Indica*, XIII, p. 292)

The *Kamauli Grant* of Vaidyadeva in which he assumed the imperial title records the donation of two villages of *Śāntipāṭaka* and *Mandarā* in the *Bāḍā viṣaya* of the *Kāmarūpa maṅḍala* in the *bhukti* of *Prāgjyotiṣa*[156] and was issued in the year 1142 A.D., the 4th regnal year of the king. Therefore Jayapāla's reign could not have extended beyond 1138 A.D., because the above grant of Vaidyadeva clearly states that he was the monarch of *Kāmarūpa*.

The date of Rāmapāla may be placed between 1085-1130 A.D. Again the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandī speaks at more than one places of the conquest of *Kāmarūpa* by Rāmapāla.[157] This conquest of Rāmapāla cannot be during the days of king Dharmapāla, because this king was ruling with great majesty in the *Śrāvasti* area of *Puṇḍravardhana* as indicated by his donation of land in that area through his *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* grant issued in the 2nd year of his reign. His *Puṣpabhadrā* grant issued much subsequently to the earlier grant does not indicate any political disaster in the later period of the rule of the king.[158] Contrarily, he seems to have ruled till the end of his career with effulgence and glory outshadowing many earlier monarchs. The date of Dharmapāla's rule is fixed from 1070-1100, i.e., till the end of the eleventh century A.D. and Jayapāla came to the throne after 1100 A.D. Therefore Rāmapāla's conquest of *Kāmarūpa* must have taken place by 1125-26 A.D. Such a chronological arrangement fits in well with the date of Umāpati, the poet-composer of the *Deopārā Inscription* of Vijayasena, who was recorded as having received a *śrāddha* gift from Jayapāla the king of *Kāmarūpa* in the *Chandogapariśiṣṭaprakāśa* (see K.S., p. 37).

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[154] तस्माद्भूषितसाब्धिभूमिवलयः शिष्योपशिष्यव्रजैर्विद्वन्मौलिरभूदुमापतिरिति प्राभाकरग्रामणीः ।
क्षमापालाज्जयपालतः स हि महाश्राद्धं प्रभूतं महादानं चार्थिगणार्द्रहृदयः प्रत्यग्रहीत् पुण्यवान् ।।
—*Epigraphia Indica*, XIII, p. 289

[155] In spite of the direct statement that this Jayapāla is the king of *Kāmarūpa*, many scholars dispute Jayapāla's being a *Kāmarūpa* monarch. D. N. Mukherjee's identification of this Jayapāla with the Jayapāla of *Gauḍa* (*Indian Culture*, V, pp. 367-74) the cousin of Devapāla is not possible, because this Devapāla flourished in the 9th century A.D. Paṇḍit H. P. Śāstrī commits the same mistake in his introduction to the *Rāmacarita* of Saṅdhyākaranandī (cf. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, p. 8). R. G. Basak, the editor of the *Silimpur Epigraph* rightly identifies Jayapāla of this inscription and king Jayapāla of the *Rāmacarita* as one and the same person as the king of *Kāmarūpa* (for details see Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, pp. 246-243).

[156] श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषभुक्तौ कामरूपे मण्डले वाड़ाविषये ।. . . . . .
—*Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 348-58, lines 48-49

[157] तस्य जितकामरूपादिविषयविनिवृत्तमानसम्पाद्यः ।
महिमानमानयनृपो यतमानस्य प्रजाभिरक्षार्थम् ।।
विग्रहनिर्ज्जितकामरूपभृत्—IV. 5

This date appears more probable because while Rāmapāla was ruling over *Gauḍa*, Jayapāla was ruling over the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa from Kāmarūpanagara.* The latter appears to have been a very strong and prosperous king, because many anecdotes are afloat about him. His fame reached Bogra as witnessed in the stone-slab inscription from Śilimpur and his benevolence was praised in a manuscript of the *Chandogapariśiṣṭaprakāśa*. It is therefore unlikely that Rāmapāla's conquest of *Kāmarūpa* took place when Jayapāla was ruling. Rāmapāla, it appears, conquered *Kāmarūpa* with the help of his general Tiṅgyadeva while Jayapāla was no more near about 1125 A.D. and a very weak king was ruling at *Kāmarūpanagara* who being worsted by Tiṅgyadeva shifted his capital to the south bank of the Brahmaputra in the vicinity of the old *Prāgjyotiṣa*. This Pāla dynasty, it appears, continued for a long time in the south as it appears from the *Ambari Stone Inscription* of Samudrapālà wherein it is stated that this king ruled in the year 1232 A.D. Be that as it may, when Tiṅgyadeva revolted, Kumārapāla had him killed[159] in battle through Vaidyadeva who then became the regent of the *Gauḍa* king. The time lag allowed by this arrangement i.e. the regency of the *Gauḍa* king through Tiṅgyadeva on the first instance and Vaidyadeva in the second is sufficient to allow the *Kāmarūpa* house to crumble and to allow Vaidyadeva to consolidate his position before declaring his independence from the Pāla house of Bengal, which fact he accomplished by the year 1138. Therefore it is not possible to place Vaidyadeva in 1096 A.D. as done by D. C. Bhattacharya and R. D. Banerjee[160] nor is the theory of simultaneous occupation of portions of *Kāmarūpa* by Dharmapāla on one hand and Tiṅgyadeva and Vaidyadeva on the other tenable as evolved by P. Bhattacharya. At the same time the conquest by Māyana, the general of Rāmapāla, of the whole of *Kāmarūpa* state replacing Jayapāla by Tiṅgyadeva cannot be assumed, because there is no evidence to that effect.[161] It is only in the *Kamauli Grant* of Vaidyadeva that we find that he, soon after the suppression of the revolt of Tiṅgyadeva with the help of his brother Buddhadeva, declared his independence and assumed the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. Therefore we find that the kingdom is still referred to as *Prāgjyotiṣa bhukti* and some portions of the state, the *Kāmarūpa* proper as the *maṇḍala*. This clearly shows that Vaidyadeva has not as yet been able to extend his possessions in *Prāgjyotiṣa* farther east. Vaidyadeva possibly established a new line of kings and was later on known as Ārimatta who is credited by the chronicles with the erection of many fortifications not only in modern *Kāmarūpa*, but also in Viśvanāth and Ratnapura in Mājulī in Upper

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[158] P. N. Vidyāvinoda holds that this conquest of *Kāmarūpa* by Rāmapāla of *Gauḍa* was contemporaneous with the reign of Dharmapāla. He says that the donee Himāṅga in the 1st Copper Plate Inscription of Dharmapāla hailed from *Śrāvasti:* Prahāsa of the *Stone Slab Inscription of Silimpur,* also belonging originally to *Śrāvasti,* came over to *Bālagrāma* wherefrom he migrated to Śiyamba, known as Silimpur in later times. Both these villages might have been away by a little distance from *Śrāvasti:* Rāmapāla might have occupied this south-western area of *Kāmarūpa* and therefore *Śrāvasti* might have come under his sway. When by the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* charter, Dharmapāla donated land to Himāṅga in *Śrāvasti* it can be inferred that in the third year of the reign of Dharmapāla, Rāmapāla did not occupy any portion of *Kāmarūpa* territory. Though the date of Dharmapāla may approximately be determined as the earlier part of the first quarter of the twelvth century A.D. still it is generally agreed that he came to the throne in the last decade of the 11th century. Therefore Rāmapāla occupied certain portion of *Kāmarūpa* territory near about 1094-95 A.D. Vidyāvinoda then following the chronology of the Pāla Dynasty as adopted by R. D. Banerjee has noted that it is doubtful whether Rāmapāla's rule ever extended to the first part of the twelvth century A.D. (According to Banerjee, Rāmapāladeva was succeeded by his second son Kumārapāla about the year 1097 A.D.—*Palas of Bengal,* Chapter VI, p. 101, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. V, No. 3.) Therefore the last date of Rāmapāla may be taken as the year 1097 A.D. Thus Vidyāvinoda makes Tiṅgyadeva, who was selected a regent to administer the newly acquired area of *Kāmarūpa* by Kumārapāla, the son of Rāmapāla, and Vaidyadeva, who replaced Tiṅgyadeva later on, contemporaries of Dharmapāla. Therefore he has to fix the date of the Sena conquest of *Kāmarūpa* as indicated by the *Deoparā* inscription of Vijayasena in the first decade of the 12th century A.D. taking place during the reign of Jayapāla (see introduction to K.S. pp. 40-43). This militates against his earlier statement that the acceptance of a *Śrāddhamahādāna* by Umāpati from Jayapāla, the king of *Kāmarūpa* took place in the 3rd quarter of the 12th century A.D. (see K. S. introduction, page 37) and his own determination of the age of Vijayasena in the middle part of the 12th century A.D.

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[159] एतादृशो हरिहरिद्भुवि सत्कृतस्य श्रीतिम्ग्यदेवनृपतेर्विकृर्ति निशम्य ।
गौड़ेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव उरुकीर्त्तिरयं नियुक्तः ।।१३।।
Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 347. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 131, also See E.H.K. pp. 190-91.

[160] *Indian Antiquary*, 1920, pp. 189-93.
Indian Historical Quarterly, III, pp. 571-91.
R. D. Banerjee, See F. N. 158 above.

[161] E.H.K., pp. 147-48.

Assam. This clearly shows that Vaidyadeva established himself as the ruler of the whole of the north bank as far as Mājulī in the east.

As stated earlier Vaidyadeva established himself as a paramount monarch in the year 1142 A.D. after overthrowing the *Kāmarūpa* monarch. At this period, the Pālas of Bengal were declining in power and the Senas began to gain an ascendancy in the eastern region. Vaidyadeva also wanted not only to firmly establish himself over the newly acquired territories but also tried to aggrandise his position both east and west. This, it is most likely, led him to a conflict with the rising power of the Senas of Bengal, when its king Vijayasena removed the king of *Kāmarūpa* as he did the lords of *Gauḍa* and *Madra* countries and swept over the country of *Kaliṅga*.[162] The word *apākṛta* used in the verse under reference might mean that Vaidyadeva was intruding into the territory of Vijayasena when the latter drove him out of the lands of his own territories. This therefore is not an actual conquest of the kingdom by Vijayasena though the word *jigāya* used in the verse might create such an impression. Such an explanation of the verse is being confirmed by the *Madhāinagar* inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena wherein it is stated that Lakṣmaṇasena subdued the king of *Kāmarūpa* by dint of his prowess.[163] This probably happened later on when Vaidyadeva was no more and the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom was split up into a certain number of principalities.

To get a clear picture of the political situation of the time it is quite necessary approximately to have an idea of the Sena chronology of Bengal which to some extent is still obscure and confusing. For example, Kielhorn places the grant of Vijayasena towards the end of the 11th century A.D. and determines the period of his reign towards the last quarter of the 11th century A.D. He makes Lakṣmaṇasena the founder of the era starting from 1119 A.D. but at other places he ascribes to Vallālasena, the father of Lakṣmaṇasena the year 1169 A.D.[164] H. C. Roychowdhury referring to the invasion of Vijayasena remarks—"During the weak rule of the sons of Rāmapāla, the kinglets of the *Gauḍa* empire who helped to regain his throne, engaged in a struggle for supremacy, in the course of which, Vīra, Vajardhana, the *rājā* of *Kāmarūpa* and the lord of *Gauḍa* himself were worsted and Vijayasena established the supremacy of his family."[165] P. N. Vidyāvinoda's position has already been explained above (see under F.N. 158). His explanations on this particular point contradict his own position. If Vijayasena flourished and attacked the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom in the middle of the 12th century A.D. during the days of Jayapāla, the time of rule of the latter will have to be considerably post-dated beyond 1142 and that of Vaidyadeva still later so that Vallabhadeva's date of 1185 A.D. stands transgressed by the date of Vaidyadeva's rule, which fact is impossible on the face of it. The Vidyāvinoda makes confusion worse confounded when he thinks that Jayapāla's kingdom was again invaded by Lakṣmaṇasena. The dates of the Sena rulers of Bengal as determined by various scholars are no longer tenable in view of certain dates recorded in the works *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* attributed to Ballālasena and the evidence of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* of Minhāj. The *Dānasāgara* was written in the S.E. 1091 and the *Adbhutasāgara* in 1082 S.E. i.e., 1169 A.D. and 1160 A.D. respectively. The *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* was written in the A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260). R. C. Majumdar relying on these dates says that Vallālasena was alive by these dates i.e. 1160 and 1169 A.D. and that the so-called *Lakṣmaṇa era* as propounded by R. D. Banerjee is a myth, because he could not have ascended the throne when his father Vallāla was alive. Therefore we can determine the Sena chronology as follows: Vijayasena 1119-59, Vallāla 1159-1175, Lakṣmaṇa 1175-1200. The work of Minhāj further proves that Lakṣmaṇa was ruling in Bengal when Mahammad-i-Bukhtiyar invaded Bengal in 1202 A.D.[166]

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[162] गौड़ेन्द्रमद्रवदपाकृतकामरूपभूपं कलिङ्गमपि यस्तरसा जिगाय ।।
Deopārā Inscription of Vijayasena; Second half of *Śloka*, 20.—C. T. Metcalfe; J.A.S.B. Vol. XXXVI, pp. 128 ff. Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff.

[163] ***विक्रमवशीकृतकामरूप*** *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 111.

[164] *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 305 and
Ibid VIII, (App. A.), p. 20.

[165] *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 157-58.

Thus it may be stated with some amount of certainty that Vijayasena waged his war against Vaidyadeva the king of *Kāmarūpa* some time after he occupied its throne i.e. within the period 1145-1150 A.D. and Lakṣmaṇa towards the end of the century i.e., nearly after fifty years when Vaidyadeva was no more. It may be asserted here that none of these two conquests led to the subjugation of the kingdom or the amputation of any part of the kingdom, because we find that in the subsequent invasions by the Muslim conquerors, their arrival, straight at *Kāmarūpa* from *Gauḍa* is stated and no territory is said to have intervened in their march straight from *Gauḍa.*

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[166] cf. "During the reign of Madanapāla, who succeeded Gopāla III, the Sena king Vijayasena conquered practically the whole of *Gauḍa* and became the immediate neighbour of the *Kāmarūpa* king. This conquest is mentioned in the Deopārā Inscription of Vijayasena wherein a reference is made to the king of *Kāmarūpa* (*Gauḍendra madravat apākrta Kāmarūpa Bhūpam*). This has been taken by some scholars to mean that Vijayasena conquered *Kāmarūpa*. Paṇḍit Vidyāvinoda, however, surmises that the word *apākṛta* indicates that the *Kāmarūpa* king having encroached within the limits of *Gauḍa*, Vijayasena drove him out. Mr. C. V. Vaidya interprets the stanza to mean that Vijayasena actually subdued the king of *Gauḍa* who had troubled the king of *Kāmarūpa*. Mr. Vaidya's interpretation may be correct. In any case, it was not perhaps anything more than a skirmish on the frontier. About this time, towards the middle of the twelfth century, perhaps Vaidyadeva was ruling in *Kāmarūpa*. He probably ruled till 1150 A.D. R. D. Banerjee however, states that Vijayasena died about the beginning of the twelfth century and was succeeded by his son Vallālasena. On the other hand, in the *Gauḍa Rājamāla* the reign of Vallālasena is shown as 1159-1169 A.D. This seems to be more correct because Vallālasena's son Lakṣmaṇasena, the Rae Lakṣmaṇia of the *Tabaquet-i-Nasiri*, was an aged king when Mahammad-i-Bukhtiyar invaded Bengal in 1202 A.D. R. D. Banerjee seems to have antedated the death of Vijayasena by fifty years. Vaidyadeva was therefore very probably a contemporary of Vijayasena" E.H.K.—pp. 195-96.

The successors of Vaidyadeva are unknown. The *Copper Plates Inscription* of Vallabhadeva dated *Śaka* 1107 (1185 A.D.) known as the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva edited and published by Kielhorn,[167] gives the genealogy of a dynasty of kings tracing their origin from the race of Bhāskara as follows:

Bhāskara
↓
Rāyārideva
↓
Udayakarṇa
↓
Vallabhadeva

K. L. Barua says that these kings could not have been the kings of *Kāmarūpa,* for there is no space to accommodate these kings in between Vaidyadeva's death and 1185 the date of the plates of Vallabhadeva. They might have been, according to him, feudatory chiefs under later *Kāmarūpa* kings. But when he says "This supposition is strengthened by the fact that of the seven villages granted by the inscription two bear *Kāmarūpa* names. They are Devani-Koñchi and Sāṅgśrāhi-Koñchikā"[168], he contradicts himself, for land-grants are generally made in an area just to declare the absolute authority of the king over all matters in that area. Moreover, there is no question of any gap not left out between the death of Vaidyadeva supposedly in 1150 A.D. and 1185 A.D. for the insertion of any new dynasty of kings. The impression gains ground gradually when we read the lines of the inscription that Rāyārideva was an independent king, sometime when Vaidyadeva was ruling in *Kāmarūpa.* It is also likely that originally a vassal under the Pāla dynasty of Assam, this line of kings declared independence somewhere in the *Kāmarūpa* Kingdom, when Vaidyadeva occupied it. It appears possible that Vaidyadeva could not occupy the whole kingdom with one stroke of his arms all on a sudden, and when the occupational process took some time, Rāyārideva declared his independence. When Vijayasena attacked the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom,

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[167] *Epigraphia Indica,* V, pp. 181-85.

[168] *Early History of Kāmarūpa,* pp. 197-98.

Rāyārideva might have rendered good services in helping Vaidyadeva to ward off the enemy's attack. In the combat Vaidyadeva might have been killed and Rāyārideva giving a fierce resistance to Vijaya completely ousted him and declared himself the monarch of *Kāmarūpa*. It is possibly from this angle that we can read the following line from the said inscription—"at the gorgeous festival of battle which was fearful on account of the presence of the lordly elephants of *Vaṅga*, he made the enemy abandon the practice of arms"[169] Vallabhadeva subsequently repulsed the attack of Lakṣmaṇasena of *Gauḍa* and this might have taken place some time near the end of the 12th century. Vallabhadeva is described as a great hero "who sportively overcame hostile princes, as if they were courtesans"[170] N. K. Bhattasali seems to hold that it was this Vallabhadeva who repulsed the attack of Bakhtiyar in the year 1206 A.D.[171] But this seems to be improbable that Vallabhadeva who recorded his inscription in 1185 A.D. lived till the time of Bakhtiyar's attack in 1206 A.D.

The *Kānāi Barasī Rock Inscription* at North Gauhati has it on record as follows:

शाके तुरगयुग्मेशे मधुमासत्रयोदशे ।
कामरूपं समागत्य तुरुष्का: क्षयमाययु: ।।

These reverses of the so-called Turks in *Kāmarūpa* must have been those met with by Bakhtiyar in the course of his expedition to China in the year 1205-6. This is confirmed by Minhāj, the author of the *Tabāqat-i-Nāsirī* who states that Bakhtiyar invaded the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* in the year 1205-6. But the name of the king ruling at that time over *Kāmarūpa* is not known, but we can gather the name of the ruler from the records of this Muslim historian as well as from the accounts of Buchanan Hamilton. "Minhāj, the author of the *Tabāqat-i-Nāsirī*, refers to him as Bartu (Britu) and Sir Wolsely Haig, in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, supposes that he was no other than the king of *Kāmarūpa* who repulsed not only Bakhtiyar in 1206 A.D. but also Hisam-Uddin Iwaj (Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din) in 1227 A.D. and was ultimately over-thrown by Nasir-ud-din, the son of Iltutmish in 1228 A.D."[172] When the *Āmbāri Inscription* dated 1232 A.D. lays it down that Samudrapāla was ruling in the kingdom, it is apparent that after Jayapāla the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* for a long time was ruled over by two independent monarchs, one on the north bank and the other on the south. The second invasion of Ghiyas-ud-din is probably alluded to in the *Gāchtal Inscription* (dt. 1362 A.D.) which records that a large army of Turks has proceeded further south towards *Ḍavāka* possibly bypassing the capital at Gauhati.

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[169] From the *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 198.

[170] *Epigraphia Indica*, V, pp. 81-88, verse 10.

[171] I.H.Q., XXII, pp. 4-6.

[172] E.H.K., pp. 198-99.

Therefore it is likely that someone ruling at Gauhati, most likely a scion of the Pāla dynasty in Assam, sent this message to the Chieftain under him so to contrive for trapping the enemy as to be able finally to destroy him.

8. Chronology of the Prāgjyotṣa-Kāmarūpa Kings

We have discussed above in detail the political set up of the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa* with approximate dates of its rulers. But we have not been able to draw up a chronology of these kings, because it is very difficult to fill up between kings the gaps of periods of time which might run into hundreds nay thousands of years. In attempting to make a chronological presentation of the kings we are faced with irresoluble contradictions which are expected to be reconciled. As an instance the case of the legendary king Naraka may be cited. He is mentioned at some places as a very ancient *asura* and at other places as a *dānava* (*see* fn. nos. 7 & 8 of this section). This must have a reference to very earlier times when Naraka was not initiated into the Aryan civilisation and when he was ruling to the east of Videha with a cultural behaviour not worth the name. This explains the attribution of contemptuous epithets like *dānava, mahāsura* etc. to his person. But again Naraka is associated with the *Kṛṣṇa* incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. This pre-supposes a very long period of time over which Naraka flourished.

It is very difficult to make an actual computation of the period of time that intervened between the *Rāma-Rāvaṇa* war and the *Mahābhārata* battle. Therefore we cannot have a precise idea as to how many Narakas ruled from Naraka the first to Naraka the last. This much is certain that Naraka the last flourished just before the *Kurukṣetra* war i.e. 3101 B.C. when Bhagadatta occupied the throne. According to the charters of the *Kāmarūpa* kings, after three thousand years of rule by the dynasty of Bhagadatta over *Prāgjyotiṣa*, Puṣyavarmā occupied the throne. The reference to this period of gap in the inscriptions is an approximation and therefore Puṣyavarmā can be said to have ruled in the 1st century B.C.

This fact of Puṣyavarmā's rule is also indirectly supported by another literary evidence. Kālidāsa records in his *Mālavikāgnimitra* the first event of Puṣyamitra's reign—his conflict with Vidarbha. The kingdom of Magadha was not yet firmly established under the *Śuṅgas* and the king of Vidarbha Yajñasena who was related to the minister of the murdered king Bṛhadratha possibly declared himself independent following the confusion after the assassination. After restoration of order in his home kingdom, Puṣyamitra demanded allegiance of Yajñasena. Being refused, he sent an army to Vidarbha under the command of Agnimitra, Puṣyamitra's son and Viceroy at Vidiśā "who carried on hostilities with great vigour and consummate diplomacy. He won over to his side Yajñasena's cousin, Mādhavasena, and at last, when the struggle ended, Vidarbha was apportioned between the two cousins"[173]

The early part of Puṣyamitra's rule was marked by a series of *Yavana* incursions into the territory of the Śuṅgas. Allusions to them are found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa refers to the defeat of the *Yavanas* on the banks of the river Sindhu by Vasumitra. These *Yavanas* possibly constituted an advance party that was stemmed on its route to the Śuṅga kingdom by Vasumitra. After defeating the *Yavanas* advancing on his territory, Puṣyamitra possibly celebrated the horse-sacrifice referred to in the *Malavikāgnimitra* and the *Mahābhāṣya* and let loose his sacrificial horse to bring under his subjugation the neighbouring princes. This the poet describes under the guise of Raghu's *digvijaya,* because here his theme of delineation is the race of the Raghus and not Puṣyamitra. This is confirmed by the fact that on the one hand the poet has directly alluded to the exploits of Puṣyamitra and on the other the countries conquered by Raghu could not have existed under those very names during Raghu's regime. Therefore Raghu's conquests is an indirect reference to those of Puṣyamitra.

Thus we see that Puṣyamitra's army came to *Kāmarūpa* and crossing over the Brahmaputra arrived at *Prāgjyotiṣa,* the lord of which acknowledged the paramountcy of the Magadha sovereign. Therefore some king of the line of Bhagadatta, not in its state of glory but decline, bowed before the all-engulfing power of Puṣyamitra and remained in a state of vassalage till the time of Agnimitra. Taking advantage of this weakness of the *Prāgjyotiṣa* king and the declining state of the Śuṅga empire, Puṣyavarmā occupied the throne claiming himself to be a descendant of the race of Naraka and Bhagadatta and declaring himself to be independent of Magadha showed his capacity to vie with the Śuṅga rulers by assuming the name of Puṣyavarmā. This must have happened near about 120 B.C.

One important point that draws our notice is that while the panegyrists have been able to give the names of all the queens of the sovereigns as the names of the mothers of the kings succeeding they have not been able to state the name of the queen of Puṣyavarmā. This definitely proves the following—(1) that he was an upstart whose whereabouts prior to his being a king were unknown, (2) that the panegyrists are actually cut off here from the real tradition, (3) that the king to follow Puṣyavarmā in the line might not be Samudravarmā, (4) that some kings came between Puṣyavarmā and Samudravarmā whose names were lost. In this connection, the name of the king Surendravarmā mentioned in the *Umācal Rock Inscription* but not reckoned by the panegyrists in their inscriptions is pertinent. He must have been a separate king and the argument that Surendravarmā and Mahendravarmā are the one and the same king is not convincing. We must also take into account the mention made of a king Balavarmā who is being described as forcibly extirpated in the *Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta.[174] This king must have been the king of *Kāmarūpa*, king Balavarmā I of the race of the Bhauma-Nārakas specially when he is mentioned as a king of *Aryāvarta*. This being the case we can very safely conclude that the *Prāgjyotiṣa Kāmarūpa* came under the tutelage of the Guptas from the days of Balavarmā I, though the process might have begun from the days of Samudravarmā who might challenge the authority of Samudragupta as the adoption of the name suggested. Therefore it is likely that Samudravarmā was preceded by Surendravarmā when the worship of Balabhadra as one of the *Vyūhas* of the *Pañcarātra* school has presaged the advent of Vaiṣṇavism proper. There is, it seems, a long gap of time from Puṣyavarmā to Surendravarmā which was filled in by a number of kings whose names the extant sources cannot supply.

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[173] *History of Ancient India.*—Dr. R. S. Tripathi, p. 185.

It is also to be recollected that the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā contains no reference to any date whatsoever, as was previously supposed to have contained. Therefore in preparing the chronology of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings, the date of Bhaskaravarmā who is said to have died by 650 A.D. must be taken as the dead line. Therefore starting from hoary antiquities groping in darkness and on the strength of Bhāskara's date some seemingly rational chronology of the *Kāmarūpa* kings may be constructed. Though some authencity for the later kings can be vouched for, still the chronology of the earlier period will for ever be in a state of doubt for want of materials for confirmation.

In the Western regions		*In the Eastern regions*	
Naraka the 1st	These might have established a kingdom on the Kośī to the east of Videha.	Mahīraṅgadānava	These kings might have been ruling in the eastern part of the kingdom.
Naraka the 2nd		Hāṭakāsura	
Naraka the 3rd		Sambarāsura	
....		Raṭnāsura	
....		Ghaṭakāsura	
....			

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[174] नागसेनाच्युत-नन्दि-बलवर्म्माद्यनेकार्य्यावर्त्तराजप्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृत्तप्रभावमहतः. . . इत्यादि line-21
Dr. R. S. Tripathy in his "*History of Ancient India*" (p. 242) says that the Balavarmā mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta is not as yet satisfactorily identified. When we have come across a contemporary king of the same name in the inscriptions of Assam, we cannot understand why he cannot be satisfactorily identified with this Balavarmā. Mr. K. N. Dikṣit however identifies Balavarmā with this ancestor of Bhāskaravarmā of Assam mentioned in the *Nidhānpur Inscription* (Proceedings of the 1st A.I.O.C. 1920, Vol. I, p. CXXIV), Dr. K. P. Jayasval's identification of this Balavarmā with Kalyāṇavarmā of Pātaliputra who is said to have adopted the former name in his coronation is not convincing (J.B.O.R.S.—March-June, 1933, p. 142).

Naraka the last—migrated from the Videha region, defeated Ghaṭakāsura and established the Prāgjyotiṣa kingdom

Bhagadatta

Vajradatta

Yajñadatta

Kṛtaprajña

Puṣpadatta

The Bhauma Dynasty *Pusyavarmā*... 1st Century B.C.

a few kings might have ruled whose records might be missing in the orthodox sources because with the downfall of the Śuṅgas there was a swing towards Buddhistic faith which again was circumvented by the rise of the Guptas.

Surendravarmā	280-320 A.D.
Samudravarmā	320-360 A.D.
Balavarmā I	360-395 A.D.
Kalyāṇavarmā	395-430 A.D.
Gaṇapativarmā	430-450 A.D.
Mahendravarmā	450-480 A.D.
Nārāyaṇavarmā	480-510 A.D.
Bhūtivarmā	510-550 A.D.
Candramukhavarmā	550-570 A.D.
Sthitavarmā	570-585 A.D.
Susthitavarmā	585-593 A.D.
Supratiṣṭhitavarmā	593-594 A.D.
Bhāskaravarmā	594-650 A.D.

The Sālastambha Dynasty

Sālastambha	650-675 A.D.
Vijaya	675-685 A.D.
Pālaka	685-700 A.D.
Kumāra	700-725 A.D.

	Vajradeva	725-735 A.D.
	Harṣavarmā	735-750 A.D.
	Balavarmā II	750-775 A.D.
These two were brothers	Cakra (Sālambha)	775-780 A.D.
	Arathi	780-805 A.D.
	Harjaravarmā	805-835 A.D.
	Vanamāla	835-870 A.D.
	Jayamāla (Vīrabāhu)	870-885 A.D.
	Balavarmā III	885-900 A.D.
	i	three unknown rulers 900-915 A.D.
	i	
	i	
	Tyāgasiṁha	915-920 A.D.
Pāla Dynasty	Brahmapāla	920-930 A.D.
	Ratnapāla	930-980 A.D.
	Purandarapāla	did not reign as king
	Indrapāla	980-1010 A.D.
	Gopāla	1010-1040 A.D.
	Harṣapāla	1040-1070 A.D.
	Dharmapāla	1070-1100 A.D.
	Jayapāla	1100-1128 A.D.
Viceroy of Rāmapāla	Tiṅgyadeva	1128-1132
	Vaidyadeva	1132-1142
	Vaidyadeva	1142-1150
Ruling over the north bank	Bhāskara	1145-1152
	Rāyārideva	1153-1160
	Udayakarṇa	1160-1165
	Vallabhadeva	1165-1195
	Bartu	1195-1228
Pāla Dynasty in the South after Jayapāla	....	four kings 1128-1225
	....	
	....	
	....	
	Samudrapāla	1226-1250
	....	
	....	

C. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

We have given above a broad outline of the political administration of the kings of *Kāmarūpa*. In doing so we have not properly taken into account the political institutions prevailing in the period under reference. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to give an estimate of the then prevailing political institutions, for no clear picture of these can emerge from a perusal of the mere inscriptions. Nevertheless we propose to examine in a few succeeding pages the relevant materials supplied by the inscriptions in this connection.

(i) *Kingship*

What seems likely from the statements in the epics is a system of despotic monarchy prevailing in the hoary antiquities of her history. The description of Naraka in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*tasmin vasati duṣṭātmā ṇarako nāma dānavaḥ*, see preceding section F.N. 5) portrays such a picture. He, it appears, is very much wicked and is not bound by any code of conduct with proclivities like Rāvaṇa for contemptible behaviour. In all such activities, it appears, there was no instrument by which checks and balances could be exercised against. The system of cabinet administration, it appears likely, was not as yet devised. Such a despotic nature of the kingship during the time of Naraka is also suggested by another verse of the *Mahābhārata* wherein he is described as *pṛthivīṇjayaḥ* (*Sabhā* IX. 16). He moves about on the surface of the earth as a monarch of all that he surveys. He is said to have poked his steps into heaven just to snatch away the earrings of Aditi, the mother of all the gods in heaven.

In order to resolve the various conflicting accounts of Naraka in the *Mahābhārata* we have earlier suggested a number of kings with the patronymic Naraka in the family of the same name. If this supposition be true, it is found that kingship has become hereditary by this time. Though the accounts are conflicting it is generally agreed that after Naraka's killing, Bhagadatta, his son, was seated on the throne[1]. Thus the line may be supposed to be continuing through the right of succession.

We may presume also that the right of succession in a family to its descendants was recognised as a principle governing the continuity of the throne. But in spite of this recognition, the accession seems to have presupposed the attainment of consent of a number of people, if not a multitude of them, who it appears, were expected to witness the coronation. For it is stated in the *Ḍubi* plates Gaṇendravarmā went to heaven after placing Mahendravarmā on the throne in the presence of people whom he specially called forth (to witness)[2]. The same idea of hereditary occupation of the throne is also thrown in by the verses 9-10 from the *Bargaon Grant* of king Ratnapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Assam[3] wherein it is clearly stated that the descendants of the Naraka dynasty enjoyed the kingdom in hereditary successions. Even then we cannot lose sight of possible catastrophies interrupting the line of succession. One such calamity due to a freak of fortune is referred to which states that the sovereignty circumstanced to slip away to a lord of the *Mlecchas*, Sālastambha by name. Therefore insurrections or revolts though uncommon cannot completely be overruled.

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[1] The *Nidhānpur Copper Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā give the genealogy as follows: Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, his son Vajradatta, coming in succession. The *Ḍubi Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā, the *Nowgong* and the *Howraghat Plates* of Balavarmā, the *Gauhati* and the *Guākuci Grants* of Indrapāla are in complete agreement in this respect with the *Nidhānpur Plates*. The *Tezpur* and the *Parvatīyā Plates* of Vanamāla state that while Lord *Viṣṇu* restituted the kingdom to Bhagadatta, Vajradatta acquired the overlordship of *Uparipattana*. The *Bargaon* and the *Suālkuci Plates* of Ratnapāla do not refer to *Uparipattana* as such and merely present Bhagadatta and Vajradatta as brothers. The Charters of Dharmapāla go straightway to Brahmapāla from Naraka.

Another interesting feature referred to in the above verses is that when the line of succession came to an end in Tyāgasiṁha, the 21st king of the Sālastambha dynasty, the people selected Brahmapāla their king, Brahmapāla who is described as the scion of the race of Narakas. This clearly implies that though the right of succession was conceded, still the sovereignty in the ultimate analysis rested on the people. This might be reminiscent of a tradition from the Vedic age when people used to elect their own king when the society was primarily patriarchal in a civilisation mostly agricultural; because the so-called elections were confined within the limits of particular clans. Even then it may appear the elements of democracy that might have had their way in the later times were a Vedic trait and leave no traces of their existence during the days of Naraka.[4] The word *pārthiva vṛndārako narakaḥ* suggests such a central authority during the days of Naraka and might well establish the idea of the extension of territories by a powerful monarch after surrender to him of authority by certain patriarchal states or some principalities. Such an idea of surrender of authority by a number of kings is implicit in the appellation *mātsyanyāyavirahitaḥ* used against the rule of king Puṣyavarmā. Though this expression of the eating up of the small fries by the bigger fish applies equally to exploitation of one man or class by the other as to smaller states being devoured by bigger ones, still the idea of a voluntary surrender of rights and privileges can be culled from the Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, cf. मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे —(*Kauṭilya* I. 13.5). Here the *Arthaśāstra* seems to have alluded to the theory of the social contract for the origin of kingship. But whatever it is, the panegyrist seems not to have any reference to any theory of origin of the state by the use of this phrase[5] and from him we do not get any idea about the nature of origin of state in the eastern region. Even in the *Arthaśāstra* the term "*mātsyanyāya*" is very loosely used without any reference to any theory of the origin of state. Though the line under reference (*Arthaśāstra* I. 13.5) tends to support the idea of a social contract for the origin of the state, the following line viz., अप्रणीतस्तु मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति—(*Arthaśāstra* I. 4.13) speaks of the oppression of the

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[2] गुणैः पितेवाभवदेष भूतले क्षितिं स भुक्त्वा जनकोपमो बली ।
जनं समाहूय गुणान्वितं सुतं नियोज्य राज्यन्दिवमेव यातवान् ।।२२।। *Ḍubi.*

[3] एवं वंशक्रमेण क्षितिमथ निखिलां भुञ्जतां नारकाणां
राज्ञां म्लेच्छाधिनाथो विधिचलनवशादेव जग्राह राज्यम् ।
सालस्तम्भः क्रमेऽस्यापि हि नरपतयो विग्रहस्तम्भमुख्या
विख्याताः सम्बभूवुर्द्धिगुणित-दशतासंख्यया संविभिन्नाः ।।६।।
निर्वंशं नृपमेकविंशतितमं श्रीत्यागसिंहाभिधम्
तेषां वीक्ष्य दिवङ्ग तं पुनरहो भौमो हि नो युज्यते ।
स्वामीति प्रविचिन्त्य तत्प्रकृतयो भूभाररक्षाक्षमं
सागन्ध्यात् परिचक्रिरे नरपतिं श्रीब्रह्मपालं हि यः ।।१०।। Ratnapāla's *Bargaon Grant.*

[4] We have discarded the theory that the Aryan migration was from the west, from the land of the five rivers, to the east. It appears to us that the proposition of two waves of Aryan migration, one from the direction of the north and north-east to the west and the south, the earlier migration and the other from the west or north-west to

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the east carrying with it the culture of the Vedas plausibly explains for traces of Aryan civilisation in certain far-flung hill areas of Assam, e.g., the traces of high culture and civilisation of a fabulous Kalita kingdom in a belt below the hills of Assam north of the Brahmaputra. It is also a known fact that the areas around present day Aruṇācal bear traces of a high and ancient civilisation. We cannot account for such isolated pockets of a distinct Aryan civilisation, unless the theory of a separate wave of Aryan migration is accepted. This band of people called the Alpine Brachycephals with sharp noses, long eyes and faces, their heads having betrayed tendencics of being round as distinguished from the tall, long-headed Protonordic race might have been the first wave of Aryan population penetrating into India from the North and the North-east. Naraka, Janaka hail, it may be supposed, from such a stock which is called Alpine, supposedly coming as it does from the region of the Alpine mountains through a route connecting those areas with eastern India. These Brachycephals later on were influenced by the Vedic culture which they found it easy to adopt through similarity of the language spoken. There is also an extreme viewpoint holding that the Aryans were originally the residents of south-west Asia and migration took place from the areas of the Punjab including Gāndhāra. (See A. C. Das, *Ṛgvedic India,* pp. 17-18).

[5] But as alluded to in the above the states in the eastern region seemed to have been formed by the use of force, because the democratic elements found in the Vedic society might have been a trait of the Proto-nordic races colonising on the west of India and not of the Brachycephals immigrating into India through the north and the north-east, though these races organised very strong republics in their areas in the later periods of history.

weak by the strong and makes, it seems, the theory of *Daṇḍa* deriving its authority and inseparable from an eternal law of *dharma* or justice responsible for the operative aspect of the state. Such an approach to the institution of kings is met with in the *Nidhānpur Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā where very clearly are stated two types of *dharmas* separately in the same line—(*i*) the eternal law of the *varṇas* and the *āśramas* for the administering of which the Lord Creator created the king and (*ii*) the law of judicious distribution of taxes imposed by the king himself impaling the injustice of the *Kaliyuga* and shedding the light of *Āryadharma*.[6] The former is, therefore, a divine law promulgated by the creator himself and the latter is a mundane law under the dispensation of the king. The two are therefore inseparable and the statement in verse 3 of the *Nidhānpur Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā[7] cannot be construed as being the reference to the Buddhist *Triratna*, as is supposed by P. Vidyāvinoda (K.S. p. 28 F.N. 1). This two-fold personality of the king as a manifestation of *dharma* in its two aspects is the projection of *daṇḍa* in its legal aspects, cf. the Manu—that king, the man, is *daṇḍa;* he is the leader and the administrator.[8] The same idea of *dharma* as a manifestation of a all-powerful political principle of *daṇḍa* gives meaning and content to a kingdom which is otherwise a chaff and is not to be boasted of. Such an idea can be attributed to the following verse of the *Puṣpabhadrā Grant* of Dharmapāla—"Vanity about a kingdom, as fickle as the flash of lightning, is false and the eternally blessed *dharma* is not to be discarded."[9] Therefore some sort of a reference here to the influence of Vajrayāna over king Dharmapāla[10] is far-fetched and is not warranted by fact. Moreover it is difficult to believe that a king wedded to Buddhistic faith and religion would allow the extolment of the religious professions of a *Brāhmaṇa* Madhusudana to such an extent over and above the dedication of the benedictory verse to Viṣṇu.[11]

(ii) *Principles underlying Governance*

Therefore the underlying principle in administration is governed by the considerations for the maintenance of the divine order on the one hand which if properly acted upon will, on the other, tend to the growth of general well-being. Therefore the general well-being or the public good is inseparable from the divine law, *daṇḍa* alias *dharma* which in the ultimate analysis is stability of the state to be inferred (*adṛṣta*) from the concrete measures adopted to realise the general welfare (*parahitamūrtiḥ*). Therefore when a son is born to a king, it is for the preservation of the world.[12] Thus the ideal of *parahita* is very clearly enunciated.[13] The policy of land gift to the *Brāhmaṇas* and as temple endowments or to raise embankments upon was inspired by such an altruistic motive and was very rigidly acted upon after the *Śāstras*[14]. Thus we find that the laws of the land were sovereign and were divined by the law-makers and codified in the *śāstras*. Though the king's orders were supreme because he was *daṇḍa-incarnate*, still power to frame laws were left to the authority of the *śāstrakāras*. In other words, the king had to follow the *śāstras* in their daily administration for the good of the people. The *śāstrakāras* in their turn do not make any law but simply divine and unfold them. This is clear from the reference under foot-note No. 6 above. The divine nature of the order and the laws enjoins that for the public good alone, the king is to rule the earth in accordance with the laws of *varṇa* and *āśrama* wherein the people will be delighted with the yielding of abundance of products as if the earth has again attained the prosperity as in the days of Prithu.[15]

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[6] जगदुदयकल्पनास्तमयहेतुना भगवता कमलसम्भवेनावकीर्ण्णं वर्ण्णाश्रमधर्म्मप्रविभागाय निर्म्मितो भुवनपतिरिवोदयानुरक्तमण्डलो यथायथमुचितकरनिकरवितरणाकुलितकलितिमिरसञ्चयतया प्रकाशितार्य्यधर्म्मालोकः. . . . . .इत्यादि। *Nidhānpur Plates*, pp. 34-37.

[7] जयति जगदेकबन्धुर्लोकद्वितयस्य सम्पदो हेतुः।
परहितमूर्त्तिरदृष्टः फलानुमेयस्थितिर्धर्म्मः ॥३॥ *Nidhānpur Grant*

[8] स राजा पुरुषो दण्डः स नेता शासिता च सः। *Manu* VII. 17.

[9] विद्युच्छटाचपलराज्यमृषाभिमानस्—
त्याज्यः कदाचिदपि नित्यसुखो न धर्म्मः ॥७॥ *Puṣpabhadrā Grant* of Dharmapāla.

[10] cf. Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, p. 405.

[11] cf. Such verses as—यो बाल्यतः प्रभृति माधवपादपद्मपूजाप्रपञ्चरचनां सुचिरं चकार ॥१८॥
—*Puṣpabhadrā Grant.*

The Ideal in Kingship

The ideal of kingship was that the king was himself a *yogi* enjoying

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[12] भुवः स्थितये: *Nidhānpur Plates*, line 17

[13] यस्योन्नतिः परार्था विद्याधरचक्रवर्त्तिसेव्यस्य *Nidhāanpur Plates*, line 27
शिविरिव परोपकारविश्राणनाभिरतसत्त्ववृत्तिः। . . . . . *Nidhānpur Plates*, lines 40-41
कल्याणवर्म्मा नृपतिर्भूतः कल्याणकारकः ।।१७।।
श्रीरत्नदेवीप्रभवो मनस्वी भूतोपकारैकरसप्रवृत्तिः। *Ḍubi Plates* lines 23-24.

[14] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः ।
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।।२६।।
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।
स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ।।२७।। *Nidhānpur Plates.*

The same injunction from the *Bṛhaspati Saṁhitā* is repeated with slight variations in the text in many other inscriptions. cf. The *Kamauli Copper Plate* of Govindacandra, line 27. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 99 ff.; *The Banaras Copper Plate* grant of Govindacandra, line 22, *Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 359-61; *Dāmodarpur Copper Plate Inscription* of Budhagupta of 482 A.D., line 13, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, p. 135.

यस्मिन्नृपे विनयविक्रमभाजि जाते ।   [15] सम्यग्विभक्तचतुराश्रमवर्णधर्म्मा
आनन्दिनी सकलकामदुघा प्रजानां
पृथ्वी पृथोः पुनरिव प्रथितोदयासीत् ।।१८।। The *Gauhati Grant* of Indrapāla

the fruits of his kingdom progressively to eliminate them from his itinerary so that ultimately he can renounce the throne and the world and the life also through penance and *yoga*. Such an idea of kingship is apparent from the description of king Mahābhūtivarmā, a powerful monarch of the *Bhauma Nāraka* dynasty. Here the king of amiable disposition but terrible to the enemy after enjoying innumerable pleasures to his heart's fill and giving away in charity to his subjects to his full satisfaction is said to have gone to heaven through *yoga* discarding his own bodily frame.[16] The ideal of non-possession through non-attachment is what is striven for attainment, cf. *vīta-rāgena teneha sakalaṅkāḥ nṛpāḥ kṛtāḥ* (*Ḍubi*, line 56). This objective can be realised, it appears, from a steadfast devotion to duty as a king and as a man of the world in a spirit of sacrifice. The *Ḍubi Plates* speak of king Mahendravarmā—"Having conquered the (whole) world as far as the ocean, and brought under control the enemies through his prowess, that king made sacrifices like Lord Indra and obtained Suvratā as did Lord Indra Śacī as his consort."[17] The idea is to realise the potentialities of the human life through sacrifices in a process of activities in phases in keeping with the stages of life and schematically adjusted to the *caturvargas*. In such a light the statement that king Dharmapāla though given primarily to *dharma* in conformity with his own name ministers to the needs of *artha* and *kāma* can be understood.[18] The reference to the administration of *dharma* or justice by the same king in his *Puṣpabhadrā* grant is with the dispensation of the divine law of administration and not *dharma* or piety, because the second line of the same verse shows that though a poet by nature, he did not ignore the act of administration to maintain the divine law and order.[19] All these descriptions keep in with the Indian tradition and approximate what is given by *Kālidāsa* as the beau-ideal of kingship.[20]

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[16] भुक्त्वा च भोगान् प्रचुरान् यथेच्छन्दत्त्वा जनेभ्यश्च यथाभिकामम् ।
सौम्योऽपि राजा भयकृद्रिपूनां योगेन यातः स्वतनुं विहाय ।।३०।। *Ḍubi Plates*, lines 38-39.

[17] विजित्य गां सागरमेखलान्तां द्विषः समानीय वशं बलेन ।
ईजे स राजा क्रतुभिर्म्महेन्द्रवच्छीसुव्रताञ्चाप शचीमिव प्रियाम् ।।२४।। *Ḍubi Plates*, lines 31-34.

[18] श्रीधर्म्मपाल इति धर्म्मपरोऽपि काम—
मर्थञ्च पालयति यः सुसमीक्ष कालम् ।।१२।। *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Charter* of Dharmapāla.

[19] तस्मान्नृपो भुवनगीतगुणाभिरामो
धर्म्मैकदत्तहृदयोऽजनि धर्म्मपालः ।
यस्मिन् मुखाम्बुरुहकोषरजोभिवास—
लुब्धेव वाग् भगवती चिरमध्युवास ।।६।। Lines 11-12 of the *Puṣpabhadrā Grant* of king Dharmapāla.

[20] also—शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।
वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ।।
स्थित्यै दण्डयतो डण्ड्यान् परिणेतुः प्रसूतये
अप्यर्थकामौ तस्यास्तां धर्म्म एव मनीषिणः ।। *Raghu* I

In a word the kings can equal the power and prestige of Indra through sacrifices literal and figurative.[21]

(iii) *The Coronation Ceremony as a Part of the Rājasūya Sacrifice*

The king was thus to be prepared for the supreme sacrifice from the time of his accession to the throne in a course of religious discipline for the cause of the state and its people. Therefore certain sacrificial ceremonies were associated with the accession of the king to the throne. The *Vājapeya* and the *Rājasūya* are two such sacrifices. "By performing the *Rājasūya* sacrifice one becomes a *rājā*, by the *Vājapeya* one becomes a *samrāṭ*. *Rājya* is lower in dignity, *sāmrājya* is higher. The king desires to be a *samrāṭ* but a *samrāṭ* does not desire to be a king.[22]" Normally one performing a *Vājapeya* sacrifice needs not perform the *Rājasūya*, for the former is a rite of superior efficacy and the latter is of inferior. The opinion of the *śāstras* on this point is conflicting and no clear picture can emerge from a perusal of them. The *Vājapeya* is a sacrificial rite meant for both *Kṣatriyas* and *Brāhmaṇas*. The *Kṣatriya* king desiring superiority over other *Kṣatriya* kings and the *Brāhmaṇa* wanting to establish his pre-eminence among priests perform the *Vājapeya*. Therefore, the question of performing the *Rājasūya* does not arise, because a *Kṣatriya* when he once was installed as a king must have undergone all the ceremonies of the *Rājasūya* and the *Brāhmaṇa's* question of accession does not arise. This can be inferred from the text of the *Śatapatha* cited above. The *Aśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* lays down that a king can celebrate the *Rājasūya* sacrifice after the *Vājapeya*.[23] This to our mind appears as a proposition for a new prince becoming a *samrāṭ* through the *Vājapeya* all at once. Whatever it is, we do not find any reference in the inscriptions of Assam to *Vājapeya* sacrifice, ground being that it might have fallen into disuse in the period under our consideration. But at the same time we do not come across any reference to the celebration of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice in the inscriptions, possibly because by the time the sacrifice has been shorn off all its elaborate processes extending over a period of more than one year. But instead of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice performed in all its details, the coronation ceremony with the ceremony of sprinkling the person of the king called *Abhiṣeka* or *Mahābhiṣeka* was performed with due solemnity and eclat maintaining all the traditions of a Vedic coronation ceremony. With reference to king Harjaravarmā's accession to the throne, it is stated in the Hāyuṅhthal grant—"That illustrious Harjaravarmā being sprinkled with waters from all the holy places filled up to the brim in auspicious pitchers made of silver ascended the throne surrounded, as Indra by the Maruts (or the gods), by saluting kings and high-born princes accompanied by merchants"[24] In this statement it is quite clear that this coronation ceremony is performed with reference to the great coronation ceremony of Indra, *Aindramahābhiṣeka* as it is called, just as all the coronation ceremonies of the *Kṣatriyas*[25] are associated with the *Aindramahābhiṣeka* in the *Brāhmaṇas*. It is apparent that the accession to the throne was witnessed by a number of subordinate chiefs who, after offering unquestioned loyalty, indicated their consent to his suzerainty by being present on the occasion of his installation as king. Now, that kingship has become hereditary, it is most likely that the ceremony that is called the *Ratnahavīṁṣi* is not observed in its minutes of details and only was observed in spirit. Therefore the presence of the *rājās* with folded hands might have served on the one hand as the vestiges of the *Ratnahavīṁṣi* ceremony wherein the king had to offer sacrifices at the residences of the nobles to woo their allegiance and, on the other, as the remnant of the Vedic coronation ceremony when kingship was elective. Whatever it is, the presence of the princes of high birth and merchants in the sprinkling ceremony has given due representation to the three orders of castes in the society in the ceremony in due conformity with the practices of the Brahmanic period. This only represents, it seems, a tradition of hoary antiquity and must have been duly modified in the periods under reference when the principle of representation was extended much lower down to many communities. The holy water for sprinkling was collected during the Brahmanic period from seventeen different sources such as rivers, seas, rain water etc. etc. and was placed in a vessel of *uḍumbara* wood and after sanctification placed into four smaller vessels of *Palāśa*, *Uḍumbara*, *Nyagrodha* and *Aśvattha* wood to be used respectively by the *Brāhmaṇa* priest, the relation of the king, a friendly king, and the *Vaiśya* representative. The word *rājabhiḥ* in No. 24 above therefore might have meant a friendly king. Whatever it is, these wooden pitchers, it is apparent, were replaced by silver pitchers and such a stage in the coronation ceremony represent the classical period when everything gorgeous was used in place of simple indigenous materials. The waters from the seventeen different sources were replaced by those from sacred rivers at the places of pilgrimage and this must have a reference to the practices in the epic period.

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[21] On this point, see "An Interpretative Study of Kālidāsa" by Dr. D. Sarma, pp. 93-94. The *Ḍubi Plates* bring out the similarity of Indra with the kings—for this see the verse under fn. 17 of this section.

[22] राजा वै राजसूयेनेष्ट्वा भवति सम्राड् वाजपेयेन। अवरं हि राज्यं परं हि साम्राज्यम्। कामयते वै राजा सम्राड् भवितुम्; न सम्राट् कामयते राजा भवितुम्॥ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V.1. 1-3.

[23] वाजपेयेनेष्ट्वा राजन्यो राजसूयेन यजेत...... *Aśvālāyaṅa Śrauta Sūtra*, 11.9.19.

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[24] सर्व्वतीर्थाम्भिः सम्पूर्ण्णैं राजतैः कलसैः शुभैः ।
सिंहासनं समारूढ़ो मरुद्भिरिव वासवः ।।१३।।
श्रीमान् हर्ज्जरवर्म्मासौ राजभि(:) प्रणतैर्वृतः
अभिषिक्तो वणिक्पूर्व्वै राजपुत्रैः कुलोद्गतैः ।।१४।। *Harjaravarmā's Hāyuṅthal Grant*, lines 18-20. See in this connection *Ḍubi Plates*, verse No. 40.
अप्रच्युतं कर्मकृतन्ततो द्विजैर्द्ध्वाभिषेकं विधिवच्च शान्तिकं ।
सशङ्खनादं सह दुन्दुभिस्वनैः सुरेशवत्सोऽनुबभूव भूमिपः ।।

[25] एतेनैन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेन क्षत्रियं शापयित्वाऽभिषिञ्चेत् । स ब्रुयात् सहश्रद्धया याञ्च रात्रिमजायेरहं यां च प्रेतास्मि तदुभयमन्तरेण इष्टापूर्त्तं मे लोकं सुकृतमायुः प्रजां वञ्छीथा यदि ते द्रुह्येयमिति ।

(*Ait. Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 15). This has been rendered into English by K. P. Jayaśvāl in his "*Hindu Polity*" as follows:

"Let the *Kṣatriya* be sworn through this Great coronation of the Indra-ritual. He is to repeat with faith; "Between the night I am born and the night I die; whatever good I might have done, my heaven, my life and my progeny may I be deprived of, If I oppress (injure you)." p. 210.

Also compare—याभिरिन्द्रमभ्यषिञ्चत् प्रजापतिः सोमं राजानं वरुणं यमं मनुं ताभिरद्भिरभिषिञ्चामि त्वामहं राज्ञां त्वमधिराजो भवेह । *Ait. Brāhmaṇa*, 8.37.3.

The coronation ceremony of the kings of Assam is intimately connected as in the *Brāhmaṇas* with the *mahābhiṣeka* of Indra in heaven.[26] This does not mean that kingship in ancient Assam was deemed as divine and it only leaves to the view certain traits of the elective nature of this institution so that we can find some coherence in the selection by the people of king Brahmapāla as the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* in keeping with the line of succession. But at the same time kingship as the hereditary institution seems to have been firmly rooted in the soil, because it is stated in the *Ḍubi Grant* that Nārāyaṇavarmā himself installed his son Bhūtivarmā on the throne (line 38). Even then general consent to the accession from the masses and the nobility was to be secured (cf. verse quoted under foot-note 2 above).

(iv) *The Aśvamedha Sacrifice*

Though we do not come across any reference in the inscriptions to the *rājasūya* sacrifice, that to the *aśvamedha* sacrifice performed by a few kings of the Varman dynasty of kings proves beyond doubt that the kings of the time made attempts to conquer a number of states around them to declare themselves paramount monarchs and by way of consolidation of their position they wanted to secure recognition as such from the neighbouring kings by letting loose the sacrificial horse in accordance with the injunctions of the *śāstras*. The *Nālandā Clay Seal* of Bhāskaravarmā clearly states that Śrī Mahendravarmā and Sthiravarmā performed two *aśvamedha* sacrifices each. The *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā clearly states that this monarch was also a performer of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice. Previously we have discussed at length how these kings freed the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom from the shackles of Gupta dominion and extended the bounds of the state over a wide area as far as the ocean and assumed the title of *mahārājādhirāja*. The assumption of this title is perhaps intimately connected with the successful completion of an *aśvamedha* sacrifice. But we cannot be certain on this particular point, because even kings that are not credited with the performance of the horse sacrifice are described as *mahārājādhirājas*. King Bhāskaravarmā, Harjaravarmā, Balavarmā, Ratnapāla[27] and others who have not any record of the performance of horse-sacrifices are described as *mahārājādhirājas*. Contrarily such kings as are credited with the performance of the horse-sacrifice are not described as *mahārājādhirājas* but simply as kings.[28] But king Bhūtivarmā in the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* is described as *Śrīparamadaivata paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*. It is understandable that the performance of Vedic sacrifices began to fall into disuse and the *Purāṇic* religion got a preponderance over them as time advanced. Therefore even very powerful kings like Bhāskaravarmā did not perform the *aśvamedha* sacrifice to declare this imperial title. It is apparent that the later kings did not have any recourse to the horse sacrifice to declare their paramountcy over other kings.

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[26] शक्रांशं विधिना प्रगत्य पितरि क्ष्मान्तर्न्निलीने क्रमात् इत्यादि । Line 94 of *Ḍubi Plate.*

(v) *The Imperial Titles*

From the references to the royal titles of the kings of *Kāmarūpa* in the above lines cited from the inscriptions it is quite clear that the appellations *mahārājādhirāja, parameśvara, paramaparameśvara, paramabhaṭṭāraka* were all used to denote a very powerful status for the sovereign above the common run of kings and might have been the designations for an imperial monarch, though colonial empires as such were generally unknown. As to the differentiations in the degrees of power and authority denoted by these words, nothing categorical can be stated. As we have stated above, even the names of kings not stated to have performed the horse sacrifice are qualified by such adjuncts as *mahārājādhirāja* and those known to have performed the horse sacrifice are described simply as kings. This was possibly due to the fact that the notion of a large empire covering wide areas over the continents did not as yet evolve though the memories of such an empire as of Aśoka might have been lingering. Even then the idea of an emperor of a comparatively less extensive area must have been instilled by the achievements of the Gupta emperors more particularly by their inscriptions samples of which most probably were available to the *Kāmarūpa* panegyrists. The Gupta emperors were designated with the titles like *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*, *rājādhirāja*, *paramadaivata paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*.[29] These royal titles certainly implied a paramount status for the king, for in the same inscriptions, various other kings and chiefs are referred to[30] who were certainly under the tutelage of the Gupta emperors. Similarly we have also titles such as *Kṣitīśvaraḥ* applied to Puṣyavarmā, *nṛpatiḥ* to *Kalyāṇavarmā*[31]. These titles imply not very powerful positions as sovereigns though the title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied against their names in the seal of Bhāskaravarmā might indicate their independent status. Even then the position is confusing, because towards the later period from the times of Bhāskaravarmā when the practice of the celebration of *aśvamedha* sacrifice seemed to have been abandoned, the titles of *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *parameśvara* were freely used. This may indicate a powerful status the ascendancy to which was not synchronised by the performance of the horse-sacrifice. Because we have it from the Nidhanpur plates that Bhāskaravarmā conquered by dint of the prowess of his arms a large number of frontier chiefs and annexed the kingdoms of numerous kings whom he defeated in battles and made to sing his praise.[32] Whatever it is, all the titles *paramadaivata*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *parameśvara*, *paramaparameśvara*, *mahārājādhirāja* seem to be on the same footing. *Paramadaivata* is reminiscent of the akinness of his position with Indra's who it may be remembered, was chosen king by the gods, *paramabhaṭṭāraka* might imply an unrivalled warrior[33], *parameśvara* or *parama-*

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[27] महाराजाधिराजः श्रीभास्करवर्म्मदेवः कुशली,— *Nidhānpur Plates*, pp. 48-49.
परमपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकपरममाहेश्वर. . .हर्ज्जरवर्म्मदेवः कुशली—*Hāyuṅthal Grant*, Ll 21-22.
परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीबलवर्म्मा। *Nowgong Grant* of Balavarmā, Ll 32-33.
महाराजाधिराज श्रीब्रह्मपालवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वर—
परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीरत्नपालवर्म्मदेवः कुशली ।। *Bargaon Grant* of Ratnapāla, Ll 51-52.

[28] See lines 18-20 of the *Nidhānpur Plates*.

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[29] महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य—Line 29 of *Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta.

परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपादानुध्यातस्य—Line 1 of *Udayagiri Cave Inscription* of Chandragupta II No. 1.

परमदैवतपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीपतौ—Lines 1-2 of *Dāmodarpur Copper Plate Inscription* of the Reign of Kumāragupta I.

[30] वलवर्म्मार्घ्यनेकार्य्यावर्त्तराज . . . . . .

समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभि . . . . Line 21 of *Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta.

संवारिता नृपतय: पृथुराघवाद्या: । Line 8 of *Eran Stone Inscription* of Samudragupta.

यं प्राप्य पार्थिवगणस्सकल: । *Ibid*, line 11.

[31] *Nidhānpur Plates*—Ll 10 and 13.

[32] स्वभुजबलतुलितसकलसामन्तविक्रभ: . . . . . .समरविजितनरपतिशतविविध-नुतिवचन . . . . . इत्यादि ।*Nidhānpur Plates*—lines 37-40.

[33] The word *bhaṭa* means a warrior, soldier. *Bhaṭṭa* may be derived by adding तन् to भट् when we may get the same sense. The term so derived was frequently associated

parameśvara might mean the supreme lord and *mahārājādhirāja* a monarch with paramountcy over a wider region. Their use in the same sentence and with the same king is a tautology typical of many *Kāmarūpī* inscriptions.

(vi) *Other Royal Titles*

As against the title *narapati* used to denote the minor kings, the word *rājan* is used against king Bhūtivarmā and the word *mahārāja* against Bhāskaravarmā.[34] But the same epithet of *rājabhiḥ* is used to denote subordinate kings in a description of the coronation ceremony of king Harjaravarmā (see verses in the foot note No. 24 above). Though nothing can be made out of the applications of these titles which seem not to have followed any convention, still the general tendency to use the words *kṣitipāla*, *bhūpāla*, *medinīpāla*, *rājakam* in the sense of subordinate kings, *narapati*, *nṛpendra*, *rājā* in the sense of independent kings is apparent. Other terms used to denote a subordinate king are *rājanyaka*, *rājan*, the rank of the *rājan* being higher. The term *rājānaka* or *rājanaka* which is absent in the charters of Assam seems synonymous with the meaning of a feudatory chief and is replaced by the word *rāṇaka* very frequently used in the Copper-plate grants of the *Kāmarūpa* kings.[35] But the meaning conveyed by the word *rājanyaka*, it appears, is very appropriately a host of satellite kings arrogating to themselves certain imperial functions under the auspices of the imperial authority.

Another dignitary under the dispensation of the central authority is the *mahāsāmanta* referred to in the *Tezpur Stone Inscription* of Harjaravarmā. *Sāmanta* means a neighbouring prince i.e., a frontier king, a feudatory or a vassal. *Mahāsāmanta*, therefore, may refer to a powerful frontier king. But the reading in the *Tezpur Stone Inscription* is *mahāsāmantasenādhyakṣa*. It is thus apparent that this particular designation is an official employee which combined in itself not only administrative functions but also certain military responsibilities as commander of the army, which possibly Śrī Sucitta actually was. Such an explanation is

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with kings in the sense of master or lord. The same term was later on made elastic and changed to भट्टार and भट्टारक and accepted in the sense of "respectful" or "a title of respect", "a noble lord", "a powerful king" or "a learned *Brāhmaṇa*".

[34] Nidhānpur, lines 51-52.

[35] "*Rāṇaka* (later *Rāṇā* in Rajasthan) is another popular feudatory title of the medieval period. It seems to have been derived from *Rājanaka*, *Rājānaka* or *Rājanyaka* found in the list of addresses in the early mediaeval copper-plate grants of Northern India. In these lists, the *Rājanaka* is mentioned after *Rājan* who was also a feudatory but of a higher rank. Rarely *Rājanaka* and *Rāṇaka* are distinguished, the distinction being no doubt based on their being stereotyped without regard to the original meaning of the designation"—From the "*Indian Epigraphy*" by D. C. Sarkar, pp. 342-43.

supported by the subsequent references in the same epigraph to Sāvarṇī, Śrī-citragharadakṣa, Bhaṭṭajiu, Dinjī Lāhilī as *sāmantas* in command of the army.[36] The same idea of a *sāmanta* being the commander-in-chief of the army is averred in the *Hāyuṅthal Grant* of Harjaravarmā, cf. *sakalabhuvanānanditacakramaṇḍanamahāsainyapati* etc. Possibly these frontier kings or feudatories supplied the soldiers to the king in times of necessity and commanded the army so supplied.

(vii) *Royal Consorts*

The inscriptions of *Kāmarūpa* do not furnish a vivid description of the queens of the kings and the earlier two epigraphs of the days of Bhāskaravarmā provide only the names of the queens of the kings of the *Bhauma-Varman* dynasty except that of king *Pusyavarmā*. From the records themselves we cannot form any idea as to whether a particular king maintained a large harem or not. Indian tradition has it that a king when he performs the horse-sacrifice, the horse is to be taken care of by his four queens each accompanied by hundred attendants.[37] The same principle also should have applied with the kings of *Kāmarūpa* who were credited with performance of the horse-sacrifice. Viewed from this point, the kings of *Kāmarūpa* seemed to have had more than one wife and the chief queen is described as *mahiṣī*. King Gaṇapativarmā had Yajñavatī as *mahiṣī*.[38] King Nārāyaṇavarmā's queen is referred to as *devī* in the *Ḍubi* Plates.[39] Vijñānavatī, the queen of Mahabhūtavarmā is called a *devī* in the same charter.[40] Evidently these references do not point out to the queens-in-chief, particularly that of Mahābhūtivarmā who as a king performing the horse-sacrifice must have had a chief queen. As against these, the queen of Harjaravarmā is described as *mahādevī*.[41] The same tenor in the description of the queen of Harjaravarmā is maintained in the *Tezpur Grant* of Vanamāla[42]. The queen of Dharmapāla is referred to as *mahiṣīpravarā* in the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* inscription of Dharmapāla (line 19). Evidently the descriptions are confusing and they do not give any idea of the duties and obligations of the chief queens nor do they provide any clue as to who performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice in the royal lineage of *Kāmarūpa*.

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[36] महासामन्तसेनाध्यक्षश्रीसुचित्तस्य अधिकारदिने.........सावर्णी श्रीचित्रघरदक्ष भट्टजीड दिनजीलाहिली झा.........इत्येते बलध्यक्षा सामन्त......*Tezpur Rock Inscription.*

[37] See *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 13.5.2.5-8

[38] *Nidhānpur Plate*, line 15.

[39] तस्य देवमतिर्द्देवी पत्नीत्वं प्रत्यपद्यत—line 35.

[40] देव्यां विज्ञानवत्यां—line 41.

[41] महादेवी मङ्गलश्री: *Hāyuṅthal Grant* of Harjaravarmā, line 24.

[42] तेनाहमग्रचमहिषी जगतीभुजोऽस्य
भूत्वा जने न खलु लाघवमुपैमि ।।१४।।
इति यस्य महादेवी विलोच्य मनसोऽनुगाभवल्लक्ष्मी:
श्रीमत्तराभिधाना प्रमदारत्नोत्तमा नृपते: ।।१५।। *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāla.

(viii) *The Crown Prince*

The crown prince seems to have played a very important role in the reign-period of a certain sovereign. Prince Vanamāladeva issues the charter of *Hāyuṅthal Grant* while king Harjara seems to have been away from the capital.[43] Evidently the crown prince who is called a *Yuvarāja* is made to undergo strict discipline and an arduous course of training so that whenever necessary he might be called upon to shoulder the onerous responsibilities of the state. Thus we see that Nārāyaṇavarmā installed Mahābhūtivarmā as a crown prince with due solemnity.[44] King Vanamāla abdicated in favour of the crown prince when he found that his son was properly equipped with learning and training for the high post.[45] We come across in almost all the epigraphs of the Assam kings references to princes in addresses of a general nature to all the officers concerned at the time of issue of a certain charter.[46] The word used here is *rājaputra* and not *Yuvarāja*. This clearly shows that the position of the *Yuvarāja* was much higher than other ordinary or younger princes enjoying certain royal prerogatives. The word *rājaputra* here may mean other princes of the royal family who might lay their claims to certain chunks of territories of the kingdom whenever some opportunity for such claims may offer itself.

(ix) *The Council of Ministers*

In the general addresses to the officers in almost all the epigraphs of Assam, as also in the entire body of their texts, we have not been able to come across such a word as *mantrī* or *mantripariṣat*. In other words, the executive power of the ministers is nowhere attested to by these inscriptions. This clearly shows that the king was the executive head of the state and his *Śāsana* is to be executed by the officers addressed. Therefore it cannot be said with any amount of certainty whether there was any *mantripariṣat* as such, because the system of joint cabinet responsibility was as yet unknown. There might have been individual ministers including a Prime Minister in charge of different departments, the latter being possibly frequently consulted by the king or associated by him with many important executive matters. Such an idea of a cabinet with individual responsibilities and topped by a Prime Minister can be gathered from the *Hāyuṅthal Grant* of Harjaravarmā in the command of prince Vanamāla to individual officers and ministers.[47] The list of officers provided here does not present a council of ministers but a body of high functionaries each acting on his own and responsible to the king. Here the *mahāsainyapati* stands for the Commander-in-Chief, *mahādvārādhipatya** for the Chief Superintendent over the officers of the frontier gates or the Chief Customs Officer of the state, *mahāpratihāra*, the Chief Collector of tolls (for entry of goods into the city), *mahāmātya* for the Prime Minister, *Brāhmaṇādhikāra* for the chief officer for religion and moral upliftment. Each of these officers seemed to have enjoyed the status of a minister, for they are referred to along with the chief minister *mahāmātya*. But the real position of this council of ministers at this particular period as is the case with all political thinkers of ancient India, is quite vague. Some of them,

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[43] cf. The *Hāyuṅthal Grant* of Harjaravarmā—lines 25-26.
युवराजश्रीवनमालाः समाज्ञापयन्त्येवं विदितमस्तु भवतामित्यादि ।

[44] श्रीमहाभूतवर्म्मणं महाभूतमिवापरम् ।
तं ख्यातो बलवर्म्माणमभ्यषिञ्चच्च मानदः ॥२६॥ *Ḍubi Grant*, lines 37-38.

[45] *Nowgong Grant*, verses 16-17.

[46] यथायथं समुपस्थितब्राह्मणादि विषयकरणव्यवहारिकप्रमुखजानपदान् राजराज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि राजन्यकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोऽपि सर्व्वान् माननापूर्व्वकं समादिशति
—Lines 38-40 of the *Howraghat Plates* of Balavarmā.

The same officers are being addressed in all the charters of Assam almost in the same strain while announcing the gift of the land with the demarcation of its boundaries.

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*In the second set of the *Puri Plates* of Narasimha IV (1378-1402) we come across an officer *Dvārapariksā* in the list of addresses. This is possibly an abbreviated form of Sanskrit *Dvārapariksaka* which means according to Dr. D. C. Sarkar a Superintendent or Governor (see p. 375 of *Indian Epigraphy*). Dvārapariksā according to him was probably the old *Pratihāra* or gate-keeper of the king's chamber, palace or city. But here we have two words separately given, *pratihāra* and *dvāra*. Therefore these two cannot be synonymously used. *Dvāra* therefore may mean outlets to and from the country where checkposts were established to control traffic, each under a *dvarādhipati* all of which were controlled by the *mahādvārādhipati* (see *Kauṭilya*, II.1.5—"On the frontiers, he should erect the fortresses of the frontier chiefs (as) the gates of the country under the command of frontier chiefs".(K.P. Kangle's translation). Therefore *mahādvārādhipati* may mean also the Chief Supervisor over the collectors of customs duties. We cannot take the word *dvārādhipati* in the sense of a general or a governor, because *mahāsainyapati* has stood for the same thing. Kauṭilya has clearly stated that customs houses are to be erected on the main gates or passes (of the city or the country)—शुल्काध्यक्षः शुल्कशालां ध्वजं च प्राङ्मुखमुदं मुखं वा महाद्वाराभ्यासे निवेशयेत्—*Arthaśāstra*, II.21.1.

Again "*Dvārapālas* or wardens of the marches kept watch over the frontier and the roads and passes leading to the kingdom. They worked in close co-operation with the superintendents of forts in their vicinity etc. etc."—from Dr. Altekar's "*State and Govt. in Ancient India*", p. 196.

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[47] सकलभुवनानन्दितचक्रमण्डनमहासैन्यपतिश्रीगण। महाद्वाराधिपत्यश्रीजयदेव। महाप्रतिहार-श्रीजनार्द्दन। महामात्य श्रीगोविन्द। मधुसूदन। ब्राह्मणाधिकारभट्टश्रीकष्ठ—Lines 25-28 of *Hāyuṅthal Grant*.

it appears, functioned in a purely advisory capacity and some with some executive authority vested in them. This is due possibly to the fact that a sort of an old tradition of the king-makers, the *ratnins* of the *Brāhmaṇa* period though very faint was maintained even in this late period of Indian History and therefore the ministers did not function in a compact body like the cabinet and even executive officers were designated as ministers. The *Śukranīti* gives the list of the members of the so-called cabinet which consists of a number of executive posts and which therefore may be called an Advisory Council very loosely formed.[48] Thus the offices of *Saciva*, *Mantrin* and the *Amātya* comprise three members of the cabinet. These three respectively imply in the *Śukranīti* a member of the war ministry, the Foreign Minister, and the Revenue Minister.[49] The *Saciva* who is possibly replaced here by the *Mahāsainyapati* is generally called a *senāpati*; at least from the time of Kauṭilya he is so called.[50] He is known as *Daṇḍanāyaka*. Under the Guptas he is known as *Mahābalādhikṛta*.[51] The *Mantrī* who is the Foreign Minister in *Śukranīti* called the *mahāsandhivigrahika*[52] in most of the inscriptions is not mentioned in the inscriptions of Assam. Instead of the *amātya*, the *mahāmātya* is mentioned wherewith two names are given. This is significant, because Śrī Govinda might be the Prime Minister and Madhusūdana might have been the Revenue Minister, because it is quite likely that the Revenue Minister might be associated with the execution of the deed for the land grant. Whatever it is, *Mahāmātya* has clearly pointed out to the office of the Prime Minister, because the *mahāmātyas* who figure in several *Paramāra* and almost all the *Chalukya* grants were all discharging the duties of the Prime Minister.

This *mahāmātya* is called the *Pradhāna* by Śukra who is to be proficient in all branches of administration.[53] The *Brāhmaṇādhikāra* seems to have performed all the duties prescribed for the *Paṇḍita* in the ministry by the *Śukranīti*.[54] The designation of this minister was the *Dharmamahāmātra* during the days of Aśoka. This minister was called the *Dharmamahāmātra* under the *Mauryas*, the *Śramaṇamahāmātra* under the *Sātavāhanas*, the *Vinayasthitisthāpakas* under the Guptas. What appears certain, therefore, is that a *saciva*, an *amātya* and a *mantrin* was not as yet drawn and the three were associated in the cabinet, it seems, in three different but unequal capacities, some with some executive functions, some in a purely advisory capacity and someone with certain ministerial assignments. The impression gathered is that a *mantrin* was much higher in status, an *amātya* was a very high functionary or executive officer and the *saciva* was an administrative officer with bigger clerical responsibilities.[55] This can be inferred from the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā where one *amātya* of a certain *viṣaya* which must have implied the Governor of a particular region is referred to.[56] Whatever it is, no clear picture of the nature of the ministers or the cabinet in the administration of the *Kāmarūpa* kings emerges from a study only of the inscriptions now available.

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[48] See II. 70-72.

[49] See Altekar, pp. 167-173

[50] The Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* calls him a *Senāpati* whose qualifications are laid down as follows—तदेव सेनापतिः सर्व्वंयुद्धप्रहरणविद्याविनीतो हस्त्यश्वरथचर्यासंघुष्टश्चतुरङ्गस्य बलस्यानुष्ठानाघिष्ठानं विद्यात्।—*Kauṭilya*, 2.33.9.

[51] *A Daṇḍanāyaka—Balādhikṛta* is mentioned in the *Gunji Inscription* of about the first century A.D. (*Epi. Indica*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 48 ff. *Epi. Indica*, Vol. X, 71).

[52] "*Dadda's* grant has—'this' has been written by Durgabhaṭa's son Saṅgulla, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (i.e. chief officer in charge of peace and war or the minister of external affairs)"—From the *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 145-46; See also Altekar, p. 171

[53] सर्व्वंदर्शी प्रधानस्तु ।—II. 89

(x) *Judicial Department*

When we are not sure of the nature of the cabinet during the rule of the *Kāmarūpa* kings, we cannot say with any amount of certainty whether there was a Minister of Justice or Judicial Affairs. But from the records it can be ascertained that kings themselves were the fountain-head of justice and personally listened to all cases when complaints of injustice were received.[57] Hindu works on polity generally mention a chief justice who was called the *prāḍvivāka* and was a member of the cabinet. It may be pertinent to point out here that this *prāḍvivāka* did not at all figure in the list of *ratnins* in the *Brāhmaṇa* period. Kauṭilya probably maintains this tradition because he imparts the rank of a minister to judges without allotting any cabinet position to them.[58] We do not know whether the kings of Assam actually conformed to this tradition and did not appoint any Chief Justice. Even then it is known that they appointed certain officers for the administration of justice. We come across the word *nyāyakaraṇika* in the *Nidhānpur* plates of Bhāskaravarmā.[59] According to Dr. A. S. Altekar they were the presiding judges of a court of law[60] and the word is synonymously used to denote a *dharmādhyakṣa*. But the word *karaṇa* means an office or a bureau.[61] *Nyāyakaraṇika* therefore may imply, besides meaning a judge, a keeper of records in the Department of Justice whose duties were to see whether the records of the king's orders were properly preserved or not so that any dispute arising in the future might be settled on the basis of these orders. Such an idea can be culled from separate references to *viṣayapatis* and *adhikaraṇas*, those in charge of the district and the establishment staff respectively[62] as against the word *adhikaraṇika* denoting a judge in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. It therefore appears probable that those in charge of district administration were known as *viṣayapatis* and under them the office staff the *adhikaraṇas* worked. Similarly the *Nyāyakaraṇikas* might have been the heads of the judicial establishments working under a Chief Judge whose exact designation in Kāmarūpa we do not know from the inscriptions. Another term that has alluded to the initiation of a legal procedure is *vyāvahārika* used in almost all the inscriptions of Assam when addresses are made to the officers and members of the public connected with the deed of enactment for the gift of the land itself. The word *vyavahāra* means a legal procedure or law or a transaction.[63] Therefore the word *Vyāvahārika* means any one conversant with the legal procedure and seems to have denoted the counterpart of a prosecution lawyer of the present days. Though he might not have to actually initiate a legal suit in a court of law, still he was to enlighten the judge or the king with all the legal aspects of the case placing all the antecedent facts on the table. That he was neither a legal prosecutor nor a judge is indicated by the fact that in the *Nidhānpur Plates* a number of such persons led by Haradatta and Dundhunātha Kāyastha are mentioned (*vyavahāriharadatta-kāyasthadundhunātha-prabhṛttayaḥ*—line 134).

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[54] It was the duty of the *Paṇḍita* according to the *Śukra Nīti* to implement the policies of *Dharma* as enunciated in the *Śāstras* and advise the Govt. on its socio-religious policy. He was also to advise the Govt. on the abolition of those religious practices which were becoming obsolete or antiquated and on new reforms that are to be introduced.—cf. the following—

वर्त्तमानाश्च प्राचीना धर्म्माः के लोकसंश्रिताः ।
शास्त्रेषु के समुद्दिष्टा विरुद्धन्ते च केऽधुना ।।
लोकशास्त्रविरुद्धाः के पण्डितस्तान् विचिन्त्य च
नृपं संवोधयेत्तैश्च परत्रेह सुखप्रदैः ।।—*Śukra*, II. 100

[55] But Kauṭilya seems to have used the words *mantrin* and *amātya* in the same sense of a minister, though the entire proposition of the cabinet system in Kauṭilya is confusing. cf. VIII. 1.13-14, 23.

[56] "In the inscriptions of the *Śaka* rulers of Western India and of the *Śātavāhanas* of the Deccan, we have reference to officers like the *Amātya* (in the capacity of the governor of a district or province), *Senāpati* (leader of forces), *Mahāsenāpati*, *Matisaciva* (counsellor), *Karaṇa-saciva* (administrator)......" *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 353.

"We have seen above that some *Amātyas* were governors of a district or province. Although the word is often used as a synonymn of *Mantrin* or minister, Rāmavarman's commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I.7.4. makes the following distinction between the two: *amātya deśādi-kārya-nirvāhakā mantriṇo vyavahāra-draṣṭāra iti bhedaḥ* (Ind. Cult., Vol. VIII, p. 121).

—Quoted from the *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 356, fn. 5.

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[57] King Bhāskaravarmā is described as नयस्याधिष्ठानम्—*Nidhānpur Plates*, line 46. King Indrapāla as नयविनयवतामग्रणीः—*Gauhati Grant*, verse 15. The race of the Bhauma-Nāraka-Pālas is said to be नयनिधि—verse 3 of the *Puṣpabhadrā Grant*.

[58] धर्मस्थास्त्रयस्त्रयोऽमात्या जनपदसंधिसंग्रहणद्रोणमुखस्थानीयेषु व्यावहारिकानर्थान् कुर्युः ।
—*Kauṭilya*, III. 1.1.

Such a bench constituted under a royal charter seems to be a roving one trying each of the cases mentioned therein.

[59] Line 134.

[60] *State and Govt. in Ancient India*, p. 203.

[61] *Arthaśāstra* II, 5.8; II, 7.8.; II, 11.1.

[62] *Nidhānpur Plates*—lines 49-50—The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya uses the word *adhikaraṇa* in the sense of an office, cf. मन्त्रिपुरोहितसखः सामान्येष्वधिकरणेषु स्थापयित्वामात्यान् उपधाभिः शोधयेत्—I. 10.1.

(xi) *Other Officials Connected with the Administration of Justice*

Other officials connected with the administration of justice, it appears, are the *Caurodharaṇas* and the *Dāṇḍapāśikas* whom we find addressed in almost all the principal epigraphical records of *Kāmarūpa*. Though they are not directly connected with the administration of justice like the *nyāyakaraṇikas*, still they helped the authorities probably in apprehending thieves and meting out proper punishments respectively. These might have been the officers of the police department.[64] We come across the word *Dāṇḍika* only in the *Nowgong Grant* of Balavarmā (line 38). The Dāṇḍika is used in the later epigraphs probably for *Daṇḍaśakti* which denotes a police magistrate while the *Dāṇḍapāśika* was a smaller police officer.[65] *Caurodharṇa* or *Caurodharaṇika*, according to Dr. D. C. Sarkar, was a police officer responsible for realising fines for crimes of theft.[66]

Other minor officials connected with the police administration might have been the *Cāṭas* and the *Bhaṭas* met with in almost all the inscriptions of Assam. "The *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* noticed here are a regular occurrence in the list of addresses in North Indian grants of the medieval age; of the two, the *Bhaṭa* is no doubt the same as the *Bhaṭamanuṣya* known from certain South Indian epigraphs and referred to above. We are inclined to take *Bhaṭa* to mean a constable or a *Pāik* or *Piāda*, while the *Cāṭa* seems to have been the leader of a group of them. *Cāṭa* is also found in the form of *Caṭṭa* and *Cāḍa* in later epigraphs and is apparently the same as the *Cāḍ* of modern Chambā where he was the head of a Parganā. Since however the *Cāṭa* and *Bhaṭa* are mentioned in most of the epigraphic records as belonging to the lowest rank of royal servants, the meaning of *Cāḍ* as prevalent at present in Chambā cannot be applied to *Cāṭa* in the early and medieval inscriptions. This is further suggested by the fact that Vākāṭaka inscriptions generally mention *Chāṭra* (an "umbrella-bearer", a peon) instead of *Cāṭa* in association with *Bhaṭa*. Sometimes we have *Cāra* (spy) instead of *Cāṭa*".[67] It is quite likely that *Cāṭa-Bhaṭas* were placed in the police stations known as *sthānas* in the *sthāniyas*, headquarters of a territorial division of 800 villages to perform para-military duties besides civil assignments.[68] But it may be mentioned here the word *sthāna* in the sense of a police station is not traceable in the *Arthaśāstra* but the word *gulma* is used to denote it (of. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 16. 18; II.35.12; III.20.14).

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[63] धर्म्मश्च व्ययवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् ।
विवादार्थश्चतुष्पादः पश्चिमः पूर्व्ववाधकः *Arthaśāstra*, III, 1.39.
Here *vyavahāra* is evidently law.
तिरोहितान्तरगारनक्तारण्योपध्युपह्वरकृतांश्च व्यवहारान् प्रतिषेधयेयु : Ibid. III, 1.2.
Here the same word stands for a legal transaction.

[64] "The officers of the police department are usually referred to in inscriptions as *choroddharaṇikas* "the exterminators of thieves" or the *daṇḍapāśikas* "the carriers of nooses to catch (thieves). The latter designation occurs in Pāla, Paramāra and Pratihāra records"—Altekar, "*State and Govt. in Ancient India*"—p. 204.

[65] See Dr. Sarkar's "*Indian Epigraphy*", p. 364.

[66] Ibid p. 360.

(xii) *Administrative Divisions*

We have seen earlier that the kings of *Kāmarūpa* are mostly referred to in the inscriptions with the titles of *parameśvara*, *mahārāja*, *mahārājādhirāja*. This implies that they were imperial monarchs with a number of vassal or tributary kings or kings owing nominal allegiance to them. If they are regarded as *vijigiṣus*, these subordinate kings may be regarded as feudatories. Thus the idea of a circle of kings can be gathered and Kauṭilya's *maṇḍala* theory can be associated with the practice of politics by the kings of *Kāmarūpa*. But how far it was practicable in this particular region we have no means to ascertain, because the statements in the epigraphs of Assam are not clear and to some extent conflicting. That king Bhāskaravarmā had a big circle of kings following him devotedly is known from the *Nidhānpur Plates*. This circle of kings was divided according to the precept of the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* into the hostile

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[67] Ibid......pp. 361-62

We have the word *Chatra* in Nowgong plates of Balavarmā instead of the word *Cāṭa*—cf. Chatravāsādyupadravakāriṇāmapraveśā. (line 38)......which Hoernle has translated as—"the providing of the rooms for the Royal Umbrella". But this does not appear as conforming to the context and the meaning attributed to it by Dr. Sarkar seems more probable viz, a peon or a *piada*, a prototype of the fourth-grade employees that serve the royal notices on persons and therefore arrogates to himself all royal powers to secure for himself certain financial benefits from the ignorant or the guileless people.

[68] See Pran Nath's "*Economic Condition in Ancient India*" pp. 60-65

(*ari*) and friendly (*mitra*) circles (see *Arthaśāstra* VI.2.13-28) and was either devoted to him through the prosperity of the kingdom or coerced into submission through force of arms.[69] Thus it is clear that Bhāskaravarmā made a bid for greatness as a king and ruled as an emperor with a number of vassal kings around. The same idea of paramountcy with a number of frontier kings under his tutelage is also implied by the description of king Balavarmā.[70] But when the *Nidhānpur Plates* refer to *Mahāsāmanta* Divākaraprabha or *bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛta* (line 135), the position becomes very much confusing. This probably does not refer to a frontier king but possibly to a frontier chief appointed as Treasurer. Examples of frontier kings or chiefs appointed most likely after their defeat and subjugation of their territories as either a general or a treasurer are provided by the *Tezpur Stone Inscription* of Harjaravarmā. Therefore it is quite likely that the *sāmantas* conquered by the dint of his arms might have been faithful rulers of a *maṇḍala* of the kingdom of Bhāskaravarmā (see F.N. No. 69).

Thus it is quite possible that a *maṇḍala* originally governed by one from a circle of hostile kings might have, after conquest, been integrated with the kingdom of the *vijīgiṣu* as a district or a province, and the regent administering such a division is known as *maṇḍaleśvara*. But references to *maṇḍaleśvara* in the inscriptions of Assam are conspicuous by their absence and *maṇḍalas* as districts do not figure prominently in them. But in the *Kamauli Grant* of Vaidyadeva, *Kāmarūpa* that was originally under Tiṅgyadeva and wherein later on Vaidyadeva established himself as an independent monarch is referred to as a *maṇḍala* in the *bhukti* of *Prāgjyotisa*.[71] Evidently a *bhukti* is a much bigger administrative unit than a *maṇḍala* which is again bigger than a *viṣaya*. It is very difficult to state something very categorically on these points, for *bhukti* is used generally to denote a territorial division which might comprise once an independent territory or a *rāṣtra*. Thus *prāgjyotiṣa bhukti* in the *Kamauli Grant* of Vaidyadeva above referred to has denoted the once independent kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* under the Pāla rulers of Assam wrested by Tiṅgyadeva under the suzerainty of the Pāla king of Bengal, Rāmapāla. Again the *Puṇḍravardhana bhukti* which was once in part at least under the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom during the rule of Bhūtivarmā might have been a province under the Gupta kingdom. Therefore the word *bhukti* might mean a province of a miniature dimension at par with the administrative divisions *pradeśas* of the present days. Another word very frequently used in the epigraphs of Assam is *Viṣaya* which means an administrative unit like the district. It cannot always be as extensive as the districts of the present days and its size varies from place to place at different times. In the *Girnar Rock Inscription* of Rudradāman I, the word is used[72] to denote a state forming a province of a bigger state. The *Juṇāgaḍh Inscription* of 150 A.D. seems to use *Viṣaya* in the sense of a province.[73] *Caṇḍrapuri Viṣaya* of the *Nidhānpur Plates* and *Dijjinā Viṣaya* of the *Nowgong* and *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Grants* do not appear to be as much wide as a modern administrative district, the former appearing to have been formed of parts from *Puṇḍravardhana* and *Dijjinā* (Dinajpur) and the latter carved out of a portion of the present-day Dinajpur. The *Bargaon Grant* of Ratnapālar efers to a *viṣaya* constituted by thirteen villages.[74] The *Howraghat Plates* of Balavarmā speak of the gift land as being situated in the *Bappadeva-pāṭaka* which belonged to the district constituted by Vārāsepaṭṭana.[75] Therefore it will not be wrong to say that *viṣaya* may mean an administrative unit which may be constituted by a number of villages forming a district or by a single town deemed as a district for the purposes of administration. It is also possible that some districts are known by the headquarters town, such as the *Vārāsepattana Viṣaya*. Whatever it is, the fact remains that *viṣayas* were not very much extensive, though they might have been administrative units. In the *Śuālkuci Grant* of Ratnapāla, one such administrative division *Kalaṅgā Viṣaya* might have been a long strip of area forming a part of the Nowgong district of the modern times. The two *viṣayas* in the grant of Indrapāla, *Hapyoma* and *Maṇḍi*, do not seem to have acquired much celebrity at the times to leave a trail behind. Therefore the *viṣayas* appear to have been on a par with the modern mauzas of Assam constituted by a number of villages. Thus we find that the word *pāṭaka* meaning a village is almost invariably associated with the names of the *viṣayas* introduced for a clear indication of the location of the donated land. These facts notwithstanding, *viṣaya* in *Kāmarūpa* probably in the earlier period was associated with a wider administrative area as big as a province under the direct administration of an officer of the rank of a minister, cf. a reference to a *viṣayāmātya* Avaguṇa for administering the *Davāka* region referred to in the *Bargaṇgā Inscription* of king Bhūtivarmā. As against this *viṣayapatis* with office establishments for the smaller districts might be indicated in the *Nidhānpur Plates* by the following line—*Viṣayapatīnadhikaraṇāni ca samājñāpayati* (lines 49-50).

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[69] भुवनपतिरिवोदयानुरक्तमण्डलो....... स्वभुजबलतुलितसकलसामन्तचक्रविक्रमः...... ।।
—*Nidhānpur Plates*, lines 35-38.

[70] उत्खातासिलतामरीचिनिचयमेचकितेन वाहुना विजितसकलदिक्चक्रवालो इत्यादि ।। *Nowgong Plates*, lines 29-30.

[71] श्रीप्रागृज्योतिषभुक्तौ । कामरूपमण्डले । वाड़ाविषये—इत्यादि——lines 48-49.

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[72] . . .सिन्धु-सौवीर-कुकुरापरान्त—निषादादीनां समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्यथावत्प्राप्त धर्म्मार्थकाम-विषयाणां विषयाणां पतिना इत्यादि—in line 11.

[73] See Dr. Sarkar, p. 379 fn. I

[74] This may be the proper name of the *viṣaya* which might have been constituted by thirteen villages. The word *grāma* here might mean a unit for the revenue collections. But the word *grāma* cannot be usually taken to denote such a sense or a landed property for purposes of assessment in the list of the countries with their villages provided by the *Skandapurāṇa*. (For this, see Dr. Sarkar, pp. 384-386).

[75] *Howraghat Plates* of Balavarmā, lines 36-37. The word *pattana* means a town or a city as opposed to a *grāma*. cf. पत्तने विद्यमानेऽपि ग्रामे रत्नपरीक्षा.—*Mālavikāgnimitra*, I. See in this connection fn. No. 67 of the previous section B. 7, Construction of Political History of Ancient Kāmarūpa.

(xiii) *Other Officers Mentioned*

Certain other officers mentioned in the inscriptions of Assam give a glimpse of the nature of the economy that seems to have been regulated in those very early times. In the *Nowgong Grant* of Balavarmā we come across offices such as *hāstibandhika*, *naukābandhika*, *dāṇḍika*, *dāṇḍapāśika*, *auparikarika*, *autkhetika* (lines 37-38).

The *hāstibandhikas* might have been the officers connected with leasing out the elephant forests to private parties for catching elephants and for the levy and realisation of tolls on them which were channelled after the operation of grasping the forest to a certain place where enclosures were raised for counting them. As such, these officers might have had the right of supervising any place where elephants were collected in herds for the realisation of toll or of reserving areas for raising elephant enclosures. When a particular plot was donated, care was taken to see that such lands were not demanded for elephant-keeping and the donees were not oppressed by these officers for illegal gratification with false pleas of requisitioning these lands to raise elephant enclosures. Another cause for which the *hāstibandhika* was addressed might have been related to the elephantry which was to be moved from time to time during peace or war for finding feeding grounds, and in doing so, places where the elephants could be tied were to be found out. These officers were warned against seizing donated lands for such purposes.

(xiv) *The Naukābandhika*

The *Naukābandhika* is similarly connected with merchant boats. Riverside commercial centres that developed into ports in later times were places of anchorage for merchant ships, which were supervised by certain officers led by the *naukābandhika* for collection of taxes on merchandise. Thus the *naukābandhikas* were possibly charged with the regulation of trade by water surface and controlled the ports and harbours which were not only on the river banks but were on the maritime coasts, the country being far extended up to the limits of the sea. Arjuna's arrival from *Utkaladeśa* at *Manipura* might have been by a sea voyage. Bhagadatta had a large army other than that of the *Kirātas* and *Cīnas* of people living on the sea coast. Even during the later period, *Kāmarūpa* being much extended comprising some areas of *Puṇḍravardhana* and reaching as far as the areas to the east of the *Kośī* [See section 7(a) fns. 61, 62, 63 above] must have developed trade with *Magadha* and other adjoining areas in the west by regular water routes. Therefore it was felt that some officers were to be commissioned for controlling these trades for the advantage of the state and the *naukābandhikas* were entrusted with the task. It is quite likely that they were invested with wide powers to establish their check-posts at any place they liked and therefore the necessity for insertion of the protective clause in the inscriptions to protect the donee from the incursion into their rights by these *naukābandhikas* was expressed. The *Arthaśāstra* lays it down, "The controller of shipping should look after activities concerning sea voyages and ferries at the mouths of rivers, as well as ferries over natural lakes, artificial lakes and rivers, in the *sthāniya* and other towns."

Villages on their shores and banks shall pay a fixed tax. (*Arthasāstra*, II.28.1-2 translated by R. P. Kangle).

The *Arthaśāstra* in this chapter refers to a *nāvādhyakṣa* and *pattanādhyakṣa,* the former having jurisdiction over the ports but under the laws formulated by the latter. In ancient Kāmarūpa the two posts seem to have been combined. In this connection it is pertinent to examine from the available materials of the inscriptions whether these *naukābandhikas* were some naval officers controlling the naval wing of the army. The inscriptions do not furnish any worth-while material to examine this point. The *Tezpur Inscription* of Vanamālavarmadeva gives a picturesque description of the boats assembled at *Harappeśvara* on the stream of the *Lauhitya*. These boats present the idea of merchant ships and do not create the impression of a war-fleet. The *Tezpur Rock Inscription* of Harjaravarmā seems to be concerned with two types of ships or boats, the royal ships and the merchant ships—at least a dispute over the passage of the latter when the royal ships occupy the entire harbour seems to have been alluded to. The royal fleet at the same time do not appear to have consisted of regular combat ships. These, it seems, were maintained for use in war times as well as sport and joy-ride in peace times and were under the command of an Army General (*senādhyakṣa*). The jurisdictions of the *naukābandhika* and the *senādhyakṣa* being quite separate, the former being a low-grade officer discharging civil duties and the latter being a high military dignitary, the king had to interfere to arbitrate. Therefore it appears that the *naukābandhika* has nothing to do with the royal fleet and is connected with the merchant ships or the country boats. The *nāvādhyakṣa* of the *Arthaśāstra* seems to be an exact parallel of these *naukābandhikas* of *Kāmarūpa* having no jurisdiction over the military fleet. The *Arthaśāstra* while it discusses the nature and functions of the commanders or generals of the elephantry, cavalry, and the infantry, makes no mention of admiralty and therefore the navy was not deemed as an independent wing of the army and was possibly placed under the commander of the infantry.

(xv) *Auparikarika*

This was an officer employed by the state for the realisation of a tax known as *Uparikara*, which "appears to be the same as Marathi upari 'a tax levied on cultivators having no properietory right on the soil' (Wilson's Glossary)[76]. This same view is held by Hoernle and Fleet.[77] But Dr. P. C. Chowdhury's remarks that '*upari*' here is obviously a preposition with the sense of the Latin "super" or "extra", and *uparikara*, therefore, means an extra revenue (on land) derived from all classes of cultivators, both permanent and temporary, appear quite plausible. Therefore *auparikarikas* could harass any tenant they liked at any time and to avoid this harassment to the donee Brahmins, a warning was sounded to them.

(xvi) *Autkhetika*

Utkhetana is explained as an impost by Hoernle.[78] But this does not appear plausible because while *uparikara* may be a sur-charge on agricultural land, *utkhetana* might be an excess duty on agricultural produce from land. The *autkhetikas* were deployed for the realisation of this tax. It might be taken into account that both *auparikarika* and *autkhetika* were govt. officers and armed with powers as they were, they might have oppressed the tenants of the Brahmin donees and therefore they are mentioned separately in the addresses. These addresses clearly show that not only the officers who were commissioned for realisation of land revenues oppressed the tenants from time to time but also those not connected with the Revenue Department intruded into the sphere of the revenue officers under this or that plea. Nevertheless these addresses have pointed out to the nature of a piece of donated land that it was immune from state taxes.

(xvii) *Nature of Land Settlement*

Bhūmi is the general term to denote all categories of land in the country. The *Manusaṁhitā* lays it down that the treasures underground are the properties of the king, because he is the owner of the land.[79] Bhaṭṭasvāmī, the commentator on the *Arthaśāstra* states that the king is the owner of the land and water of the state.[80] The statement in the *Purvamīmāṁsā* that a king cannot dispose of the lands of private individuals, when he is called upon to gift away all his possessions in charity at the end of certain sacrifices[81] relates only to the prohibition against bringing in others' properties than his own for a gift and not to that of state or community ownership, which prohibited dispossession of an individual owner of the land he owned. That the king or the state is allowed the only right to receive due taxes from the owner of the land[82] establishes the proprietorial right of the citizen as a tenant of the state. But the state has an overall right to own all lands of the country under its governmental jurisdiction. Yājñavalkya clearly states that the king is the owner of the land.[83] Dr. D. C. Sarkar has pointed out to the system of creating rent-free holdings for gods and *Brāhmaṇas* out of fallow land in the possession of the state free of cost or with the full payment of the cost in purchase. He has also referred to a third category viz., gift of land to *Brāhmaṇas* by the king at the request of an officer or a feudatory of the king as a rent-free holding out of his own estate. The officer or the feudatory was within his own competence to grant rent-free holdings to *Brāhmaṇas*. Even then the king's seal of approval was associated with the gift so that the officer or the *jāgirdār* can get the reduction meted out to the donee *Brāhmaṇa* from the total revenue-dues he owes to the king.[84] But sometimes entire villages were made over as gifts to *Brāhmaṇas* and the occupants of these lands are not asked to surrender their proprietory right to the lands but are required to pay taxes due to the state on them to the new owners.[85]

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[76] Dr. Sarkar's *Indian Epigraphy*—pp. 393-94.

[77] J.A.S.B. LXVI. I. 128 f.

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. 98.

With reference to this word "*Uparikara*" in connection with the grants of Indrapāla Dr. Hoernle has stated as follows:—"*Uparikara* is a fiscal term; the rent or tax (*kara*) paid by an *upari* or tenant who does not reside or has no occupancy rights in the land (see Bühler's remarks in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII., p. 66).

[78] Ibid.

Thus a glimpse into the system of land settlement in ancient India can be attained from the inscriptions themselves. This is true of the inscriptions of Kāmarūpa. We find two categories of land settled with *Brāhmaṇas*. The gift of lands to the *Brāhmaṇas* consisted primarily of two types—the *kṣetra bhūmi* and the fallow lands—*apakṛṣta bhūmi*. We find in the *Nidhānpur Plates* that the land of the *Mayūraśālamala* region is a *kṣetra bhūmi*—a tillage settled with the issue of *pattā* by king Bhūtivarmā and it is to be settled again with the issue of a fresh *pattā* as a piece of rent-free land under the principle of *bhūmicchidranyāya*.[86] The *Tezpur Grant* of king Vanamāla cedes an entire agricultural village to the Brahmin Indoka. The *bhūmi* donated by the Nowgong plates consists of *vāstu* (residential area) as well as *kedāra*, crop-land. The gift land in the *Bargaon Grant* of Ratnapāla is a *kṣetra*—an arable area with an area of fallow land—*apakṛṣta-bhūmisameta*. The *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* charter of Dharmapāla refers to the donated land as a paddy-yielding area with a *bhitvi*, probably a high place suitable for raising dwelling houses. The readings in this particular portion of the *Puṣpabhadrā Grant* are indistinct and nothing can be inferred from it.

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[79] निधीनां तु पुराणानां धातूनामेव च क्षितौ ।
अर्धभाग्रक्षणाद्राजा भूमेरधिपतिर्हि सः ।। VIII. 39.

[80] राजा भूमेः पतिर्दृष्टो शास्त्रज्ञैरुदकस्य तु ।
ताभ्यामन्यत्तु यद्द्रव्यं तत्र स्वाम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम् ।। Bk. II. Chap. 24.

[81] न भूमिःस्यात् सर्व्वान् प्रत्यविशिष्टत्वात् ।। VI. 7. 3.
य इदानीं सार्व्वभौमः स तर्हि भूमिं दास्यति । सोऽपि नेति ब्रूमः ।
कुतः । ......सार्व्वभौमत्वं त्वस्यैतदेवाधिकं यदसौ पृथिव्यास्
सभूतानां व्रीह्यादीनां रक्षणेन निर्दिष्टस्य कस्यचिद्भागस्येष्टे न भूमेः ।

[82] तत्तद्ग्रामक्षेत्रादो स्वत्वं तु तत्तदभौमिकानामेव । राज्ञान्तु करग्रहणमात्र म्। अतएव इदानीं न पारिभाषिकक्षेत्रदानादौ न भूदानसिद्धिः । किंतु वृत्तिकल्पनामात्रमेव ।—*Vyavahāramayūkha*, *Svatvāgama* Chapter.

[83] cf. II 318-20.

[84] *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 114-16.

[85] Altekar, pp. 275-276.

The *apakṛṣta bhūmi* or fallow land which is not to be understood in the sense of a barren or marshy area but is to be understood in the sense of land lying unused under the disposal of the state are generally reclaimed for agricultural purposes. This can be understood from the nature of the lands described in the grants other than those referred to in the above paragraph.[87]

Dr. Hoernle has translated the word as "inferior land". As gift of land was deemed very highly meritorious, gift of inferior land was not possible. Therefore another meaning might possibly be the withdrawal or separation from another land unit denoted by a document granting periodic settlement.[88] This interpretation is supported by the sense of fifth case-ending in *bhūmi* in the following line: उत्तरकुले मन्दिविषयान्तःपातिपण्डरीमूमितोऽपकृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ (lines 34-35, *Guākuci Grant* of Indrapāla). This meaning attributed to the word *apakṛsta* is unlikely in view of Kauṭilya's dictum that once a land is made cultivable by one, it under no circumstances should be wrested from one.[89]

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[86] मयूरशाल्मलाग्रहारक्षेत्रं राज्ञा श्रीभतिवर्मणा कृतंयत् तत्ताम्रपट्टाभावात् करदमिति पुनरस्याभिनवपट्ट-करणाय शासनं दत्त्वा......अकिञ्चित् प्रगृह्यतया भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन पूर्व्वभोक्तृब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रतिपादितम् इत्यादि। lines 51-54.

[87] e.g. the following line from the *Śualkuci Grant* of Ratnapāla—कलङ्गाविषयान्तःपातिधान्यत्रिसहस्रोत्पत्तिकापकृष्टभूमौ—line 52.

i.e. fallow land of the area to yield three thousand *droṇas* of paddy.

We cannot raise an objection like this:—How much produce an area of land will yield cannot be said before reclamation and therefore such measurements do not apply to fallow lands—because that was the way by which the area of a particular plot of land was indicated approximately.

[88] P. N. Vidyāvinoda has ascribed this meaning to the word *apakarṣṭ* from its kindred use in the Mahābhārata, cf. पित्र्यं हि राज्यं विदितं नृपाणां यथापकृष्टं धृतराष्ट्रपुत्रैः ॥८५॥ *Udyoga Parva* I.

He has also stated that *apakṛṣṭa* is of frequent use in the inscriptions of the Pāla kings of Bengal. But we have not been able to trace out even a single instance from the charters of the Pāla kings of Bengal.

The meaning we have attributed above to the term *apakṛṣta* is quite likely in view of the fact that Kauṭilya has introduced a section on settlement of non-agricultural land known as *bhūmicchidrāpidhānam*. The term भूमिच्छिद्रन्याय is referred to in the *Nidhānpur Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā and the *Kamauli Grant* of Vaidyadeva.[90] In the latter it is clearly laid down that the land is donated after the maxim of *bhūmicchidra-bhūmicchidranetiniścayāt* and therefore no tax is to be realised from the donees concerned after the donation is made, *bhūcchidranca akincitkaragrāhyam*. Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī* in the *Vaiśyādhyāya*, verse 18 has explained the term as Kṛṣyayogyā bhūmiḥ—land unfit for cultivation. The term *bhūmicchidranyāya* therefore, will mean that just as no assessment of taxes is made on unarable land, so also no assessment is to be made for these donated lands. Dr. D. C. Sarkar has explained the term as follows: "The *Bhūmicchidranyāya* referred to here is mentioned in a large number of records. It speaks of the old custom, according to which a person who brings a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation for the first time was allowed to enjoy it without paying rent. The custom was based on the principle that the hunted deer belonged to him who hit it first. The word *chidra* in this case seems to have originally referred to the furrowing of the land. Gradually however the expression *bhūmicchidra* acquired the meaning of "uncultivable (*kṛṣyayogyā*) land", and that is why some early medieval inscriptions from Orissa, e.g. the charters of the *Bhauma Karas*, speak of the same maxim as *Bhūmicchidra-pidhāna-nyāya* literally "the maxim of covering up the hole in the land" probably referring to the reclamation of fallow land for the first time."[91]

Such plots of lands gifted rent-free to the *Brāhmaṇas* for their sustenance are known as *agrahāra* lands.[92] In the southern part of India, the word *agrahāra* was more popular than in the north in the sense of a rent-free village in the possession of *Brāhmaṇas*.

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[89] अकृतानि कर्त्तृभ्यो नादेयानि। *Kauṭilya*, II. 1. 9

[90] भूच्छिद्रञ्च अकिञ्चित्करग्राह्यं—line 51.
…………………भूच्छिद्राणीति निश्चयात् ॥२६॥ सर्व्वोपाय-संयुक्तं करोपस्करवर्जितं lines 62-63. *Kamauli Grant* of Vaidyadeva.

[91] *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 397-98.

[92] अग्रहार—a grant of land given by kings (to *Brāhmaṇas*) for sustenance—क्षेत्रोत्पन्नशस्यादुद्धृत्य अग्रं ब्राह्मणभोजनं, तदर्थं ह्रियन्ते राजधनात् पृथक्क्रियन्ते ते क्षेत्रादयः—नीलकण्ठः; ब्राह्मणोद्देशेन स्थाप्यं धान्यादि, गुरुकुलादावृत्तब्रह्मचारिणे देयं क्षेत्रादि ग्रामभेदश्च—Tārānātha's *Vācaspatyam*.

Besides the above types, there seems to have been a third category of land reserved by the state. This comprises the grazing lands for horses, cattle, buffaloes, camels, goats and sheep and also forest reserves for the elephants.[93]

P. Vidyāvinoda while translating these portions leaves the impression as if these donated lands should not be used as a thoroughfare for the passage of cows, buffaloes etc. (K.S. p. 85). But we feel that either the lands donated were inclusive of such pasture lands, i.e., original grazing reserves that were state properties were transferred to the ownership of the *Brāhmaṇas* or that the tax-collectors might have collected levies on such grazing lands—tax collectors that were forbidden by these royal decrees to enter into these areas henceforth.

We cannot form any specific idea about the general land tenure system by which settlement was made with individuals. Indian tradition maintains that one-sixth of the total yield from the crops is to be paid to the state. The system of issuing the *pattās* was in vogue even those days and the land revenue was, if paid in cash, known as *kara* (see foot note No. 86 above). One Dattakārapurṇa is referred to as a *utkhetayitā* who probably realised the surcharges on agricultural produce after making an assessment of the total yield. One officer, *Bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛta*, is mentioned in the *Nidhānpur Grant* of Bhāskaravarmā (line 135). It is not known whether this person was the *koṣadhyakṣa*, the royal treasurer. But it appears more likely that the *Bhāṇḍāgārika* was a store-keeper and might have combined in himself the functions both of *sannidhātā* and the *samāhartā*, the Director of Stores and the Revenue Administrator respectively.

Land was measured possibly by the yield and as such an area is said to be yielding so much of paddy. It is possibly later on from this standpoint that a certain measure of land came to be called a *droṇa* which as a unit of land measurement still prevails for the determination of the area of an agricultural field.

(xviii) *The Military Organisation*

King Bhāskaravarmā is said to have conquered hundreds of kings in battle (line 39, Nidhānpur). King Indrapāla is described as *apratihatadaṇḍakṣapitāśeṣaripupakṣa*—conquering innumerable number of enemies by means of an invincible army (line 33, *Gauhati Grant*). This clearly proves that there was a standing army to defend the country as well as to conquer for expansion. It is stated in the *Nidhānpur Plates* that king

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[93] . . . . . हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रगोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारप्रभृतीनां विनिवारितसर्व्वपीड़ा शासनीकृत्य—lines 57-58 of *Bargaon Grant* of Ratnapāla.

The strain of references is almost similar in every charter excepting the *Nidhānpur*, the *Hāyuṅthal*, the *Tezpur*, and the *Parvatīyā* grants.

Bhāskaravarmā had a large army consisting of the admiralty, elephant force, the cavalry, the infantry (line 2, *Nidhānpur Plates*). We have already seen that the two princes Supratiṣṭhita and Bhāskara were overwhelmed by an elephant force of the king of *Gauḍa* and therefore the latter as soon as he came to the throne probably re-organised a strong elephant force to make up for the deficiencies in the said division of the army.

We see that while giving a description of *Haḍāppeśvara*, an imposing description is given of a large fleet flocked at the river port. The navy does not appear to have been a regular standing army as the infantry and was possibly under its commander the *senādhyakṣa* who requisitioned and commissioned the services of the ships in times of emergency. On this point we have had a discussion above and we do not propose to repeat. Even then incidentally it is seen that our above proposition viz., the navy was not a distinct wing of the army, is supported by an evidence from the *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva which has not mentioned the navy while mentioning the wings of the army.[94]

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[94] असंख्यगजतुरगपदातिसाधननिरन्तरनिरुद्धसकलदिगन्तरात् इत्यादि—*Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāla in the descriptions of *Haḍappeśvara.*

D. TRENDS IN THE GROWTH OF CULTURE AND RELIGION

We have given above a brief sketch of the history of ancient Assam and the set-up of the political institutions in it. We now propose to make a discussion on the cultural and religious patterns evolved in the area. There were certain factors such as the topography of and more specially race migrations in the area which contributed to the evolution of a certain cultural pattern in the region. In the present stage of our informations, we do not possess materials which will give a definite clue to the ancient topographical and geographical conditions of the area nor do we have any definite records of race migrations from and to Assam. There is much confusion about the ancient races migrating from and immigrating into Assam. The inscriptions do not provide any materials for worthwhile informations on these points, when, in our dissertations, we are expected to confine ourselves to the sources provided by them. The culture of a nation or a race is a full-fledged expression of all its pursuits and should point out to the best achievements in its national life. These inscriptions provide certain informations which shed definite lights on certain achievements, religious and cultural, of the people. But these relate to a certain specified period of history. Therefore we do not get an idea of the culture and religion of the people of the area from the distant past. Nevertheless these inscriptions begin their descriptions with reference to periods of hoary antiquity commensurate with those in the epics. Therefore the examination of certain references, found in the epics, to the region that is *Prāgjyotiṣa* or ancient *Kāmarūpa* may be helpful to bear upon the topographical conditions and race migrations for a proper appreciation of its cultural evolution.

(i) *Geographical Position of Prāgjyotiṣa or Ancient Kāmarūpa*

Race migration was much facilitated and its paces probably were accelerated by the fact that Assam lay at the threshold of a number of routes to various foreign countries. In the process many people might have passed through Assam some of which made Assam their homeland, pushing the original residents to the foot-hills.

But all such phenomena are speculative in character and fall under what is known as "Conjectural History". So it is futile to build a pyramid of historical facts upon it. What is certain is that Assam was formerly separated by sea in the major portion of the western boundary from the rest of India.[1]

This fact by itself can 'historically' be ascertained on the authority of the *Mahābhārata*. Bhīma is said to have subdued the kings of *Puṇḍra*, *Suhma*, *Magadha*, *Vaṅga* and *Tāmralipta* as well as the *Mleccha* kings near the sea-coast going as far as the *Lauhitya* river.[2] Arjuna is described as coming directly from the zone of the sea marked by the basins of the Cauvery and the Godāvarī rivers to *Maṇipura* in the same epic.[3] This clearly shows that Assam lay on the coast line of the eastern seas which formed its western boundary in some of its major portions.

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[1] E.H.K.—pp. 6-7.

It is generally believed that the Vedic Aryans did not pick up any acquaintance with the sea at least in the early part of the Vedic literature. But on a perusal of the *Ṛgvedic Saṁhitā* we find that the Vedic Indians were not only thoroughly acquainted with the seas but were also carrying on trade and commerce across the seas. They at least knew that the land was girt by sea in every direction. At least the desire of the *Yajamāna* to collect the wealth of the four oceans points out to a flourishing trade over the seas.[4] In another verse of the *Ṛgveda*, it is stated that *Ṛgvedic* sages wearing yellow-robes and long hairs traversed from the eastern to the western seas.[5] This readily conforms to the Vedic motto "Wander forth" (*caraiveti*) and the declaration of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* that a man wandering forth attains prosperity and sin is the fate of the man who stays among men.[6] This clearly proves that the Vedic Aryans roamed from one end of the country to the other with a dynamism peculiar to the race. Therefore to be duped with the idea that the Aryans were confined in the west of the country till the full development of their literature and then spread eastward when their culture tended to expand is anachronistic of Vedic literary purport.

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[2] *Sabhā*—XXVI
निर्जित्यासौ महावीर्यं वङ्गराजमुपाद्रवत् ।।४१।।
समुद्रसेनं निर्जित्य चन्द्रसेनं च पार्थिवम् ।
ताम्रलिप्तं च राजानं काचं वङ्गाधिपं तथा ।।४२।।
अङ्गानामाधिपं चैव ये च सागरवासिनः ।
सर्वान् म्लेच्छगणांश्चैव विजिग्ये पुरुषर्षभः ।।४३।।
किरातान् पुरुषादांश्च कर्णप्रावरणानपि
ये च काकमुखा नाम नरराक्षसयोनयः
किरातांस्तृणमूलांश्च किरातानोष्ठकर्णिकान् ।।४४।।
एवं बहुविधान् देशान् विजित्य पुरुषर्षभः ।
वसून्येषामुपादाय लौहित्यमगमद्वशी ।।४५।।
स सर्वान् म्लेच्छनृपतीन् सागरानुपवासिनः ।
करमाहारयामास रत्नानि विविधानि च ।।४६।।

Southern recension, Madras Ed. by P. P. S. Śāstrī; V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons.

[3] गोदावर्यां ततस्नात्वा तामतीत्य महाबलः ।
कावेरीं तामथासाद्य संगमे सागरस्य ह ।।१४।।
स्नात्वा सम्पूज्य देवांश्च पितृंश्च मुनिभिः सह ।
समुद्रतीरेण शनैर भणलूरं जगाम ह ।।१५।।
तत्र सर्वाणि तीर्थानि पुण्यान्यायतनानि च ।
अत्र त्रयोदशे मासे मणलूरेश्वरं प्रभुम् ।।१६।।
अभिगम्य महाबाहुमभ्यगच्छन् महीपतिम् ।।१७।।

T. R. Krishnacharya's edition—Ādi-CCXXXV
Also see—Southern recension-CCiii. p. 1332.

[4] रायः समुद्रांश्चतुरोऽस्मभ्यं सोम विश्वतः आ पवस्व सहस्रिणः ।। R. V. IX. 33. 6.

(ii) *Aryāvarta Extended as far as the Eastern Hills*

In this connection it is pertinent to point out that, for the sacrificial worship of the Aryans, the skin of the black antelope was deemed as an essential prerequisite and the areas over which this animal moved about was deemed as a fit place for their worship. Thus a passage from the *Bhāllavi Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* given as a *gāthā* of that *saṁhitā* is quoted by Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana in their *Dharmasūtras* in course of a discussion on the extent of *Aryāvartta* as the last alternative rejoinder to their definition of the land.[7] In these discussions it is clearly stated that the limits of *Aryāvartta* are the Indus in the west and the areas marked by the sun-rise in the east as far as the black antelope grazes. The *Bhāllavi Brāhmaṇa* is of great antiquity[8] and therefore there can be no doubt that the land of the Vedic Aryans extended from the Indus in the west up to the hilly areas of Assam in its extreme borders.

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[5] वात॒स्याश्वो॑ वा॒योः सखाथो॑ दे॒वे॑षितो॒ मुनि॑ः ।

ड॒भौ स॑मु॒द्रावा क्षे॑ति॒ यश्च॒ पूर्व॑ उ॒तापरः ।।४।।

"The *muni* who is (verily) the steed of the wind and is the comrade of *Vāyu*, the Wind-God, being urged on by the gods, travels to both the oceans, the Eastern as well as the Western."

—Translation from H. C. Chakladar's "*Aryan Occupation of Eastern India*"—p. 19.

[6] नानाश्रान्ताय श्रीरस्तीति । पापो नृसद्वरो जन इन्द्र इच्चरतः सखा ।। *Ait. Brāh.* vii. 15

[7] "यावद्वा कृष्णमृगो विचरति ताद्वब्रह्मवर्चसमित्यन्ये । अथापि भाल्लविनो निदाने गाथामुदाहरन्ति । पश्चात् सिन्धुर्विधारणी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः । यावत् कृष्णोऽभिधावति तावद्वै ब्रह्मवर्चसमिति ।। *Vaśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* 1. 13-15

यथाप्यत्र भाल्लविनो गाथामुदाहरन्ति—
पश्चात् सिन्धुर्विधारणी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः ।
यावत् कृष्णा विधावन्ति तावद्धि ब्रह्मवर्चसमिति ।। *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* I. 1.2.11-12

[8] The high antiquity of the *Bhāllavins* can be proved from many sources. Śaunaka, the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, seems not to be reading from the originals of the *Bhāllavi Brāhmaṇa* which therefore must not have been extant but was extinct by his time, cf. the following—

तस्माद् यैरद्यापि वाशिष्ठाः सदस्याः स्युस्तु कर्हिचित् ।

The tradition of such an *Aryāvartta* is maintained also in the *Yājñavalkya* and the *Mānava Dharmaśāstras*. The former regards the laws and customs prevalent in the area where the black antelope moves about as the real laws which are to be expounded.[9] The *Mānava* is more explicit on the tract of the Aryans. It says that the region between the *Himavat* and the *Vindhya* mountains extending between the eastern and the western seas is called the *Aryāvartta*. The country of the *Mlecchas* lies beyond this.[10]

The extant *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, it may be recalled, is only a recension of the school of law expounded by Bhṛgu[11] and in a sense the recast of an ancient school of law as old as the social laws prevalent in the Vedic times.[12] Therefore it is quite likely that its definition of *Aryā-*

अर्हयेद् दक्षिणाभिस्तान् भाल्लवेयी श्रूतिस्त्वियम् ।। *Bṛhaddevatā*, v. 159.

In this connection, compare the following:—

"...it will be abundantly clear that the opinion of the *Bhāllavins* about the limits of the country where the Vedic religion had spread is taken from a *Brāhmaṇa* work which was looked upon as ancient when Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana wrote their *Dharmasūtras*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* quotes the opinions of Bhāllaveya with regard to sacrificial matters in several places and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* refers to Bhāllaveya in general as well as to Aṣāḍha and Indradyumna Bhāllaveya. The *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* which is one of the most ancient of the existing *Brāhmaṇas* and which is considered by Weber to be older than even the *White Yajurveda* mentions the *Bhāllavis* as a distinct school. There can, therefore, be no doubt about the antiquity of the Bhāllavi school and their dictum that the land of the Vedic *Aryas* extended from the Indus in the west up to the farthest grazing-land of the black buck in the east, that is, up to the borders of Assam, proves conclusively that the whole of northern India was occupied by the Vedic Aryans before that ancient *Brāhmaṇa* work was composed; the Vedic Aryans must therefore have settled in Eastern India in the *Mantra* period."—from the "*Aryan Occupation of Eastern India*", p. 6—by H. C. Chakladar.

[9] यस्मिन् देशे मृगः कृष्णस्तस्मिन् धर्म्मान् निबोधत । *Yājñavalkya* i.2.

[10] हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्त्तितः ।।२१।।
आसमुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वादासमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात्
तयोरंवान्तरं गिर्योरार्यावर्त्तं विदुर्बुधाः ।।२२।।
कृष्णसारस्तु चरति मृगो यत्र स्वभावतः ।
स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियो देशो म्लेच्छदेशस्ततः परः ।।२३।। *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*. II

[11] एतद्वोऽयं भृगुः शास्त्रं श्रावयिष्यत्यशेषतः ।
एतद्धि मत्तोऽधिजगे सर्वमेषोऽखिलं मुनिः ।। *Mānava* I. 59

[12] See Prof. Bühler S.B.E. XXV. pp. xi-xiv

vartta comprised a wide area in tune with an older tradition of the *Śāstras* such as the one bequeathed by the Bhāllavins.

(iii) *East is the Cradle of Aryan Culture*

Therefore the *Mahābhārata* when it connects the country of *Prāgjyotiṣa* with the eastern seas is not alone in the row but maintains a tradition of haloed antiquity when the fact of the spread of Aryan culture from the direction of the eastern seas to the west was sufficiently green in memory. The same tradition of the eastern and western seas for the spread of Vedic culture is also found maintained in the *Atharvaveda*. It is stated therein that the *brahmacārī* is born anterior to the Vedas and with a water-pot in hand practises penance. And from him emanate the *Brāhmaṇa*, the excellent prayer (*praṇava*) and all the gods with nectar. The *brahmacārī* consecrated *samidh* in hand and putting on black antelope skin, long-bearded, goes all at once from the eastern seas to the northern roaming about the worlds frequently having grasped them.[13] This statement not only speaks of the spread of the Aryan culture from the east to the north but also definitely puts the east as its cradle. The association of the gods with these wandering sages proves the existence of a tradition of the origin of the Vedic civilisation in the east. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* confirms the above view when it says that the east is the quarter of the gods.[14] The *Mahābhārata* as an *Itihāsā-purāṇa* is deemed as a true interpreter of the Vedas and it states very clearly that the Vedic culture originated in the same direction.[15] This particular chapter clearly avers that the sons of

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[13] पूर्वी जातो ब्रह्मणो ब्रह्मचारी धर्मं वसानस्तपसोदतिष्ठत् ।
तस्माज्जातं ब्राह्मणं ब्रह्म ज्येष्ठं देवाश्च सर्वेऽमृतेन साकम् ।।५।।
ब्रह्मचार्येति समिधा समिद्धः कार्ष्णं वसानो दीक्षितो दीर्घश्मश्रुः ।
स सद्य एति पूर्व्वस्मादुत्तरं समुद्रं लोकान् संगृभ्य मुहुराचरिक्रत् ।।६।। *Atharva* XI. 5.5-6.

[14] प्राची हि देवानां दिगथोऽउदक्प्रवणमुदीची हि मनुष्याणां दिग् इत्यादि इत्यादि
Śatapatha. III. 1.2.

[15] अत्र वेदाञ्जगौ पूर्वं भगवाँल्लोकभावनः ।
अत्रैवोक्ता सवित्राऽऽसीत् सावित्री ब्रह्मवादिषु ।।१०।।
अत्र दत्तानि सूर्येण यजूंषि द्विजसत्तम ।
अत्र लब्धवरस्सोमस् सुरैः क्रतुषु पीयते ।।११।।
अत्र तृप्ता हुतवहास् स्वां योनिमुपभुञ्जते ।
अत्र पातालमाश्रित्य वरुणश्श्रियमाप च ।।१२।।
अत्र पूर्वं वसिष्ठस्य पौराणस्य द्विजर्षभ ।
प्रसूतिश्च प्रतिष्ठा च धर्म्मश्चैव प्रकाशते ।।१३।।
ओङ्कारस्य जायन्ते मूर्त्तयो दशतीर्दश ।
पिवन्ति मुनयो यत्र हविर्धाने स्म सोमपाः ।।१४।।
प्रोक्षिता यत्र वहवो वराहाद्या मृगा वने ।
शक्रेण यज्ञभागार्थे दैवतेषु प्रकल्पिताः ।।१५।।
Mahābhārata, *Udyogaparva*, Chapter VC.

Kāśyapa also grew up in the east along with the excellent prayer *oṁkāra*. This is in complete consonance with the above statement given from the *Atharvaveda*. In a passage of the *Ṛgveda*, Indra is quoted as *pūrvajāḥ*[16]. Here in the chapter under reference of the *Mahābhārata*, Vaśiṣṭha is declared to have been born in the east (verse 13). The family of the Vaśiṣṭhas is held in high veneration in the *Ṛgveda* and the seers of practically its entire seventh *maṇḍala* hail from it.

(iv) *Pālakāpya Muni of the East*

Another fact of very great significance is the reference in the *Mahābhārata* to the elephant army of the king Bhagadatta of *Prāgjyotiṣa*.[17] This is a clear evidence to the fact that elephants were tamed and reared up for the army in the area from very ancient times. The *Ṛgveda* gives references to elephants that must have been found in the *Prācya* region[18]. In the later literature however, the eastern country of *Aṅga* is given as noted for rearing and training up of elephants for war purposes. The *Hastyāyurveda* of *Pālakāpya Muni*, a treatise on the treatment of diseases of elephants was compiled in the eastern region. *Pālakāpya Muni* declares about himself like this,—"In the country which borders on the Himālaya and through which the *Lauhitya* flows towards the sea, there lived a *Muni*. He was my father, my mother being a *Kareṇu* or she-elephant; I live and move with elephants. They are my friends, relatives and companions. My name is Pālakāpya. I take care of elephants and nourish and cherish them, hence my name is Pāla, and the suffix *Kāpya* denotes the *gotra* or family in which I was born. I am an expert in the treatment of elephants."[19]

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[16] ऋषिर्हि पूर्वजा अस्येक ईशान ओजसा ।
इन्द्र चोस्कूयसे वसु ।।—RV. viii. 6. 41.

[17] *Mahābhārata, Bhīṣmaparva*, Chapter XC, 27-30.

[18] *Ṛgveda*. 1. 64. 7.
Ibid—IV. 16. 14.

In both these references, the word used is *mṛgahastin* i.e. the beast with the hand or the trunk. On this, doubts have been expressed by many scholars whether *mṛgahastī* refers to the elephants or not. "With reference to such doubts Prof. Max-Müller observes in a note appended to his translation of the first passage, *Mṛgāḥ-Hastinaḥ*—wild animals with a hand or a trunk, must be meant for elephants although it has been doubted whether the poets of the Veda were acquainted with the animal. *Hastin* is the received name for elephant in the later Sanskrit, and it is hardly applicable to any other animal. If they are said to eat the forest this may be understood in the sense of crushing or chewing, as well as of eating."—From *Aryan Occupation of Eastern India* by H. C. Chakladar, p. 73.

These doubts have been expressed on the ground that the *Ṛgvedic* verses were all composed during the stay of the Aryans in the Punjab where their seers could not possibly get any opportunity to pick up an acquaintance with the elephants.

Commenting on the above statement of *Pālakāpya Muni*, Mm. H. P. Śāstrī says that the *Aśvalāyana*, *Baudhāyana*, and other *sūtras* do not mention the name of *Kāpya* as one of the *Munis* who founded a *gotra*. Therefore it may be supposed that Pālakāpya did not belong to any of the *gotras* recognised by the Aryans; and most probably he was a native of Bengal[20]. But it can be gathered that the *Kāpya* as a family name is very well known in the Vedic literature including the *Brāhmaṇas* and some of the *Saṁhitās*.[21] Therefore the theory that the author of the *Hastyāyurveda* is a non-Aryan is entirely wrong. Contrarily it is clearly seen that by the time Pāla, the Kāpya, wrote his treatise on elephants, the Aryans settled as far as the banks of the *Lauhitya* or the *Brahmaputra*. Mm. Śāstrī is of the opinion that Pālakāpya belongs to a period when the *Kalpasūtras* of Apastamba and others were written. If it can be accepted, the settlement of the Aryans in Assam in the early Vedic age will have to be accepted.[22]

(v) *Fight of the Aryans against Aryans*

That the Aryan expansion to the east particularly to the regions of Bengal and Assam was very late is based on the supposition that they confined themselves in the regions of the five rivers and that the Ganges was known only after the compilation of the *Yajurveda*. But we must not ignore the fact that the seven rivers known to the *Ṛgveda* include the Ganges and that the list runs from the direction of the east to the west, from the Ganges to *Arjīkīyā*[23]. Yāska representing a very early tradition identifies *Arjīkīyā* with the *Sindhu.*[24] The *Sapta Sindhu* country of the *Ṛgveda*[25] represents the area watered by these seven rivers. This verse of the *Ṛgveda* beseeches of Indra to rescue the supplicator from the tyranny of the *Ṛkṣas* and of the Arya. This clearly shows that there was a regular tussle among the Aryans of the Aryandom itself.

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[19] J.B.O.R.S. V. 311-2: Translations by H. P. Śāstrī.

[20] Ibid—p. 312.

[21] "*Kāpya* is the *gotra*-name of Sanaka and Navaka, two priests, who officiated at the sacrifice of the Vibhindukīyas, a group of priests, in the *Jayminīya Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa*. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Bhujyu-Lāhyāyani says "we wandered about as students and came to the house of Patañcala Kāpya". Again Uddālaka Āruṇi says "we dwelt among the Madras studying the sacrifice at the house of Patañcala Kāpya". In the same section Patañcala Kāpya is several times referred to and addressed simply as Kāpya.................

"The *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* speaks of the Kāpeyas in two places as being particularly proficient in certain sacrificial ceremonies. The *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* says that the Kāpeyas officiated at the *Dvirātra* sacrifice of King Citraratha.

"The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* in its *Kāṇva* recension mentions a Kāpīputra in the list of teachers. According to the *Śrauta Sūtra* of Āśvalāyana, the Kāpīs were Āṅgirasas. The Kāpyas, therefore, were sprung from the ancient Aryan *gotra* of Āṅgirasa. Pāṇini says that the patronymic from Kapi is Kāpya when an Āṅgirasa is meant."—From the "*Aryan Occupation of Eastern India*" by H. C. Chakladar, pp. 77-79.

[22] Ibid—p. 78.

(vi) *Two Streams of Settlement—the Alpines and the Aryans*

Now a fight among the Aryans of the five rivers, a homogeneous and compact people, cannot be explained, if we suppose that they slowly expanded from the west to the east. In other words the theory that the Aryans in India were all the descendants of a Proto-Nordic race cannot fully explain the tyranny of the Aryans against the Aryans in the above verse. This internecine conflict of the Aryans can be best explained on the supposition of a wave of Aryans through the north-western and northern passes from the Pamir regions called the Alpines that settled in India from very early times and, due to their separation from the parent stock at a very early period or due to its settlement in alien climatic conditions, developed certain physical features, round head and short stature, for which they are called by the anthropologists the *Brachycephals*. The Proto-Nordic Aryans must have forced their way through these Alpine Aryans to the midland which the more orthodox or the fanatic Aryans described as *Aryāvartta*. By which route the earlier group of Aryans entered India, it is difficult to ascertain. But it seems probable, besides a colossal horde through the North-western passes, that numerous hordes of this earlier group came straight from the North through the mountain passes and settled in the eastern regions.[26]

(vii) *Affinity of Language of the "Outer Band" of the Gangetic Valley*

This fact of the two waves of Aryan migration is also supported by a difference in the languages of these two groups of people. Grierson observes—"At an early period of the linguistic history of India, there must have been two sets of Indo-Aryan dialects—one the language of the Midland, and the other, the group of dialects forming the Outer Band. From this it has been argued and the contention is entirely borne out by the result of the ethnological enquiries, that the inhabitants of the Midland represent the latest stage of Indo-Aryan immigration. The earliest arrivals spoke one dialect, and the new-comers another. According to Dr. Hoernle, who first suggested the theory, the latest invaders probably entered the Punjab like a wedge, coming into the heart of the country already occupied by the first immigrants, and forcing the latter outwards in three directions to the east, to the south and to the west."[27]

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[23] इ॒मं मे॑ गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति॒ शु॑तुद्रि॒ स्तोमं॑ सचता॒ परु॒ष्ण्चा।

अ॒सि॒क्न्या म॑रुद्वृधे वित॒स्त॒याऽऽर्जी॑कीये शृणु॒ह्या सु॒षोमया ।।५।। R.V. X. 75

[24] सुषोमा सिन्धुर्यदेनामभि प्रस्रवन्ति नद्यः—Nir. IX. 26

[25] य ऋ॒क्षादं ह॑सो मु॒चद् यो वार्या॑त् स॒प्त सि॑न्धुषु वर्ध॑र्दा॒सस्य॑ तुविनृम्ण नीनमः।

Ṛgveda viii. 24. 27.

[26] See below.

Even in the present days, we find small groups of people bearing Indo-European features in the wild regions extending from the north-east of India to the Pacific. This clearly proves the early settlement of the Alpine race in Assam to the limits of the Patkai range and beyond[28]. The strong tradition of the existence of a Kalita Kingdom in the north of Assam can be explained on such an assumption.

(viii) *The Route Lay on the North—References in Kālidāsa*

We have in an earlier section (Section B. 6 F.N. 53) referred to the description of Raghu's conquest by Kālidāsa who has portrayed the king as coming in his expedition from the *Himālayas* down to the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. A reference to the route in the portions relevant to our discussions will be of much help in having a clear idea of the geographical areas through which the route to *Kāmarūpa* lay. In his victorious march to the north he first arrived at the bank of the river *Sindhu* where the *Hūṇas* were carrying on depredations or where he conquered the ruling *Hūṇa* Chieftains. Then he marched against the ruler of the *Kāmboja* country who surrendered to him with large ransoms. Then he climbed up the Himālaya mountains with a formidable cavalry and subjugated the *Kirāta* chiefs. He waged very fierce battles against the mountain chiefs and brought under control the class of *Kinnaras* known as the *Utsavasaṅketas*. Then he crossed the river *Lauhitya* and raised consternations in the mind of the Lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*. The king of *Kāmarūpa* surrendered to him with large presents of fighting elephants with which he conquered other kings. The Lord of *Kāmarūpa* worshipped the shadow of his feet with flower-like gems as did he worship the feet of the image of the *Hemapīṭha* with gem-like flowers.[29]

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[27] *Imp. Gaz. of India*, Vol. I. p. 357.

[28] See Chakladar, p. 108.

[29] See *Raghu* IV. 66-84

तमीशः कामरूपाणामत्याखण्डलविक्रमम् ।
भेजे भिन्नकटैन्नागैरन्यानुपरुरोध यैः ।।८३।।
कामरूपेश्वरस्तस्य हेमपीठाधिदेवताम् ।
रत्नपुष्पोपहारेण छायामानर्च पादयोः ।।८४।।

The country referred to as being on the *Sindhu* is situated on the eastern bank of that river in the upper terrains and is noted for its excellent breed of horses. *Sindhudeśa*, therefore, represents the province of *Takṣaśilā*. Anundoram Barooah says—"The *Hūṇas* are evidently the nomadic tribe of Huns, who dwelt for some centuries in the plains of Tartary and were a great scourge to the Chinese and Roman possessions. From the *Raghuvaṁśa* (iv. 67-68) they appear to have once occupied the banks of the upper Indus.[30] The Raghu's army then goes to the country of *Kāmboja* noted for its walnut trees.[31] In the *Sabhā Parva*, the *Kāmbojas* are said to have been conquered by Arjuna along with the *Daradas* after the subjugation of Balkh. I have already said that the *Daradas* now inhabit the valley of the Gilgit, which is separated from Balkh by the Hindoo Koosh. The *Kāmbojas* must have inhabited this mountain and the adjoining country, as its *Kafirs*, says Elphinstone, still call themselves *Kamoj*. But the *Kāmbojas*, like the *Daradas*, probably extended up to little *Thibet* and *Ladak*."[32]

From the *Kāmboja* country Raghu mounts up the *Himālaya* mountains and wages fierce battles with the *Kirāta* tribes. "The name *Kirāta* was applied to the numerous fair complexioned hill tribes of the yellow coloured Mongolian race that lived in all parts of the Himālayas and also in the hills in the east, such as the *Bhutiyās*, *Lichas*, *Limbees*, *Kanets* etc. Mr. Pargiter has observed about them "The *Kiratas* formed a series of allied and distinct tribes or clans; it is almost impossible that tribes so wide-spread could have been homogeneous."[33]

The *Kirāta* chiefs vanquished, Raghu had to face the array of attacks from the *Gaṅa* army of the hills and had to quell the resistance of the

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[30] See *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 31.

In place of the word Sindhu, Vallabha reads Vaṅksu which is the Oxus. Paying credence to that reading H. C. Chakladar in his "The Geography of Kālidāsa" (pp. 59-61) states "From what we have said above, there can be no doubt that the poet makes his hero meet the Hūṇas on the banks of the Oxus and not on the Indus......

"After vanquishing the Hūṇas on the banks of the Oxus and specially its tributary the Wakhsch, Raghu turned towards the Himālayas. But, for this purpose, he did not march southwards but entered Kashmir through the north-western passes of Hindukush, about the wilds of Kafiristan and then through Chitral and Gilgit. He passed, it seems, through the northern borders of the ancient Kingdom of Udjāna. Kālidāsa then places his Kāmboja country in the regions just to the north and west of and perhaps including the Swat Valley......" From H. C. Chakladar's "The Geography of Kālidāsa", p. 61.

[31] काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः ।
गजालानपरिक्लिष्टैरक्षोटैः सार्धमानताः ।। *Raghu*. IV. 69

[32] *Ancient Geography of India*—pp. 29-30.

[33] *The Geography of Kālidāsa*—p. 24.

Kinnara class known as the *Utsavasaṅketas*. The late K. P. Jayswal has made it abundantly clear that these *Parvatīyā Gaṇas* were republican communities.[34] Prof. H. C. Chakladar has located these *Utsavasaṅketas* in the neighbourhood of Kashmir to its immediate east in the *Himālayas*.[35] This appears likely in view of the trend of the descriptions given by Kālidāsa, because Raghu conquered these tribes in the course of his ascent on the mountain. Here the poet by the line पौलस्त्यतुलितस्याद्रेरादधान इव ह्रियम् (Raghu IV. 80) has evidently referred to the *Kailāsa* mountain. "It is incomparably the most famous mountain in the world. Mount Everest and Mont Blank cannot vie with it."[36]

It is therefore quite clear that the route by which Raghu arrived at *Kāmarūpa* lay by the side of the *Kailāsa* mountain beyond the *Himālayas* and started from the east of Kashmir and possibly ended in the south-east of Tibet. At what point and through which passes he crossed over to *Kāmarūpa* it is difficult to ascertain. But this appears quite likely that as soon as Raghu's army crossed the *Lauhitya*, it laid its feet on the soil of *Kāmarūpa*. It is also not unlikely that the Brahmaputra which the Tibetans called *Tsang-Po* in their country might have been known as the *Lauhitya* to the Indians. Viewed from this fact the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom might be viewed as stretching from the southern portion of Tibet. In this case, the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom might have comprised a wide hilly area of the north including Bhutan and Sikkim. Such an inference is supported by the statement of the *Mahābhārata* referred to above (in Section 6, F.Nos. 40, 47). This may explain the hill like dump of the bodily remains of Naraka in the slopes of the foot-hills of the Himālaya mountains (see Section 6, 49).

(ix) *Direct Communication with Tibet, China and Kashmir*

Whatever be the validity of these conclusions, the fact of having a direct communication if not a trade route through the mountain passes of the north with Tibet and China extending up to the borders of Kashmir cannot be denied. Therefore when a reference is made to the *Bāhikas* and the *Tāyikas* in the *Bargaon Inscription* of king Ratnapāla[37] in the course of the description of the city of *Durjayā*, it is neither a keeping in with the traditional description nor a figment of the poet's imagination but is one of actual danger in the shape of attacks from those regions, because there was a route by which constant communication of these areas with *Kāmarūpa* was established.

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[34] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol. i. part ii. pp. 173-178).

[35] *The Geography of Kālidāsa*, p. 25.

[36] *Trans-Himalaya Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet* by Sven Hedin, Macmillan 1913 (3 vols)—p. 198.

[37] वाहिकतायिकातङ्ककारिणा......line 35.

(x) *Bhagadatta belongs to the Race of the Śivis*

The *Bāhika* is the general name given to the tribes inhabiting the outer areas watered by the Indus and the five rivers of the Punjab and falling outside holy India.[38] It seems to have comprised the following tribes—*Kekayas*, *Sauvīras*, *Madras*, *Arattas*, *Pauras*, *Tārtikas*, *Takkas* and *Śivis* or *Auśīnaras*.[39] The last named tribe is a very important one and it takes the name of *Śivi* from a king of that name. It may be mentioned in this connection that Bhagadatta the famous king of the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* is also described as the descendant of the race of *Śivi*. Vāskala is a son of Hiraṇyakaśipu and is said to have been incarnated as Bhagadatta, the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa*.[40]

(xi) *Association of Amūrttarajas with Girivraja and Prāgjyotiṣa Points Out to an Alpine Origin of Its People*

In a preceding section (Section B. 6) we have stated that the verse *tathāmūrttarayā* etc. (see F.N. 6 under Section I) does not yield a very clear meaning. While Amūrttarajas is credited with the construction of the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* in one recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the other with the raising of a penance forest known as *dharmāraṇya*, the verse with separate readings in the two recensions seems to have averred on the close proximity of the penance forest and the city *Girivraja* said to have been raised by one Vasu. The whole position therefore becomes confusing and nothing can be made out from the words used.

The verse, it appears quite likely, refers to a tradition of hoary antiquity. *Girivraja* was the capital of the *Kekayas*, the race in which Kaikeyī the mother of Bharata was born.[41] Some king of the *Kekayas* might have erected the city of the same name in Magadha in later times and Amūrttarajas still later might have constructed a penance forest on the bank of the *Kośī*. Whatever it is, the association of Amūrttarajas with the construction of *Prāgjyotiṣa* in the verse though distinctly an interpolation in the particular portion might be only an indication of the fact that the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom was in the pre-historic period associated with the Alpine Aryans who spread towards the east through the northern passes after settlement in the north-west for some time, because Amūrttarajas himself was an Alpine Aryan whose descendants later on accepted the Vedic culture and religion as evidenced by the acceptance of Aryan culture by his grandson Viśvāmitra. Naraka might have ruled in the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom somewhere beyond the *Kośi*, but the last Naraka migrated east and ruled from the city of the same name which he constructed.

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[38] बहिष्कृता हिमवता गङ्गया च बहिष्कृताः ।
सरस्वत्या यमुनया कुरुक्षेत्रेण चापि ये ॥
पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः ।
तान् धर्म्मबाह्यानशुचीन् बाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ *Mahābhārata*, Karṇa, VIL, 6-7.

[39] See *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 19.

[40] यस्तु राजन्शिविर्नाम दैतेयः परिकीर्त्तितः ।
द्रुम इत्यभिविख्यातः स आसीद्भुवि पार्थिवः ॥
वाष्कलो नाम यत्तेषामासीदसुरसत्तमः ।
भगदत्त इति ख्यातः स यज्ञे पुरुषर्षभः ॥ *Mahābhārata*, Ādi, LXVIII, 8-9.

Vāskala—a son of Hiraṇyakaśipu (Aṁśavat) incarnated as Bhagadatta—*An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, by S. Sorensen.

[41] "......There cannot therefore be any doubt that Girivraja—the capital of the Kekayas—lay beyond the Jhelum on this side of the Indus. The word means "collection of hills" and the town must be looked for somewhere in the Salt Range, which runs from the Jhelum to the Indus and beyond it. If a line were drawn, say from Jalalpur at the base of this range to Ayodhyā on the Sarayū, it will be seen that Vālmiki's description is exceedingly accurate and the old towns of Hastināpura and

(xii) *Kalitās are of Alpine Origin*

Another likely fact in support of such a speculation is the strong tradition of the existence of a dominent *Kalitā* kingdom in the northern strips of Assam. These *Kalitās* might have been the offsprings of the ruling race of the *Kulūta* country (modern *Kulu Valley*) who might have been the descendants of the Alpine race. The *Mudrārākṣasa* describes the kings of the *Kulūta country* of *Mlecchas*.[42] This fact is a remnant of the non-recognition still of the Alpines as genuine Aryans even after the full scale acceptance of the religion and literature of their brethren subsequently arriving.[43]

Ahisthala will pretty nearly lie on it. Near this place (Jalalpur), there is an old fort called *Girjhak* which has the same meaning as Girivraja, said to have been founded by Rājā Bharata, who is so much associated with Girivraja and shewing unmistakable antiquity by yielding coins, I say on the authority of General Cunningham, reaching back to the times of Alexander's successors I have therefore no hesitation in identifying it with our Girivraja."—*Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 23-24.

The whole portion of the verse associating Amūrttarajas with the construction of the city of Prāgjyotiṣa might be an interpolation, because Prāgjyotiṣa is associated with Naraka in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself (see F.N. 4 Section I) who was contemporary of Janaka according to the *Kālikāpurāṇa*. Therefore the question of founding the city by Amūrttarajas who was posterior to Naraka is wrong to think of.

[42] तस्य म्लेच्छराजस्य बलस्य मध्यात् प्रधानतमाः पञ्च राजानः परया भक्त्या राक्षसमनुवर्त्तन्ते। तथाहि कौलूतश्चित्रवर्मा......" Act I.

[43] The Alpine Aryans though they found it easy to accept the religion and culture of the later Nordic Races, and actually accepted them, were still looked down upon as not belonging to the latter's fold and were designated as *Mlecchas*. The *Gaṇas* referred to by Kālidāsa it appears might have been the descendants of the Alpine races one branch of which were driven by the later Aryans towards the Himālayas and the other

(xiii) *The Kāmbojas, the Śivis, the Kekayas, the Kulūtas are Branches of the Alpine Race*

We have already touched above upon the extent of the *Kāmboja* kingdom which extended up to little *Thibet* and *Lādākh* and which therefore penetrated a considerable distance into Tibet. The Lake *Mānasa* is said in the *Mahābhārata* to be situated in *Hātaka* which is the Sanskrit name for *Lādāk*.[44]

In the above pages we have rather made long-drawn discussions just to show that even before the advent of the Aryans there were migrations of people in waves into *Kāmarūpa* from the North-Western regions. It is therefore quite possible that the Alpines branching off into various tribes viz, the *Śivis*, the *Kekayas*, the *Kulūtas*, the *Kāmbojas*, spread as far as the extreme frontiers of *Kāmarūpa* and made distinct contributions for the diffusion of their culture in the area which coming in contact with the early aborigines such as the Mongoloid and the Austric people might have evolved a distinct pattern. It is very difficult to precisely describe the nature of this culture but a broad outline can be suggested by a gleaning of certain references from the inscriptions themselves with clear imprints of vestiges of cultures of those ancient people migrating from the North-West of India.

(xiv) *Bhagadatta therefore Belonged to the Alpine Race*

In an earlier section we suggested that Janaka the king of *Videha* might have been ruling over the western part of what was in later days the *Prāgjyotiṣa* kingdom and during those pre-historic times *Girivraja*

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in the southward directions. "...the *Utsavasaṅketas* are found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* to live in other parts of India besides the Himālayas. Nakula after going towards the West from *Khāṇḍava-prastha* and crossing the desert vanquished the Daśarṇas, Mālavas, and then turned again and vanquished the *Utsavasaṅketas* living in the *Puṣkarāraṇya*, and then the elders of the villages on the Indus, and then he proceeded to conquer the whole of the *Pancanada*.

"This shows that the *Utsavasaṅketas* lived also in the *Puṣkarāraṇya* in Rajputana. A section of the *Utsavasaṅketas* are enumerated in the *Bhīṣma Parva*, Ch. IX, among the people living in the south. This places this tribe of the *Utsavasaṅketas* with races living towards the south of central India. They are mentioned in the same region in the *Padmapurāṇa* also. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* places a people called *saṅketas* in the Madhyadeśa about the same regions on the slopes of the Western Vindhyas and the Aravallis."

—*The Geography of Kālidāsa*, p. 26.

See in this connection—*Sabhā Parva*, Ch. XXXII, 8-9 (Bengal Edition).
Padmapurāṇa-Ādikāṇḍa, Ch. VI, 56.
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. LVIII, 8.

[44] सरो मानसमासाद्य हाटकानभितः प्रभुः ।
गन्धर्वरक्षितं देशमजयत् पाण्डुनन्दनः ।। *Sabhā*, XXVIII, 5.

might have been the capital of *Videha*. Naraka who established himself as an independent king at *Prāgjyotiṣa* somewhere in the west might have been despotic and might have come in clashes against Janaka for his unilateral behaviour in which the latter worsted and made a vassal of the former imparting at the same time the Aryan culture. This possibly is described in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* as the fostering of Naraka by Janaka. It is also likely that a line of Narakas was propagated which ruled in the area for a long time. The last Naraka, it might be, being pushed back by the king of *Videha* came with the aid of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa to *Prāgjyotiṣa* in the east and established a strong principality here with the seat of his capital away from the Brahmaputra in the midst of hills. When Kṛṣṇa had to kill him, it is stated that he installed Bhagadatta on the throne, who possibly appointed his regent in the Bhagalpur area wherewith a tradition of Bhagadatta's residence is still now associated.

As we have stated earlier there is no record in the Mahābhārata to show that Bhagadatta was the son of Naraka as propagated by the later Purāṇas. It is therefore quite likely that he was the scion of a different royal house ruling over a different region from a different capital. Therefore the following verse (verse 5) in the *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāla

कृष्णेण तं निहत्य च सृष्टौ भगदत्तवज्रदत्ताख्यो ।
तस्य सुतौ..............................

is not based on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* and the facts postulated herein cannot be accepted by common consent. The author of the inscription here appears to have relied more on tradition or hear-say than on genuine facts. What is most likely is Bhagadatta who was a ruling chieftain at a different place was installed the king of *Prāgjyotiṣa* and his son Vajradatta was allowed to rule over *Uparipattana* as a regent of the central power of *Prāgjyotiṣa*. The *Mahābhārata* clearly states that Bhagadatta springs from the race of the *Śivis* who were no other than an Alpine race spreading up into different regions and accepting later on the Aryan culture but still keeping as a vestige of Non-Āryanism the disdainful appellation of *Asura*.

(xv) *Emergence into the Daylight of History*

The above postulation may apparently be deemed as entirely hypothetical and may be discarded as holding no water. But we must reckon with the pertinent fact that while any references are made to Naraka in the *Mahābhārata*, they present an idea of Naraka as a king of tradition, a man of unlaudable and mysterious habits, as one not coming into the fold of social sanctions proper.[45] But when we come across the description of Bhagadatta, we meet him as a king of a wide region representing a people with a large army with his jurisdiction spreading over a wide area, as if from the days shrouded in darkness we emerge into the clear day-light of history, as if he is accepted, though the disdainful appellation of *asura* is there, as part and parcel of the prevalent social order. The lines like these अहं सखा महेन्द्रस्य etc. are significant and is indicative of his being accepted by the Aryan society as its kith and kin. Therefore Bhagadatta's race can be said to have merged into the Aryan fold though he is still said to have retained some distinct traits of his race. Thus his acceptance of the Aryan culture is a certainty and needs no averment. In the *Dubi Plates* it is stated—"His son Vajradatta by name was a great king of Vajradhara's (Indra's) power who having studied the four Vedas with their *aṅgas* and all the *vākyas* and *pramāṇas* in due course and being conversant with the method of training of elephants, the breed, nature and nourishment of the horses and the doctrine of the preceptors of the gods and the demons in their real purport *performed horse-sacrifices of great munificence*" (verses 4-5).

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[45] नरक इति सूनुरासीदसुरसुहृत्—*Nowgong Plates*, line 3.
त्रैलोक्यविजयतुङ्गं येनापहृतं यशो महेन्द्रस्य ।
अदितेः कुण्डलयुगलं कपोलदोलायितं हरता ॥४॥ *Ibid*, line 4.

(xvi) *A Possible Relation between the Śivis and the Kulūtas*

Therefore some connection of the race of Bhagadatta with the *Kalitā* kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* cannot be ruled out specially when the *Śivis* and the *Kulūtas* are deemed to have sprung from the same stock and ruled originally almost in the same region. It will not be too presumptuous to point out here that all the kings of the race of Bhagadatta had the word "*datta*", though not as a title but as a part of the name itself, appended to their names, which many *Kalitās* of modern Assam use as their surname. This may also suggest some sort of a connection between the house of Bhagadatta and the *Kalitā* principality somewhere in the north. These people who were of the Alpine stock must have spread out in the entire region before they received the Aryan culture and were merged into the Aryan society. Vestiges of Alpine culture still remained as amply demonstrated by the names of the *Brāhmaṇas* given in the *Nidhānpur Plates* in some of their titles, which are not indicative of a purely Aryan Brahmanical title but distinctly point out to the fact that certain communities of the Non-Aryan races were after acceptance of Aryan culture recognised as *Brāhmaṇas*. Even then the imprints of the transitional period are not clearly effaced and the communities still retain their original titles such as घोष etc. integrated with Aryan Brahmanic titles such as भट्ट, स्वामी etc. This means that these particular communities of the Alpine race had been after acceptance of Aryan culture recognised as Brāhmaṇas, but they have not as yet discarded their Alpine nomenclature.[46]

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[46] The following names have some relevance to our discussions here: श्रीवसुर्भ्रातृत्रयेण एकोऽंशः सोमवसुर्भ्रातृसहितोऽर्द्धांशः ।। line 55; विष्णुघोषस्वामी—line 56;

(xvii) *Traces of Two Distinct Cultures*

Thus we have clear traces of two distinct cultures running side by side evidently in the process of fusion with one another. On the one hand there is the predominance of what is known as Aryan culture and there is on the other the running stream of the Alpine culture bracing along with it the culture of the Mongoloid people with whom the Alpines in the process of their advance settlements came in contact.

(xviii) *The Aryan Culture—Its Manifestation in the Social System*

Thus we see that the inscriptions reveal a society integrated in the fabric of Aryan social organisation and the social divisions we have come across in the inscriptions are mainly derived from an advanced Aryan social system. We do not know in what form and manner and to what extent the Aryan social system was prevailing during the days of Bhāskaravarmā. We also have no materials to ascertain whether this Aryan social order tended to undergo changes and develop during his times proclivities for its later and modern changes. Still this can be said with certainty that the *Varṇāśramadharma* then was a replica of the old system and the society strove to attain the ideals which that system in ancient times stood for. Therefore periodic attempts were made to stabilise that disarrayed social order and the kings who were to be ever vigilant to maintain this order were deemed as being created by the Lord Brahmā himself to impart its benefits to the people.[47] This order when strictly worked upon at least led to the full contentment of all the subjects and made the circle of subordinate kings adhere to the supreme monarch. Therefore material prosperity of the kingdom is assured. At least the behaviour of King Indrapāla is being lauded, because he was able to divide properly the duties appertaining to the four *varṇas* and the four *āśramas* of life.[48]

(xix) *The Four Stages of Life—Its Basic Concept*

The stages of life begin with that of *Brahmacarya* in which regular courses are undertaken for study under a competent teacher in an *āśrama* after the completion of which a student comes back home. This home-coming is known as *samāvartana* and the student then gets settled

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देवघोषस्वामी—line 57; कुष्माण्डपत्रस्वामी—line 67; प्रवरनागस्वामी, अपरनागस्वामी—73; श्रद्धदासस्वामी अर्द्धांशः—line 76; धृतिसोमर्सिह सोमस्वामिभ्याम्—line 78.

[47] See *Nidhānpur Plates*, lines 34-37.

[48] यस्मिन्नृपे विनयविक्रमभाजि जाते
सम्यग्विभक्तचतुराश्रमवर्णधर्म्मा ।
आनन्दिनी सकलकामदुघा जनानां
पृथ्वी पृथोः पुनरिव प्रथितोदयासीत् ।।१५।।

—*Gauhati Grant of Indrapāla.*

in the married life.[49] which was dedicated to the performance of regular rounds of domestic sacrifices.[50] These sacrifices were not confined to the household alone but spread far and wide and the chanting of Vedic *mantras* in the sacrificial sessions echoed and re-echoed in the various pleasure gardens of cities. Evidently these are not mechanical performances but were regular features that were an inspiration to the people for sacrifice. King Vanamālavarmadeva's fame was wide-spread on this account and he made sacrifices of his riches and wealth in a spirit of renunciation which endowed on him a state of self-control.[51] Such a spirit of renunciation was a precursor to the final retirement from life to engage oneself in penance to make the supreme sacrifice through *yoga*.[52] A few sovereigns of the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* are credited with the performance of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice to declare their paramount status. As stated earlier the *rājasūya* sacrifice is not referred to by the inscriptions and only a part of it, the *abhiṣecanīya* was gone through when a particular prince was installed as a king.

(xx) *Vedic Culture—Study of the Vedas*

All the above institutions and ceremonies, it appears, are the legacies of the Aryanisation of a race, that came earlier, it appears, in waves to the eastern region from the north-west and that later on became the powerful protagonists of the culture of the junior partners in search of new settlements. The vestiges of such an earlier race can be detected in the names of *Brāhmaṇas* who were later on assimilated into the *gotras* of the Aryans after the acceptance of the Vedic culture characterised by a deep study of the Vedas with all their *aṅgas*, cf. the following in the *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva—

"There was a benevolent and holy *Brāhmaṇa* Bhijjat by name with all the attributes of a *Brāhmaṇa*, conversant with the import of the Vedas, who was as it were the lamp of the Brāhmaṇs of the *Śāṇḍilya* family and who studied the Yajurveda with all its branches" (*Tezpur Plates*, verse 30).

Whatever it is, this much is certain that the culture of the Vedas was disseminated in the region from ancient times and there were

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[49] स समावृत्तो गुरुतो गृहधर्म्मविधित्सु etc. line 45, *Nowgong Plates* of Balavarmā.

[50] अध्वर्य्युना येन कृतं विभज्य वैतानिकं कर्म्म निराकुलेन ।।२७।।
गृहीतविद्यस्सुगृहीतनामा गृहाश्रमावाप्तिपरो गृहिण्या ।
—lines 40-41, *Nowgong Plates* of Balavarmā; also see line 60 of the *Bargaon Grant*.

[51] ......नानारामाः सत्रिणां व्याहृतैश्च ।
......देशे देशे शालिनीं यस्य कीर्त्तिं ।।२८।।
बहुहेमरौप्यगजवाजिमहीप्रमदादिरत्ननिचयं वहुशः ।
प्रददाववारमनिशं निगदन् प्रमिताक्षरोऽपि बहुवागभवत् ।।२६।। *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāla.

[52] छत्रं शशधरधवलं चामरयुगलान्वितम्प्रदायास्मै ।
अनशनविधिना वीरस्तेजसि माहेश्वरे लीनः ।।१७।। *Nowgong Plates*.

Brāhmaṇas who were well-versed in the Vedas.[53] Not only the Vedas but also other branches of knowledge such as grammar, *śāṅkhya*, *mīmāṁsā* etc. were deeply studied and widely appreciated. These formed a regular curricula of studies for princes and kings and were regarded as apt disciplines for guidance in the sovereign's day-to-day discharge of duties. King Indrapāla was well-versed in the science of grammar, *Mīmāṁsā Nyāya* and the *Tantras*.[54] That such abstract subjects formed the subjects of daily study and that in them kings excelled from very ancient times is attested to by the *Ḍubi Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā.[55]

Therefore we see from the inscriptions that from very ancient times there was a great appreciation of the sciences of the Aryans and people tried to emulate scholars who in the very early periods of the history attained a celebrity in them. At least the main propositions of these particular branches of philosophies were well-known and appreciated.[56] When some of the doctrines of these branches of study are used as similes and metaphors, it can very well be presumed that their study was widespread in and the doctrines comprehensible to a larger section of the society.

(xxi) *Culture and Activity*

But it is seen from the numerous references in the inscriptions that there was not only a wide diffusion of the knowledge of the *śāstras* in the society but that it was characterised by the practice of the doctrines propounded in the *śāstras*. In other words the religion was activity-oriented in aspects social and ceremonial. The *Brāhmaṇa* Naravāhana to whom *Mīmāṁsā* was *nyāya* (code of conduct) and the science of polity of *Cāṇakya* was the best jewel of his race accepted the vow of a traveller intending to move over the good path laid down by the *śrutis* and the *smṛtis*.[57]

(xxii) *Study of Mīmāṁsā and Performance of Sacrifices*

It is therefore clear that *Mīmāṁsā*, the science of *Karma* and the highly pragmatic science of polity of Kauṭilya were the best guides for actions religious and secular to this *Brāhmaṇa*. Hence all religious pursuits were marked by an intensity of actions taking the shape of sacerdotal functions in the form of sacrifices, which was strengthened by a belief that all sins pertaining to the age of *Kali* could not pierce through the screen of smokes raised by the network of sacrificial performances.[58] The *Brāhmaṇas* performing these sacrifices were of a religious bent because they reduced their sins and activated merit through a recourse to the daily rounds of morning, mid-day and evening meditations besides saying of prayers in an undertone (*japa*).[59] These activities were resorted to just to generate a power of self-control and a consequent balance in mental faculties so that one can desist from all inauspicious or degrading enterprises and devote oneself to the six-fold activities prescribed for a *Brāhmaṇa*.[60]

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[53] पाराशरोऽभूद्भुवि देवदत्तः काण्वोऽग्रजो वाजसनेयकाग्र्यः ।
आसाद्य यं वेदविदां परार्द्ध्यं त्रय्या कृतार्थायितमेव सम्यक् ॥१६॥
Bargaon Plates of Ratnapāla. See also verse 11, *Puṣpabhadrā* Grant of Dharmapāla.

[54] सुविस्तृतानां पदवाक्यतर्कतन्त्रप्रवाहातितरस्विनीनां ।
यः सर्व्वविद्यासरितामगाधमन्तर्निमग्नश्च गतश्च पारं ॥१६। *Gauhati Grant* of Indrapāla.

[55] *Ḍubi Plates*, Verse No. 55 (lines 72-75).

[56] नारायणवर्म्मार्णं जनकमिवाधिगतसांख्यार्थं ॥१३॥
प्रकृतिरिव तस्य पुंसो देववती स्थिरगुणानुबन्धाय ।
षष्ठमिव महाभूतं दधौ महाभूतवर्म्मार्णं ॥१४॥ *Nidhānpur Plates.*

[57] मीमांसानयमांसलीकृतमतिश्चाणक्यमाणिक्यभू—
र्व्वंशोत्तुङ्गमणिः श्रुतिस्मृतिपथप्रस्थानपान्थव्रतः ॥१४॥ *Puṣpabhadrā Grant.*

(xxiii) *The Duties to be Performed by a Brāhmaṇa*

These *ṣatkarmas* are instruction, study, worship, priesthood, gift and its acceptance.[61] It is seen that these activities are altruistic in motive. Therefore there is the prescription for the performance of all *karmas* through a dedication to the service for others. Now this has been described as *dharma* and all wealth and desire are to be guided in the direction of the acquisition of *dharma*. Such a practice was visible in all the endeavours of king Dharmapāla.[62]

(xxiv) *The Caturvargas*

It is not that this *caturvarga* is a late innovation in the domains of *Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa* but was practised from a long time. It is seen in the *Nidhānpur Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā (line 5) where the concept of *dharma* alone is thrown into the reference. But when it is said that *dharma* is परहितमूर्त्तिः, the idea of the wealth to be so acquired as to spend or exhaust for the benefit of others is implied. The word अदृष्ट is so clear that it needs no elaboration. The idea of धर्माधर्म is intimately connected with पापपुण्य which again are interlinked with good and bad actions done in a previous life (see *Bhāratabhāvadīpa* of Nīlakaṇṭha on *śloka* 25.XII.210). Therefore it is not at all likely that the word *dharma* in the *Nidhānpur Plates* refers to the Buddhist *triratna* as is suggested by Vidyāvinoda. The concept of *dharma* is too well-established in the Hindu religion by this time to need any borrowing. This idea of *dharma* is synthesized with *Artha* and *Kāma* in Indian thought after the growth of the *mīmāṁsā* philosophy and has by this time acquired a well-merited position in Hindu thought.[63] So later on we find in the copper-plates grant of king Dharmapāla the above statement conveying the idea of this synthesis.

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[58] होमधूमान्धकारान्धं नाविशत् कलिकल्मषं ।।१६।। *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka Grant.*

[59] द्विजानां सद्धर्म्मप्रथमपथिकानामनुदिनं
त्रिसन्ध्यं स्नानार्थप्रशमजपपापक्षयकृतां । *Puṣpabhadrā*, lines 26-27.

[60] शाक्योपमः शमदमप्रसवैकभूमिः ।
षट्कर्म्मकर्म्मठतया विरतोऽशुभेभ्यः
सभ्यः सतां गुणवतान्तिलकस्तनूजः ।।१८।। *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka.*

[61] अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा ।
दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चैव षट्कर्म्माण्यग्रजन्मनः ।। *Manu* X. 75.

[62] श्रीधर्म्मपाल इति धर्म्मपरोऽपि काम-
-मर्थञ्च पालयति यः सुसमीक्ष्य कालं ।।१२।। *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka.*

(xxv) *Religion*

So far as actual religion and the belief in a godhead are concerned it is generally seen, concludes Vidyāvinoda, that the kings of *Kāmarūpa* are *Śaivas*.[64] While doing so, the learned scholar has given an exposition of the symbol Z (*āñjī*) found at the commencement of the inscriptions even before *svasti* of king Vanamāladeva (also found in the subsequent copper-plates grants excepting the first and the second copper-plates grants of Ratnapāla) and thereafter has concluded that Mahādeva with his *śakti* is the *Iṣṭa-devatā* of the kings of *Kāmarūpa*.

He has adduced further proof of the prevalence of the *Śiva-śakti* worship in the capital *Hārūpeśvara* in the shape of the mention of the seat of *Kāmeśvara* and *Mahāgaurī* in the *Kāmakūṭa* hill.[65] The opening verses of the inscriptions of Indrapāla jestingly bring in the female entity along with the male counterpart *Śambhu*. In the opening verse of the first inscription of king Dharmapāla, obeisance is done to Śiva conceived as *Ardhanārīśvara*.

Though the *āñjī* is essentially a *tāntric* concept and signifies the awakening of the *Kuṇḍalinī* to join the Mahādeva through *sahasrāra* in the vicinity of the crest, this is, it appears to us, used here not in the strict *tāntric* signification but in the sense of expression of letters and their correct articulation. Vidyāvinoda himself has in an article[66] elucidated

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[63] धर्म्मार्थकामाः सममेव सेव्या।
यो ह्येकभक्तः स नरो जघन्यः॥ *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparva*, CL.XVII-40.

[64] See his article "*Mahādeva—The Iṣṭadeva of the Kings of Kāmarūpa*" in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. II. No. I. April 1934.

[65] श्रीकामेश्वरमहागौरीभट्टारिकाभ्यामधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः *Tezpur Plates.*

[66] "*The Sign* ຣ in *Ancient Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Kāmarūpa*" in "*The Journal of the Assam Research Society*", Vol. I. No. I. April 1933, pp. 10-11.

Cf. also—"In Eastern Bengal including Sylhet, formerly a boy on the occasion of his '*Vidyārambha*' ceremony in the fifth year of his age, was taught to write ຣ first before writing क, ख, ग, घ or अ, आ, इ as the case may be. This sign is called *āñjī*. . . . . . . The *Kuṇḍalinī* passes through every petal (with a letter in it) and the divinity is called this aspect of the *āñjī* along with its *tāntric* character. So the sign *āñjī* here conveys the idea of a prayer for the successful completion of the composition through a proper expression of the ideas by regulating every letter and its articulation. So the sign *āñjī* does not indicate a stage of avowed tantricism in the reigns of those kings but one of a liberal religion. The invariable association of *Śiva* and *Śakti* points to the same thing, because *Śakti* here is not the Supreme Power but is a constant companion of *Śiva* in bringing about creation. With such a dominant idea, the first verse of the first inscription of Dharmapāla is proceeding.

(xxvi) *The Religion is Liberal comprising Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism*

The catholicity of the religion is indicated by the Second Copper-Plates grant of Dharmapāla wherein in the initial verse Lord *Viṣṇu* is extolled. Vidyāvinoda has, in spite of this manifest praise of *Viṣṇu*, wrongly concluded that Dharmapāla was still a *Śaiva*. It is not a question of partiality to this or that type of belief but an open hearted recognition of all faiths as indicated by the sign of *āñjī* present in an eulogy of Hari. After all it is not discreet to ignore the verse bodying forth the exalted qualities of Hari. The Copper Plates Grants of Indrapāla incorporate the praise of *Viṣṇu* besides the one of *Śiva*. The predominance which *Viṣṇu* acquires in a family noted for its long adherence to the cult of *Śiva* is indicative of an attitude of liberality in religion. Such an attitude to religion is what becomes apparent in an analysis of the descriptions of the still earlier kings of *Kāmarūpa*. King Naraka is referred to in the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* as practising penance for the attainment of the exalted position of Indra after going through a prescribed course of Vedic studies.[67] This *tapasyā* by itself is one of the recognised processes for the attainment of a desired object in all forms of Hinduism and therefore makes the question of one's belonging to this or that sect of Hinduism unnecessary. It may be practised by the *Śāktas* and the *Vaiṣṇavas* alike.

When in some of the references to Naraka in the *Mahābhārata* he is described as *Bhauma*, his connections with *Viṣṇu* are alluded to. In the *Droṇaparva*, *Viṣṇu* describes how he imparted the *Vaiṣṇavāstra* to Naraka after the solicitations of the earth.[68] In the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, this weapon of *Viṣṇu* is described as *Śakti*[69] and king Naraka is through it said to be the introducer of the worship of *Kāmākhyā* as a manifestation of the power

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"*Varṇa-prakāśinī*" (illuminating the *varṇas* or letters) and in fact no *varṇa* can either be seen or heard or pronounced except through her favour."—*Ibid.*

[67] दशवर्षसहस्राणि तपस्तप्यन् महात्मना:
ऐन्द्रं प्रार्थयते स्थानं तप:स्वाध्यायविक्रमात् ॥१८॥ *Vanaparva*, CVIL.

[68] *Droṇaparva*, XXIX. 1.

[69] शक्तिञ्च प्रददौ तस्मै सर्व्वशत्रुविशातनीम् ॥ KP. XXXIX. 45.

of *Viṣṇu*. *Śakti* is normally associated with *Śiva*. Herein is found a reconciliation of Vaiṣṇavism to Śaivism. As a matter of fact, *Vaiṣṇavas* appear to have taken an initiative in the worship of *Śakti* in the early part of the religious growth in *Kāmarūpa*.[70]

While this reference in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* to the *Śakti* of *Viṣṇu* seems to be the reminiscences of an association of Śaktism with the *Viṣṇu* cult, it later on veered round the worship of *Śiva*. This becomes clear from the religious proclivities of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. Referring to Bhagadatta, the inscription of Vanamāladeva says that with the acquisition of sovereignty by this king, he with great humility worshipped *Śiva* with penance.[71] As regards Vajradatta the inscription of Balavarmā states—"Bhagadatta having departed to the region of gods, his younger brother with a pure devotion to *Īśa* became the lord of the world and the poets call him Vajradatta."[72]

(xxvii) *Other Gods Worshipped—Balabhadra, Indra, Harihara etc.*

But this is the estimate of the religious leanings of the earlier kings of *Kāmarūpa* by one who thrived a number of centuries later. Therefore the authenticity of this delineation can be accepted not from the authority of these panegyrists but from the strong tradition, literary or popular, handed down from generation to generation. Such a one is recorded in the *Umācal Rock Inscription* of Surendravarmā wherein is referred to to the worship of *Lord Balabhadra*. It may be contended that the cave-temple referred to there might have been donated to one Balabhadra, an anchorite living in the area. But it is most likely that a roofing was provided for in the place where there was the worship of *Balabhadra*, the Vaiṣṇavite deity as one of the *vyūhas* of the *Pañcarātra* school of worship. There is enough evidence to show that the *Pañcarātra* school of religion had an early growth even before the rise of the Guptas and the poet Bhāsa in the 1st century B.C. appears to have been the follower of this school. This points out to the fact that king Surendravarmā must have flourished earlier than the 4th century A.D. when this form of worship was prevalent in Kāmarūpa.[73]

It is not that only *Maheśvara* or *Viṣṇu* was worshipped but other

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[70] See Dr. Kakati's "*Prācīn Kāmarūpar Dharmar Dhārā*"—p. 50.

[71] Vanamāladeva's *Tezpur Plates*—Verse 5.

[72] *Nowgong Plates* of Balavarmā—verse 8.

[73] Knowing fully well the time of the prevalence of the *Pañcarātra* school Dr. Sarkar stretches the period of reign of Surendravarmā to the fifth century A.D. This is unacceptable because that eminent scholar himself has clearly said: "There is enough evidence regarding the independent worship of Balabhadra in the period before the rise of the Imperial Guptas in the fourth century A.D."—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, No. 10. pp. 68-69.

Vedic deities also occupied a very important position in the religion of *Kāmarūpa.* Along with the Copper Bell of the inscription of the same name of Śrīkumāra was found a number of icons mostly male, female ones being a few in number. These included *Indra*, *Viṣṇu* with four hands attended by *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī*, a small image of *Sūrya* on a chariot driven by seven horses, *Yama*, *Agni*, *Śiva*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Durgā*, *Jagaddhātrī* or *Vasundharā*, *Manasā* and the like. The impression created is one of a worship of the Vedic deities in full swing in an earlier period, the *purāṇic* or the *tāntric* deities coming up later on for worship, the centre for which possibly was a number of temples big or small dedicated to Indra somewhere near the capital of *Prāgjyotiṣa.* There were possibly hundreds of such temples dedicated to the worship of the *devas* as confirmed by Yuan Chwang who noticed hundreds of such deva temples in the kingdom of Bhāskaravarmā. The tradition of the worship of *Indra* continued for long and is demonstrated in the *Śakrotthān* ceremony described in the inscription of Balavarmā. This ceremony or festival might have been a relic of an old festival referred to by the earlier works as the *Puruhūta* which is called the *Indradhvaja* festival or the festival of the unfurling of the banner of Indra in the *Devī Purāṇa.* The detailed description of *Śakrotthāna* in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* leads us to conclude that this ceremony was performed long before the time of this *purāṇa* i.e. 10th or 11th century A.D. Such a conclusion is supported by a reference to the performance of the *Śakrotthāna* ceremony in the copper-plates grant of king Balavarmā of the 10th century A.D.[74] Thus clues can be secured for the proof of the wide prevalence of the worship of the Vedic gods. That Vedic gods were widely worshipped in ancient Assam is borne evidence to by a the recent discovery of a number of icons in the Narakāsura Hill. The inscription on the *Sūrya* image from Kāki also confirms the prevalence of sun-worship in the region from the earliest times. From a perusal of the inscription the impression may gain ground that the image of *Sūrya* was installed in the area for worship. We do not know, however, whether a sect of sun-worshippers thrived in the region or not. But it is significant that sun-worship was very much in vogue around a temple on Sūryapāhār in the Goalpara district.[75]

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[74] See in this connection *Religious Fairs and Festivals of Assam,* by Dr. D. Sarma in "*The Journal of the Assam Research Society*", Vol. XVIII. 1968, pp. 22-45.

[75] "Proceeding a little towards south-east from these groups of sculptures, a visitor will find a small modern temple with C.I. sheet roof and mud-plastered wall made of old bricks. Inside this temple lies a stone sculpture almost worn-out. The sculpture is within a circle and the central figure which is within a circle is rimmed with another embossed circle. This is a male figure with four hands. Objects held in hands cannot be recognised. The god is four-faced, fourth one being on the back side (not visible). The god is seated but his vehicle cannot be identified with precision. It may, however, be

(xxviii) *Nature of Śiva-śakti*

The *Śiva-śakti* worship prevalent in ancient Assam was a phase of *Śaivism* and appears to be quite distinct from the later *tāntricism.* It is neither *Śaivism* where *Śiva* appears as the only supreme entity nor *Śāktism* where *Śiva's* spouse *Umā* is deemed as the supreme power ordaining the creation and the movement of the world. It is true that *Śaṅkara* is acknowledged as the object of worship, the *Parameśvara* or the Absolute Being shining resplendent in its own manifestations (निजभूतिविभूषितम्). But this idea of the विभूति comprises in it that of its association with an instrument in creation that may be described as माया or प्रकृति or a शक्ति. The same idea is brought out by the expression भवतिमिरभिदुरन्तेजो रौद्रम् in the first verse of the inscription of king Balavarmā which also unwittingly throws in the idea of a power or *Śakti*. But the benedictory verse of the copper-plates grant of Ratnapāla clearly enunciates all these qualities in the One. He, like the *Paramātmā*, is one leading to the multiplicity with endless qualities holding forth the will to creation manifested as the *Śakti* of *Śaṅkara*, with the collusion of which the Lord is reproducing the manifested categories. The same idea of a *Śakti* of *Śambhu* has in the later inscriptions been concretised and *Gaurī* has become a distinct personality compatible with the enterprises of the Lord. Herein the religion has shown a distinct evolution towards a dualism though emphasising upon a system of monistic worship as clearly stated in अर्द्धयुवतीश्वरमादिदेवम् in the 1st verse of the 1st copper-plates grant of Dharmapāla.

But it is to be noticed that this *Śakti* has not assumed the form of a Supreme Power or Māyā relegating to the background the Supreme Lord or *Parameśvara* as in the *tāntric* system. One appears as the *Kāraka* and the other, a facet of the *Kāraka*. Neither seems to have assumed absolute independence of the other. In this the entire concept appears to have differed from the concept of *Puruṣa-Prakṛti* in the *Sāṅkhya* system, because a reference to the *Sāṅkhya* system in the *Nidhānpur Plates* seems to have related to its later philosophical doctrines (cf. *Nidhānpur Plates:* lines 17-18).

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guessed that a swan has been depicted below, which is the *Vāhana* of *Prajāpati* or *Brahmā*. The central figure is surrounded by twelve miniature figures which are seated. Each of these twelve figures is one-faced and two-armed holding certain objects possibly lotuses.

The central figure is Kāśyapa who is often called *Prajāpati* or creator of beings. *Sūrya* is an *Āditya*, the son of Aditi, wife of Kaśyapa. According to the *Purāṇas* the *Ādityas* are the sungods who are twelve in number. Thus these twelve miniature figures in a circle may be called the twelve *Ādityas* with their father at the centre..." *Some Ancient Sites in Assam*—in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Volume XIV, 1960, p. 111, by Sri P. D. Chaudhury.

(xxix) *Two Streams of Śiva-worship*

This supremacy of *Śaṅkara* is, it can be observed, running in two streams. One is the Aryanised stream which has imparted such names as *Parameśvara*, *Maheśvara*, *Iśvara*, *Śaśiśekhara*, *Pinākin* etc. which are purely Sanskrit names etymologically. Even then the use of the word *Pinākin* in the *Nidhānpur* and *Tezpur Plates* (line 1 and *śloka* 2 respectively) as well as in classical Sanskrit literature may point out to the origin of *Śiva* from a forester or a mountain-roving class of people. If this conclusion can have any basis, *Śiva* might have been the leader of the *Kirātas* whom Kālidāsa has referred to as coming across Raghu's way to *Kāmarūpa*, who were possibly the people who stretched from the regions of *Lādākh* and *Kailāsa* in the south-east of Kashmira to the extreme end of *Kāmarūpa* in the east. It is also a historical fact that these tribes from before the rise of Buddha not to speak of Kālidāsa ruled over the entire regions as organised groups constituting what may be called the present-day republics. Thus a mixed nation of the Alpine Aryans with the Mongoloids of the north that migrated south earlier to these regions grew up and their dominance as a distinct race with the pride of a great tradition could be traced in the northern regions of ancient Assam till the other day to the presence of the *Bhūyan* principalities, mementos of the early *Kalitā* kingdoms said to have thrived on the north from time immemorial. Whatever it is, it can be proved beyond doubt that vigorous attempts were made from the early times to assimilate an alien deity *Śiva* into the the fold of Aryan gods. Traces of attempts to give a position of equality to *Śiva* with *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmā* abound in Indian literature. One inscription of Assam makes an attempt to completely identify *Śiva* with *Viṣṇu*.[76]

(xxx) *Śiva is Both Aryan and Trans-Himālayān*

Nevertheless the other stream of Śiva-worship is distinctly perceptible. In the *Bargaon Grant* of Ratnapāla *Śiva's* abode is said to be the region of the *Kailāsa* mountains.[77] Though this is the general idea about the residence of *Śiva* in all religious texts, still this provides a clue to his origin. That *Śiva* is a god belonging to some aboriginal tribes beyond the *Himālayas* in the *Kailāsa* regions may also be indicated hereby. It is a fact that we do not come across the word *Śiva* in the *Ṛgveda* as the name of a god but we come across it in the sense of auspiciousness as applied to *Rudra*, the Vedic god, because he possesses healing remedies.[78] Thus in the *Ṛgveda* itself, the concept of *Rudra*, who is the subject of but three hymns there, is undergoing changes from its ferocious character to one of auspiciousness. Originally possibly *Rudra* as the god of the Vedic Aryans and *Śiva* as that of the Alpine races were both ferocious. But while they retain some of their former ferocious characteristics, still they have now become auspicious with certain good attributes.[79] An attempt has been made to change even the ferocious character of *Rudra* into a gentle one in the *Nowgong Plates* of Balavarmā. Here also the *tejas*, his energy, is depicted as a sort of cosmic principle, a *śakti* that transforms every thing.[80]

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[76] जयति पशुपतिः प्रजाधिनाथो महितवपुर्म्महिमा महावराहः। Cf. line 3 of *Gauhati Grant*.

[77] कैलासगिरिशिखरमिव परमेश्वराधिष्ठानम्......line 33.

[78] *Ṛgveda* I. 43.

The *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* depicts *Śiva* as a mountain dweller and as holding a shaft in his hand (see under foot-note 79 above). We come across a similar deity with a shaft in his hand in the *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamālavarmadeva, which is described as *Hāṭakaśūlin*, whose demolished temple he erected anew due to his devotion to that deity.[81] The description of this deity as holding a shaft in his hand may establish his identity with *Śiva* who generally holds a trident in his hand. Over and above this identity of weapons, there is the statement in the *Nowgong Plates* that Vanamāladeva was always devoted to the deity *Bhava*.[82] Therefore it is clear that this deity *Bhava* and the *Hāṭakaśūlin* are one and the same. Therefore *Hāṭakaśūlin* is the name of the god *Śiva* who is described as *Maheśvara* or *Parameśvara* housed in a temple as high as the Himālaya mountain, its original abode. Previously we stated that *Hāṭaka* is the Sanskrit name for *Lāḍāk* (see F.N. 44 of this Chapter). There is a historical tradition in Assam that the first king of the kingdom was Mahīraṅga Dānava. He must have belonged to the aboriginal races of Assam. This race of *Dānavas* was succeeded by the race of the *Asuras* the first king of which was Hāṭakāsura or Heṭūkāsura. Possibly the race of the aborigines was replaced by a race from *Hāṭaka* which brought with them their ancestral deity for worship and this lends support to the belief that *Hāṭakaśūlin* is a Trans-Himalayan god and that it was some form of this god that was installed in the capital city which acquired its name after that deity *Hāruppeśvara* or *Haḍappeśvara*. It will be pertinent to point out here that while this *Hāṭakaśūlin* and *Parameśvara* to whom Vanamāladeva was devotionally disposed are the one and the same god installed at *Hāruppeśvara*, *Śrī Kāmeśvara* and *Mahāgaurī* are quite different from him because they are housed on the top of the *Kāmakūṭa* mountain on the Brahmaputra. While Vanamālavarmadeva was a devotee of *Parameśvara*, his devotion to *Kāmeśvara* and *Mahāgaurī* is not explicitly stated in the inscription.[83]

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[79] The idea of a gradual transformation into gentleness and auspiciousness can be seen from the following:

He is asked to heal all sickness—*Ṛgveda* VII. 46.2.
He possesses healing remedies—*Ṛgveda* I. 43.
Therefore he is auspicious, *Śiva*—*Ṛgveda* X. 92-93.
Therefore he is *Iśāna*—*Ṛgveda* II. 33.9.
"We worship *Tryambaka*, sweet augmentor of prosperity"—*Ṛgveda* VII. 59.12.
The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* uses this epithet (III. 58.60) and
Paupśati for Rudra (VI. 32). He is a mountain-dweller in animal hides (III. 61).

[80] भवतु भवतिमिरभिदुरन्तेजो रौद्रं प्रशान्तये जगतः ।
परिवर्त्तते समग्रं कल्पान्तनिशावसाने यत् ।।

[81] प्रालेयाचलशृङ्गतुङ्गमतुलग्रामेभवेश्याजनै-
र्युक्तं हाटकशूलिनः क्षितिभुजा भक्त्या नवं चक्रुषा ।।२४।। *Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāla.

[82] तस्यात्मजः श्रीवनमालदेवो राजा चिरम्भक्तिपरो भवेऽभूत् । Line 14.

(xxxi) *Concept of Śiva-Śakti Synthesised into a Unity with Hari*

Therefore it is very likely that the earlier kings of Assam professed a religion that veered round *Śiva* as the Supreme Deity, which again might have been a legacy of the race from the northern regions and synthesised with *Rudra* of the Vedic Aryans. But later on the concept of the *Śakti* or power of *Śiva* came to be evolved and we see that in the later inscriptions besides the use of such phraseologies as रौद्रं तेजः, शाङ्करं प्राकाम्यं, *Śiva* was directly associated with *Śakti* (*Bargaon Grant*, line 4) which got its physical manifestation in the shape of *Umā* or *Gaurī*. Later on this duality acquired a unity and both were coalesced into one (First Copper-Plates Grant of Dharmapāla). Thus the idea of the unitary character of *Śiva* had gradually to be again enunciated in view of the unitary character of *Hari*.[84] We actually do not know whether any controversy raged over the supremacy of either *Hari* or *Hara* in the domain of religion in ancient *Kāmarūpa*. But from the available materials it appears quite probable that there was no rivalry as such but a synthesis in tune with the tradition was attempted and as a witness to it instances like the one in the *Harihara* image from Deopāni may be cited. A conflict between these two sects spoken of by Śrī Gopinath Rao and referred to by Śrī P. D. Chaudhury in his introductory notes to the *Harihara Image Inscription* of this volume may not have actually taken place in Assam.

(xxxii) *Separate Worship of Hāṭakaśūlin*

Leaving out the above question we are petty sure that a tradition of religious worship of a deity called the *Hāṭaka Śūlin* or the *Hāṭakeśvara Śiva* was prevalent for a very long time in *Kāmarūpa*. It is possibly from the worship of this deity in the area or the existence of a temple for its worship that Sylhet came to be known as *Śrīhaṭṭa*. *Hāṭakeśvara Śiva* was originally a deity worshipped by the *Nāgar Brāhmaṇas* in the regions to the east of Kashmir from which they spread to the different areas of India.[85] Epigraphic evidences of similarity of surnames such as *Datta*, *Deva*, *Dhara* in eastern regions of India found in the *Nidhānpur Plates* with the surnames of the *Kāyasthas* and the *Nidhānpur Plates* with the *Brāhmaṇas* of western India point out to the early settlement of the Alpines in *Kāmarūpa*. The spread of the Alpine race into the two different regions must have been through different routes as shown earlier in this section and we do not propose to repeat.

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[83] cf. . . . . . .श्रीकामेश्वरमहागौरीभट्टारिकाभ्यामधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः
. . . . . .श्रीहारूप्पेश्वरात् स परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरायणचित्तको इत्यादि ।
—*Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāla.

[84] The *Puṣpabhadrā Grant* of Dharmapāla, verse No. 1.

(xxxiii) *Central Deity of the Indigenous People Identified with Śiva or Haḍappeśvara*

Here in discussing these trends in the worship of this deity one thing that attracts our attention is that a number of townships grew up after the name of this deity such as *Hāruppeśvara*, *Haḍappeśvara* and lastly *Haḍappyakā* in the *Gāchtal Plates* of Gopālavarmadeva and the *Hābungīyā Grant* of Ratnapālavarmadeva. These towns were constructed mainly by the kings of the Śālastambha dynasty, who are described as *mlecchas*. The reasons behind the designation are unknown though there was an allusion to it in a passage of the *Hāyunthal Grant* of Harjaravarmā that could not be deciphered. It is likely that this dynasty of kings, though their origin is traced from Bhauma-Naraka, might originally have belonged to an indigenous race of the country and was on the process of being accepted into the Aryan fold. Even then they were not accepted as such unreservedly and their original stamp was still retained. This probably bespeaks of a religion where the Tibetan deity *Hāṭaka Śūlin* or *Hāṭakeśvara Śiva* acquired a widespread popularity because its complexion most probably approximated that of the one or the ones worshipped by the indigenous population. This explains why the *Śiva-Śakti* worship became widespread in the region and recognised as the religion of the court. It may be recalled in this connection that the Mongoloid hordes that came earlier from the north-east have their central deity *Bathou* which is akin in nature to *Śiva*. This religion which still thrives in some areas among the plains tribals of Assam was synthesised with the worship of *Hāṭakeśvara Śiva* by the Alpine Aryans that absorbed on the way of its progress the Mongolians residing in the areas to the north-west of *Kāmarūpa*.

(xxxiv) *The Tāntric and the Śiva-Śakti Worships are Different from Later Tāntric Forms of Religious Excesses*

Also we have it on record that there was the religion of *Kāmeśvara Mahāgaurī* in the kingdom of *Kāmarūpa* (see F.N. No. 83 above and also *Guākuci Grant*, line 49). The kings of *Kāmarūpa* like Vanamālavarmadeva and Indrapāla did not seem to have professed this religion though they showed due respects for it (see ante). The evolution of the concept of a supreme female power in Indian religion is not new and can be traced to the *Ṛgvedic* times. As such there is nothing adverse in the worship of a female deity. Even *Viṣṇu* while installing Naraka on the throne of *Prāgjyotiṣa* was said to have exhorted him to worship *Kāmākhyā*, a manifestation of the Supreme Power. The cult of *Śakti* is common to both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism and *Śiva-Śakti* worship came to be the dominant religion under state patronage. When such a religion later on relegated *Śiva* to the background and gave a very dominating position to the female deity, the royal power it seems, began to stand aloof from it. It is very likely that in the last phase of its growth, various secret societies grew up in the name of this esoteric religion where under the pretext of various paths of queer *sādhanās* peculiar rites with free accesses to women with wine and meat were the order. This is possibly what is designated as the *kairātaja dharma* of ancient *Kāmarūpa*. These two religions—the orthodox Śiva-worship and the so-called *Tāntric* form of religious excesses are quite different in their contents. The latter seems to be quite different even from the real *Tāntric* form of worship and is an inveterate practice of enjoying the carnal desires of life.[86] Such a position is supported by the story of the existence of one Abhinavagupta in *Kāmarūpa* who was a *Śākta* and who wrote a *Śāktabhāṣya*, a commentary probably on the *Vedanta-Sūtras* of Bādarāyana from the *Śākta* point of view.[87] That this degraded form of religion and the worship of the goddess are not the same religion can also be imagined from the tradition maintained in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* of killing Naraka by *Viṣṇu* for practising religious excesses in collusion with Bāṇāsura. From the description of the *Kālikāpurāna*, a work of comparatively very late period, the parallel existence of two such faiths from time immemorial becomes easily perceptible. Or, it might be that to impart a colour of antiquity to this obnoxious religion, all the anecdotes of ancient times are woven out along with the religious descriptions. Even the *Yoginītantra* has delineated things in the manner of the earlier *tantras* to give this religion a stamp of antiquity. Later on this debased form of religion became so popular that the adherents represented themselves as the sole possessor of the

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[85] I.A. XL, pp. 32f.; J. C. Ghosh I.H.Q. VI. pp. 67-71.

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[86] सर्वेशो योनिनिष्ठश्च धर्मः कैरातजो मतः ॥१३॥
कामरूपे न संन्यासस्तथा दीर्घं व्रतं प्रिये
न त्यजेत् सामिषं देवि ब्रह्मचर्यमतो न च ॥१४॥
संत्यजेत् पातकं नैव स्वीयधर्मं समाश्रयेत् ।
न शुष्कतां स्त्रीणां तन्तुलाशां सदा भजेत् ॥१५॥
हंसधारावतं भक्ष्यं कूर्मवाराहमेव च ।
कामरूपे परित्यागाद्दुर्गतिस्तस्य सम्भवेत् ॥१६॥ *Yoginītantra* II. 9.

[87] "*Abhinavagupta—An Historical and Philosophical Study*"—by K. C. Pandey, Revised Edition, Chowkhamba, pp. 4-5, Chapter I.

Kāmākhyā region and the voice of the orthodox *Śaivas* was drowned by the tumult and enthusiasm following it.

(xxxv) *Tāntric Form of Religious Excesses is Tāntric Buddhism or Vajrayāna*

In the subsequent period this religion got freely intermixed with *Tāntric* Buddhism or the *Vajrayāna*. Rai Kanak Lal Borua Bahadur has identified the kingdom of Rājñī with the region of Rāṇī in Kāmarūpa and has described Rāhulbhadra as born in this kingdom.[88] The basis for this surmise is the identification of Ratnaphala with king Ratnapāla and the supposition that "Chandanapāla of *Prāchya* was the other name of Brahmapāla, the father of Ratnapāla." The learned historian has concluded like this—"If my surmises are correct, then we may take that the *Kāmarūpa* kings from Ratnapāla became *Tāntric* Buddhists or adherents of the system of *Vajrayāna* and probably since then *Kāmarūpa* became a centre of *Vajrayāna*. The temple of *Ugratāra* in Gauhati falls within the stone-enclosure dug out some fifty years ago and which enclosure I have identified with the citadel named '*Durjayā*', in the copperplate inscription of Ratnapāla. It is not improbable that this temple was built by Ratnapāla or his successor Indrapāla within the citadel, after the worship of this deity was introduced from Bhutan by Nāgārjuna as stated in the *Sādhanamālā*".[89] The learned historian while identifying Ratnaphala and Candanaphala with Ratnapāla and Brahmapāla respectively and ascribing to them the profession of Buddhistic faith has connived at the writings of the inscriptions of Ratnapāla. In the first inscription, Durjayā is described as the abode of *Parameśvara* as the mount *Kailāsa* is of *Mahādeva*.[90] Besides, not only Ratnapāla, all his successors also are said to have patronised the *Śaiva* religion except Dharmapāla whose Vaiṣṇavite leanings in the later part of his life are clearly discernible. The chances of Ratnapāla's change of faith towards the later part of his reign are very remote, because in the second copperplates grant inscribed in the twentysixth year of his reign it is clearly stated

> पित्रोः स्वपुण्यमुद्दिश्य कीर्त्तेश्च समवाप्तये।
> मया दत्ता द्विजायास्मै राज्ये षड्‌विंशदब्दिके ॥२०॥
>
> —*Suālkuci Grant* of Ratnapāla.

Under the circumstances it is very difficult to make a categorical assertion that the *Kāmarūpa* kings from Ratnapāla became *tāntric* Buddhists or adherents of the system of *Vajrayāna*.

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[88] See his article "*Kāmarūpa and Vajrayāna*" in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. II, No. 2 only, 1935.

[89] आर्यनागार्ज्जुनपादैर्भोटेषु उद्‌धृतमिति।

[90] कैलासगिरिशिखरमिव परमेश्वराधिष्ठानम्।

The *Ambari Stone Inscription* of Samudrapāla bears testimony to the maintenance of a *savāsika satra* at *Yogīhātī* in the year 1154 Śaka. If *savāsika satra* means a residential monastery it might be possible that this was a monastery of the Buddhist *Bhikṣus* practising the esoteric *sādhanās* of a *tāntric* religion. If Samudrapāla was a scion of the race of the Pāla dynasty of Assam it can be imagined that the last kings of this dynasty might have adopted the Buddhistic faith and religion. But it can also be said with equal vehemence that instances of kings patronising other faiths than their own are not few and far between in India.

E. LITERARY VALUE OF THE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASSAM

The copper-plate inscriptions of ancient *Kāmarūpa* have been very widely studied and discussed as specimens of historical documents by many renowned scholars. The emphasis laid on their historical importance has completely overshadowed their immense literary value which we have endeavoured to bring out in the following pages.

King Bhāskaravarmā of *Kāmarūpa* ruled in the first half of the seventh century A.D. and was a contemporary of Emperor Harṣavardhana of *Thāneśwar*. When the latter was marching against Śaśāṅka of *Gauḍa,* Haṁsavega, the emissary of King Bhāskaravarmā met him on the way and offered the hand of friendship on his monarch's behalf. Harṣavardhana reciprocated the gesture of friendship and, possibly later on, the two monarchs met at Karṇasuvarṇa where the *Brāhmaṇas* approached Bhāskaravarmā for a fresh decree of land-grants made to them by his great-grandfather, Bhūtivarmā. So the plate was inscribed at a time when Emperor Harṣavardhana was not yet firmly established on his throne. So it is clear that by this time the poet Bāṇa has not taken to the writing of his famous works, not to speak of wielding any influence over the style of contemporary literature. Therefore it cannot be said that the literary style of the inscription of Bhāskaravarmā was inspired by the style of Bāṇa. As a matter of fact the style of this inscription, as of others, bears a striking similarity with the style of earlier inscriptions of India tending to a literary movement culminating in the style of Bāṇa. So we find that the style of Bhāskaravarmā's plate exhibits some affinity with Bāṇa's; for example:

> कलियुगपराक्रमाकलितविग्रहस्य समुच्छ्वास इव भगवतो धर्मस्य, नयस्याधिष्ठानम्, आस्पदं गुणानां, निधिः प्रणयिनाम्, उपघ्नः सन्त्रस्तानां, श्रीसम्पदामायतनं, वसुमतीसुतक्रमाधिगतपदसमुत्कर्षदर्शितप्रभावशक्तिर्महाराजाधिराजः श्रीभास्करवर्मदेवः कुशली ।।[1]

The description of *Durjayā,* the capital of *Kāmarūpa,* in the first copper-plates grant of Ratnapāla, a king of the 11th century A.D. is reminiscent of the description of the *āśrama* of Jāvālī[2] by Bāṇabhaṭṭa:

> तत्र च जड़ता हारयष्टिषु नेन्द्रियेषु, चञ्चलता हरिषु न मानसेषु, भङ्गुरता भ्रूविभ्रमेषु न प्रतिपन्नेषु, सोपसर्गता धातुषु न प्रजासु, वामता कामिनीषु, स्खलितं मधुमदमुदितकामिनीगतिषु, निःस्पृहता दोषकारिषु, निरत्ययमधुपानासक्तिर्मधुकरकुलेषु, अत्यन्तं प्रियानुवर्तनं रथाङ्गनामसु, पिशिताशिता श्वापदेषु. . . ।[3]

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[1] *Nidhānpur Plates,* lines 45-49.

[2] Kāne, ed., *Kādambarī,* p. 27.

[3] *Bargāon Grant,* lines 40-43.

Here though there is a tendency at emulation of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's style in inserting figures of speeches like *parisaṁkhyā*, *atiśayokti*, *rūpaka*, etc., based on or mixed up with *śleṣa*, still the easy flow of a poet, not of an inscriber, is discernible reminding us of the statement of *dhvanyālokakāra*—

अलंकारान्तराणि हि निरूप्यमानदुर्घटनान्यपि रससमाहितचेतसः प्रतिभानवतः कवेरहंपूर्विकया परापतन्ति ।।[4]

Though the scope for *rasasṛṣṭi* here is limited still the poet has done full justice to it with the creation of an image of a religious joy. Besides, the poets have shown in many of the verses an affinity with what is called the *Gauḍīya* style in poetry. As a matter of fact, it is meaningless to make an attempt to separate the *Gauḍīya* from the *Vaidarbha* style in poetry, for, the differentiating lines drawn in other poets also tend to converge. Even the first few verses of the *Kādambarī* do not betray very strong *Gauḍīya* characteristics except for their long compounds in a few of the verses. *Samatā* is mostly observed and the play upon sounds, if any, has merged in a symphonical cadence of the whole poetic style. As a matter of fact while reciting these verses we forget to reckon whether these verses are written in *Gauḍīya* or *Vaidarbha* style. The same applies though with a lesser facility of expression than in Bāṇa to the poetry of the copper-plate inscriptions of Assam. The following two verses from the plate of Vanamāladeva describing Harjaravarmā are apt examples which can, if not wholly at least partially, vie with the style of Bāṇa.

धर्मप्रवादेषु युधिष्ठिरो यो भीमोऽरिवर्गे समरेषु जिष्णुः ।
एकोऽप्यनेकैरिति सङ्गतो यो निःशेषकन्नीतनयत्वमेतः ।।१२।।
गोपीजनानन्दितमानसस्य द्वेष्येव वक्षः परिहृत्य विष्णोः ।
निःशेषरामाजनदेहसंस्थमादाय सोन्दर्यमिहाजगाम ।।१३।।[5]

Examples of verses which remind us of the *Gauḍīya* style can be found in the following (Description of King Vanamāla):[6]

जलनिधितटवनमालासीमावधिमेदिनोपतित्वस्य ।
योग्य इति नाम धाता चक्रे वनमाल इति यस्य ।।१७।।
प्रबलारातिमत्तेभघटाध्वान्तोरुसर्हातं
दिवाकरायितं येन विदार्य रणभूमिगाम् ।।१८।।

It is seen that in both these two types of examples, no conscious effort is made to maintain the quality of *Samatā* in *Kāvya*. But contrarily conscious efforts are sometimes visible resulting at places in laboured style, which compares well with that of *Bhaṭṭi* or *Kirāta*. Examples are furnished by the following from the plate of King Balavarmā—

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[4] *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 105, Nirṇayasāgara ed.

[5] *The Tezpur Plates* of Vanamāladeva.

[6] *The Tezpur Plates* of king Vanamāladeva.

न च किञ्चिदुक्तमहितं महितं शीलं सदैव यस्याभूत् ।।१३।।
येनातुलापि सतुला जगति विशालापि भूरिकृतशाला ।
पंक्तिः प्रासादानामकृतविचित्राऽपि सञ्चित्रा ।।१४।।[7]

Even then the hand of a poet is apparent in both these verses. The poetic talent of these panegyrists is best illustrated by the fact of their efficient handling of nearly twenty metres including *āryājāti* and *anuṣṭubh śloka* within the limited scope of 364 verses. The tendency is to a predominance of *āryā* in the earlier inscriptions. The later the inscription, the more the predominance of *vṛttas*. Possibly this is done with a purpose of showing out the poetic talent. Wherever the long metres are handled, evidences of a poetic flow are manifest. The following example of *upajāti* shows out the poet's capacity to be at home with the description—

श्यामायिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पतिव्रता शीलगुणोपपन्ना ।
उग्रेन्दुलेखेव विराजते या विशुद्धरूपा तमसो निहन्त्री [8]।।१८।।

An example of *śārdulavikrīḍita* is given below to show the capacity of the poet of Indrapāla's copper-plate No. I.

सम्बाधा वसुधा सुधाधवलितैः शम्भुप्रतिष्ठास्पदै
र्यस्य श्रोत्रियमन्दिराणि विभवैर्न्नानाप्रकारैरपि ।
यूपैर्यज्ञगृहाङ्गणानि हविषां धूमैर्नभोमण्डलम् ।
यात्रारेणुभिरर्णवाम्बु विजयस्तम्भैश्च सर्वा दिशः [9]।।१०।।

Two examples of *mandākrāntā* found in the inscription of Vanamāladeva can be very well compared with the verses of the Meghadūta—

तस्याशेषक्षितिपमुकुटोद्घृष्टपादाब्जपीठ
स्याभूत् सूनुर्नृपगुणमहारत्नमालाविभूषः ।
तस्यां देव्यामखिलभुवनानन्दको यः शशीव
श्रीमान् ख्यातो जगति वनमालाभिधानः क्षितीशः ।।१६।।

Again

यस्यानन्तद्युतिमतिसिता नागलोके हसन्ती
र्दिनागानां श्वसितजनितां शीकरालीं च दिक्षु ।
सम्पूर्णेन्दोर्वियति विमलामंशुमालां विचित्रां
राज्ञोऽनल्पा विचरतितरां कीर्तिरद्याप्यजस्रम् [10]।।२५।।

Influence of Kālidāsa is distinctly perceptible in the inscription of Balavarmā. The first part of verse 5 of this inscription, ताम्बूलवल्लीपरिणद्धपूगं

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[7] Description of King Vanamāladeva.

[8] Description of the wife of a *Brāhmaṇ* named Gaṅgadatta in the inscription of Ratnapāla, *Bargaon Grant*.

[9] Description of King Ratnapāla.

[10] *Tezpur Plates* (The first verse describes the birth of Vanamāladeva and the second one describes his fame.)

कृष्णागुरुनिवेशितैलं has its parallel in Raghu 6.64, ताम्बूलवल्लीपरिणद्धपूगास्वेलालतालिंगितचन्दनासु। Again राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णो वर्णाश्रमाणां गुरुरेकवीरः (verse 7) is an adaptation of Raghu 6.21, राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा ॥ A part of verse 9, तद्वंशे वनवप्रां परिखीकृतसागराम्, etc., has its parallel in Raghu 1.30.

स वेलावप्रवलयां परिखीकृतसागराम् ।
अनन्यशासनामुर्वीं शशासैकपुरीमिव ॥

So also verse 12—विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः पिनद्धकण्ठः परिघाभबाहुः compares well in its ideas with Raghu 6.32—अवन्तिनाथोऽयमुदग्रबाहुर्विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः ॥ There are many other examples which clearly establish identity of expression and ideas with Kālidāsa. This is possibly due to an attempt made towards the production of good *kāvya* in the inscriptions.

In many cases, *alaṁkāras* present have also testified to the excellence of literary character of these inscriptions. We have already shown in the prose portions that *alaṁkāras* have been worked out more or less spontaneously. The same also applies in case of verse pieces marked by a profusion of *alaṁkāras*. Some specimens of *śabdālaṁkāras* like *anuprāsa* and *yamaka* in verses 13 and 14 of Balavarmā's plate have been given above. In the same verse there is the figure of speech *virodha*.

A fine example of *utprekṣā* is found in verse 6 of Indrapāḷa's copper-plate No. I.

रत्नप्रभारुचिरमास्पदमेव लक्ष्म्याः
पुण्योपकण्ठविलसद्वनमालभारि ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषं पुरमपारयशाः स उच्चै-
र्वक्षःस्थलं पितुरिवापरमध्युवास ॥

The city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* is fancied here through poetic imagination to be like the chest of *Nārāyaṇa's*, because both consist of gems: *kaustubha* gem in the case of *Nārāyaṇa's* chest and other gems in the case of the city: Goddess *Lakṣmī* abides in the chest of *Viṣṇu* and *Śrī*, wealth, in the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, the *vanamālā* touches the fringes of *Viṣṇu's* chest and rows of forests touch the outskirts of *Prāgjyotiṣa* and so on.

The following verse from the plate of Bhāskaravarmā provides an excellent example of *śleṣa* and *yamaka*—

भोगवती भोगवती भूतेः स्थितवर्मणस्ततो हेतुः ।
आसीद् भोगिपतेरिव भूमिभृतोऽनन्तभोगस्य[11]॥१६॥

In this verse every word is ably construed with both the *upamāna* and *upameya* and this is therefore a clear case of *śleṣa*.

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[11] Bhogavatī is the mother of Sthitavarmā and also a female snake-demon; *bhoga*—serpent's hood; enjoyment; *bhūti*—prosperity; *bhūmibhṛt*—*śeṣāhi*; a king. The prose-order of the verse would be as follows:

भूमिभृतोऽनन्तभोगस्य भोगिपतेः भूतेः हेतुः भोगवती भोगवती इव अनन्तभोगस्य भूमिमृतः स्थितवर्मणः भूतेः हेतुः भोगवती आसीत् ।

न च किञ्चिदुक्तमहितं महितं शीलं सदैव यस्याभूत् ।।१३।।
येनातुलापि सतुला जगति विशालापि भूरिकृतशाला ।
पंक्तिः प्रासादानामकृतविचित्राऽपि सच्चित्रा ।।१४।।[7]

Even then the hand of a poet is apparent in both these verses. The poetic talent of these panegyrists is best illustrated by the fact of their efficient handling of nearly twenty metres including *āryājāti* and *anuṣṭubh śloka* within the limited scope of 364 verses. The tendency is to a predominance of *āryā* in the earlier inscriptions. The later the inscription, the more the predominance of *vṛttas*. Possibly this is done with a purpose of showing out the poetic talent. Wherever the long metres are handled, evidences of a poetic flow are manifest. The following example of *upajāti* shows out the poet's capacity to be at home with the description—

श्यामायिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पतिव्रता शीलगुणोपपन्ना ।
उग्रेन्दुलेखेव विराजते या विशुद्धरूपा तमसो निहन्त्री [8]।।१८।।

An example of *śārdulavikrīḍita* is given below to show the capacity of the poet of Indrapāla's copper-plate No. I.

सम्बाधा वसुधा सुधाधवलितैः शम्भुप्रतिष्ठास्पदै
र्यस्य श्रोत्रियमन्दिराणि विभवैर्नानाप्रकारैरपि ।
यूपैर्यज्ञगृहाङ्गणानि हविषां धूमैर्नभोमण्डलम् ।
यात्रारेणुभिरर्णवाम्बु विजयस्तम्भैश्च सर्वा दिशः [9]।।१०।।

Two examples of *mandākrāntā* found in the inscription of Vanamāladeva can be very well compared with the verses of the Meghadūta—

तस्याशेषक्षितिपमुकुटोद्घृष्टपादाब्जपीठ
स्याभूत् सूनुर्नृपगुणमहारत्नमालाविभूषः ।
तस्यां देव्यामखिलभुवनानन्दको यः शशीव
श्रीमान् ख्यातो जगति वनमालाभिधानः क्षितीशः ।।१६।।

Again

यस्यानन्तद्युतिमतिसिता नागलोके हसन्ती
र्दिनागानां श्वसितजनितां शीकरालीं च दिक्षु ।
सम्पूर्णेन्दोर्वियति विमलामंशुमालां विचित्रां
राज्ञोऽनल्पा विचरतितरां कीर्तिरद्याप्यजस्रम् [10]।।२५।।

Influence of Kālidāsa is distinctly perceptible in the inscription of Balavarmā. The first part of verse 5 of this inscription, ताम्बूलवल्लीपरिणद्धपूगं

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[7] Description of King Vanamāladeva.

[8] Description of the wife of a *Brāhmaṇ* named Gaṅgadatta in the inscription of Ratnapāla, *Bargaon Grant*.

[9] Description of King Ratnapāla.

[10] *Tezpur Plates* (The first verse describes the birth of Vanamāladeva and the second one describes his fame.)

कृष्णागुरुनिवेशितैलं has its parallel in Raghu 6.64, ताम्बूलवल्लीपरिणद्धपूगास्वेलालतालिंगितचन्दनासु। Again राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णो वर्णाश्रमाणां गुरुरेकवीरः (verse 7) is an adaptation of Raghu 6.21, राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा ॥ A part of verse 9, तद्वंशे वनवप्रां परिखीकृतसागराम्, etc., has its parallel in Raghu 1.30.

स वेलावप्रवलयां परिखीकृतसागराम्।
अनन्यशासनामुर्वीं शशासैकपुरीमिव ॥

So also verse 12—विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः पिनद्धकण्ठः परिघाभबाहुः compares well in its ideas with Raghu 6.32—अवन्तिनाथोऽयमुदग्रबाहुर्विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः ॥ There are many other examples which clearly establish identity of expression and ideas with Kālidāsa. This is possibly due to an attempt made towards the production of good *kāvya* in the inscriptions.

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A fine example of *utprekṣā* is found in verse 6 of Indrapāla's copper-plate No. I.

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The following verse from the plate of Bhāskaravarmā provides an excellent example of *śleṣa* and *yamaka*—

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भूमिभृतोऽनन्तभोगस्य भोगिपतेः भूतेः हेतुः भोगवती भोगवती इव अनन्तभोगस्य भूमिमृतः स्थितवर्मणः भूतेः हेतुः भोगवती आसीत्।

The first verse of the same plate, i.e., the inscription of Bhāskaravarmā consists, according to Paṇḍit Padmanāth Vidyāvinoda, of the figure of speech *śleṣa*.

प्रणम्य देवं शशिशेखरं प्रियं
पिनाकिनं भस्मकणैर्विभूषितं ।।
विभूतये भूतिमतां द्विजन्मनां
करोमि भूयः स्फुटवाचमुज्ज्वलाम् [12]।।

The word *bhutimatām* has denoted two senses according to the learned scholar, one prosperous and the other possessed of a mass of ashes, i.e., the fire-consumed copper-plates and is an adjective of the word *dvijanmanām*. Again the same word in the sense *bhūteḥ bhutivarmaṇaḥ matām sammatām*, is according to the learned scholar connected with the word *sphuṭavācam*, i.e., the words which were once approved by King Bhūtivarmā.

The statement of the learned scholar that it is a case of *śleṣa* is not capable of universal acceptance, because the poet has not here worked out in detail the two sets of meanings with two different words as in that famous verse *yena dhvastamanobhavena*, etc. Moreover, we cannot use the word *bhūtimatām* directly connected with the substantive *dwijanmanām* again with another word *sphuṭavācam* in a sense not expressed directly in the verse. The direct meaning of this *śloka* is the expression of a sense of reverence to Lord *Śiva* and the motive of re-writing some inscription. Under what circumstances, the inscription was to be re-written, by whom formerly it was issued and who possessed it are not the subject-matter of description. So the expressive power of the words used here has been exhausted after the primary meanings of the words have been understood. After that, a second sense of the whole verse has risen up in the visualising minds of the readers who know that the plates issued by Bhūtivarmā to the fore-fathers of the *Brāhmāṇas* were half-burnt by fire and the letters inscribed were not distinctly visible. So the sense that these *Brāhmāṇas* possessed some copper-plates, the letters whereof were besmeared with ashes and that the words thereon were fromerly approved by King Bhūtivarmā comes all at once to the mind not through the primary meaning of the above words but by a different function of the words concerned. Again the word *bhasmakaṇairvibhūṣitam* is by no means capable of being construed with any other word in the verse in its second sense to constitute a *śleṣa*. Similarly the other word *bhutimatām* conveying a double sense is not intended to constitute the figure of speech *śleṣa* which is not worked out as we have already stated in all its minutest details but is thrown into it to suggest some more ideas connected with the incident but not directly stated. In so suggestively throwing in of ideas, to our mind it appears, the word *bhūyas* has played a dominant rôle which word is first in the literal translation used in the sense of profusion and in the suggested sense in the sense of *punarapi*. Once this is done, the salutation done unto Lord *Śiva* turns into one done unto King Bhāskaravarmā for his favours and the reading can then be thus constructed—*praṇamya devam śaśiśekharapriyam*. The *makāra* in *śaśiśekhara* can be elided easily because in that case the metre is not affected. We are not sure even now whether there was any *makāra* in the original plate in the word *śaśiśekhara* and the learned editor himself has given the *anusvāra* in a bracket. Therefore the suggested sense is expressed in the following way—the *praśastikāra* first expresses a sense of obeisance to Bhāskaravarmā and then asks for his permission to re-write the contents of the inscriptional deed once done by Bhūtivarmā, the king's great-grandfather. Once this is allowed, the glory of King Bhūtivarmā is not undermined and this idea of an ineffaceable glory of this latter king is thrown in the second salutation done to *Śiva*.

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[12] *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 11.

भोगीश्वरकृतपरिकरमीक्षणजितकामरूपमविमुक्तम् ।
परमेश्वरस्य रूपं निजभूतिविभूषितं जयति ।।२।।

It is only with this idea of suggestively throwing in of the glory of King Bhūtivarmā that the second salutation to Lord *Śiva* becomes meaningful. Otherwise this would become a dull repetition. In the second case the translation will be like this—"Let the haloed majesty (*avimuktam rūpam*) of the supreme Monarch adorned by the self-styled name Bhūtivarmā conquering the kingdom of Kāmarūpa by a mere gaze and surrounded by kings given to enjoyment be victorious." This suggestive idea is also the intended meaning of the poet but this meaning is not directly expressed nor in the process of the expression of the suggestive ideas, the *vācya* sense is completely eliminated, nor has it converged into it. Such cases which are based on the words directly used in the text are known as *śabdaśaktimūla*. Such instances are furnished in the *Dhvanyāloka* in the following line from the *Harṣacarita*, second chapter.

अत्रान्तरे कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन्नजृम्मत ग्रीष्माभिधानः फुल्लमल्लिकाधवलाट्टहासा महाकालः ।।[13]

Another example of a series of beauty suggestively created is also found in the verses 9 and 10 of the inscription of Balavarmā. Herein the direct meaning of the verses is—"Many kings of that race with their suzerainty extended over the entire earth encircled by the oceans serving as moats and the forests as ramparts having died, Sālastambha became king. Many of his descendants such as Pālaka, Vijaya, etc., having passed away, the moon among kings, Harjara by name, the tormentor of enemies, was born on the earth." The verses under discussion are—

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[13] *Locana* has commented on this line like this:

अत्र ऋतुवर्णनप्रस्तावनियन्त्रिता अभिधाशक्तयः । अत एव "अवयवप्रसिद्धेः समुदायप्रसिद्धिबलीयसी" इति न्यायमपाकुर्वन्तो महाकालप्रभृतयः शब्दा एकमेवार्थमभिधाय कृतकृत्या एव ।। तदन्तरमर्थावगतिर्ध्वननव्यापारादेव शब्दशक्तिमूलात् ।।

(ध्वन्यालोक, निर्णयसागर, पृ० १२०)

तद्वंशे वनवप्राम्परिखीकृतसागराम्महीम्भुक्त्वा ।
अस्तंगतेषु राजसु सालस्तम्भोऽभवन्नृपतिः ।।९।।
पालकविजयप्रभृतिषु समतिक्रान्तेषु तस्य वंश्येषु ।
अभवद्भुवि नृपचन्द्रो द्विषज्जरो हर्जरो नाम ।।१०।।

By the force of the word *astaṁgateṣu* the word *rājasu* suggests the idea of a number of moons coming in a series, as if each one of them was becoming a king of moons, the last being Sālastambha. Then again a second series led by Pālaka, etc., and ending in Harjara follows by the force of the word *nṛpacandraḥ* and this moon Harjara was the tormentor of rival lovers *dviṣajjaraḥ* and this meaning is peculiarly crystallised by the force of the *strīliṅga* in *mahīm* and the sense of enjoyment expressed by the word *bhuktvā*. Such a beautiful array of moons has enjoyed the love and beauty of the earth. Here the moon is deemed as the male entity and the earth as the female counterpart. Here there is no *śleṣa* but a parallel expression of two meanings, one direct and the other indirect conceived as *upamāna* and *upameya*"[14]. So the *śleṣa alaṁkāra* though it may tend to get itself expressed is not *vācya* because it is completely unwarranted by context. So it has been subordinated to another *anusvānarūpa artha* coming peculiarly through a different *vṛtti*. But wherever the suggested meaning is subordinate to the *vācyālaṁkāra* there is a case of *gunībhūtavyaṅgaḥ*. We find one such example in the plate of Bhāskaravarmā—

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[14] Cf. the Dhvanyāloka-vṛtti on, अत्रान्तरे कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरन्, etc., from the हर्षचरित ।।—एषूदाहरणेषु शब्दशक्त्या प्रकाशमाने सति अप्राकरणिकेऽर्थान्तरे वाक्यस्यासंबद्धार्थाभिधायित्वं मा प्रसांक्षीदित्यप्राकरणिकप्राकरणिकार्थयोरुपमानोपमेयभावः कल्पयितव्यः सामर्थ्यादित्यर्थाक्षिप्रोऽयं श्लेषो न शब्दोपारूढ़ इति विभिन्न एव श्लेषादनुस्वानोपमव्यंगस्य ध्वनेर्विषयः ।। (*Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 121-122).

Here *Locana* commenting on such instances as *atrāntare kusumasamayayugamupasamharan*. etc., and the *śloka unnataḥ prollasadhāraḥ*, etc., has propounded four ways of realising the suggestive meaning through the realisation of the *abhidhārtha;* first, the words used for the purpose of *dhvani* in a certain *kāvya* do so through the *abhidhāśakti* of these words which is specified *niyantrita* for a certain sense. Secondly, the second sense is picked up through similarity by the *abhidhāśakti* as a *sahakāri* or an associate sense and this is *śabdaśaktimūladhvani*. Thirdly, two words are contemplated to have existed with the two meanings. The second meaning by the introduction of the second word is understood only and this is *pratīyamānam pratīyamānamulatvāt*. Fourthly, what has been called the associate sense through *abhidhāvyāpāra* in the 2nd *pakṣa* above may be described as the generation of 2nd *abhidhā* and not *dhvani*. But this second *abhidhārtha* is *aprākaraṇika* while the first is *prākaraṇika*. When the former is metaphorically put together with the latter, the *pratīyamāna* meaning shines forth and this is not through *abhidhā* but *dhvani*. But at the same time, this is based on the second sense of the words, because this being absent, metaphorical association with the words is impossible—*tayā vinā tasyā rūpaṇāyā anutthānāt* (pp. 120-21).

मात्स्यन्यायविरहितः प्रकाशरत्नः सुतो द्वैरथलघुः।
पञ्चम इव हि समुद्रः समुद्रवर्माऽभवत्तस्य [15]॥८॥

The king Samudravarmā is fancied here as the fifth *samudra*. But this fifth samudra is *mātsyanyāyavirahitaḥ*, *prakāśaratnaḥ*. *So vyatirekavadalaṁkāra* is suggested. But this *vyatireka* here seems to be the *aṅga* of the principal *alaṁkāra utprekṣā* here. So the *dhvani* here is *gunībhūta* to something else. In such cases the *alaṁkāra* is the principal object of expression through the *vācya* sense. The verse therefore cannot be cited as an example of *uttama kāvya*. Again the above two *ślokas* under discussion, i.e., 9 and 10 of Balavarmā's plate, are not the examples of *vācyacārutvātiśāyinau*,[16] because the words used here have not been able to create the image of something else by the mere reading of them.

Thus from the mere statement of facts in a prosaic way we can go up to find out verses and passages as specimens of best literature i.e. *dhvanikāvya* in these inscriptions of the kings of ancient Kāmarūpa. Another fact of very engrossing interest is a reference in two of the *maṅgalācarana* verses, of two different inscriptions, to the philosophy of dancing and literature. Though we cannot make out anything out of this reference, we still find that there was a conscious attempt to embody all the finer points of art. The first verse is from the 1st inscription of Ratnapāla.

द्रष्टेव प्रतिविम्बकैर्नखगतैः स्वैर्नृत्यसम्पद्विधेः
सौवश्वीव गतिं शुभां प्रकटयन् दृश्योऽनिशं ताण्डवीम्।
एवं यः परमात्मवत् पृथुगुणो ह्येकोऽप्यनेकीभवन्
प्राकाम्यन्दधदेव भाति भुवने स स्यात् श्रिये शंकरः॥६॥

Here the word *prākāmyam* has meant "an indomitable will" *prākāmyamicchānabhighātaḥ* in Amaraṭīkā with reference to the verse

अणिमा लघिमा प्राप्तिः प्राकाम्यं महिमा तथा।
ईशित्वं च वशित्वं च तथा कामावसिता॥ इति षड़ैश्वर्यानि॥

With it Lord *Śiva* has manifested himself in various ways with the aid of various qualities and is enacting the dance-drama of this world. The wealth of this dance consists of various chords and therefore the gestures are very beautiful in nature *śubhām gatim tāṇḍavīm prakaṭayan sauvaśvīva dṛśyaḥ*. He appears like a very skilful rider while he makes a demonstration of his *tāṇḍava* with all its beautiful gestures and postures. Though he is one, he has manifested himself in many ways like the supreme self. This has implied that though the expressions are varied, still the basis is the same sentiment everywhere. This has, therefore, some similarity with the following line of Kālidāsa—

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[15] *Nidhānpur Plates*, lines 10-11.

[16] There are cases where though there is a suggested sense, still this may be completely overpowered by the vācyacārutva of the particular passage. In such cases, it cannot be deemed as a case of *dhvani*; cf.:

अनुरागवती सन्ध्या दिवसस्तत्पुरःसरः।
अहो दैवगतिः कीदृक् तथापि न समागमः॥

अत्र सत्यामपि व्यंग्यप्रतीतौ वाच्यस्यैव चारुत्वमुत्कर्षवदिति तस्यैव प्राधान्यविवक्षा। (*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 44).

त्रैगुण्योभवमत्नलोकचरितं नानारसं दृश्यते ।
नाटचं भिन्नरुचेर्जनस्य बहुधाप्येकं समाराधनभ् ।।

The other verse is *śloka* 1 of the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* inscription. Herein *Mahādeva* is described as half-male and half-female, and is conceived in his *ardhanārīśvara* state. The male portion is responsible for *tāṇḍava* and the female portion is responsible for *lāsya*. There is the dual personality of the Lord in the manifestation of his dance. There is the garland of lotuses on his neck on the one hand and the necklace of the gems from serpents' hoods on the other. There is the paste of *kuṁkuma* on one side of his high chest and the anointment of ashes on the other. In these two aspects, He appears to be the one creation of *śṛṅgāra* and *raudra* rasas together. Here the poet seems to have alluded to the common source of all *rasas*.

वन्दे तमर्धयुवतीश्वरमादिदेवमिन्दीवरोरगफणामणिकण्ठबन्धं ।
उत्तुंगपीनकुचकुंकुमभस्मभिन्नं श्रृंगाररौद्ररसयोरिव सर्गमेकम् ।।१।।

In this verse the poet seems to have identified milder sentiments with the female entity and the ferocious sentiments with the male counterpart. The identification has possibly indicated the stage of transition from dance to drama and then to literature in general.

Paṇḍit Padmanāth Vidyāvinoda has here found fault with the word *ardhayuvatīśvara*. According to him the proper word should have been *ardhanārīśvara* and this wrong use has led to the literary fault known as *avācakatva*. Possibly the learned scholar has not been able to notice the trend of description here. To our mind the *doṣa* here has tended to turn into *guṇa*, because *yuvatīśvara* has implied the youthful energy required for the creation of the world of dance and drama.

F. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS WITH EARLIER ASSAMESE

The above discussions have clearly shown that the language of the Inscriptions has been developing a trend that is quite in keeping with that of the growth and development of Sanskrit as an all-India language. The literature produced in these inscriptions has maintained a tradition in line with that in the works of the poets like Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Daṇḍī, Bhāravi and Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Even then certain orthographical and other peculiarities have very clearly shown out the tendencies to the evolution of a local pattern. In many cases these peculiarities may be purely orthographic or due to the ignorance of the scribe or the engraver. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that certain local forms were incorporated at different places of these writings, and the entry of such word-forms may be due to the influence of the local dialects. Such usages of forms in Sanskrit proving similarity with their Assamese counter-parts are met with profusely in the inscriptions. The image of Bhāskaravarmā was reflected in various ways in the hearts as in a clean mirror of those facing him शुद्धेषु दर्पणेष्विव बहुसुषमं सम्मुखीनेषु.[1] The word सम्मुखीन used here is written down as सन्मुखीन in the original plate and such a use points out to the Assamese usages of such words as सन्मुख, सन्मान etc. The use of ङ in place of *anusvāra* is a common characteristic of the Kāmarūpa inscriptions e.g. सिङह<सिंह[2]. Similarly सिङहासन<सिंहासन.

The *prākṛta* form भग्गवो is used in place of भार्गव[3]; similarly चतुर्भग<चतुर्भगि: (line 108, *Nidhānpur Plates*). Other uses of similar forms are given below—

कण्णसुवण्ण<कर्ण्णसुवर्ण्ण[4]

पौण्ण<पौर्ण्णो	(line 100, *Nidhānpur*)
सावण्णि<सावर्ण्णि	(line 101, *Nidhānpur*)
वीज्ज<वीर्य्य	(line 14, *Gauhati Grant*)
सव्वा<सर्व्वा	(line 19, *Gauhati Grant*; line 34, *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka*).

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[1] *Nidhānpur Plates, śloka* 23.

[2] *Nidhānpur Plates*, line 78.
Hāyuṅthal Grant, line 19.
Nowgong Plates, line 26.

[3] *Nidhānpur Plates*, line 88.
The र is elided by सर्व्वत्र लवरां (*Prākṛtaprakāśa* III 2). Again after the elision of र, the reduplication comes in by the *sūtra*, शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वमनादौ', (*Prākṛtaprakāśa* III. 50).

[4] *Nidhānpur Plates*, line 3.

परंपरीणा < परम्परीणा (line 38, *Nidhānpur*).
पात्तेषु < पात्रेषु (line 32, *Nidhānpur*).
चित्त्र < चित्र (line 40, *Nidhānpur*)
भातृत्त्रयेण < भातृत्रयेण (line 55, *Nidhānpur*).
पुत्त्र < पुत्र (line 67, *Nidhānpur*).
Again सत्व < सत्त्व (line 41, *Nidhānpur*; line 14, *Gauhati Grant*).
दत्वा < दत्त्वा (line 53, *Nidhānpur*).

Use of the word शनि instead of शनैश्चर can be traced from the days of Bhāskaravarmā (*Nidhānpur*, line 60).

यशभूति < यशोभूति (*Nidhānpur*, line 62).

That the Sanskrit word *Yaśas* is not taken as ending in hard aspirate स in Assamese from a long time is indicated.

स्वामिभ्यां अंशः < स्वामिभ्याम् अंशः (*Nidhānpur*, line 68).
हरि अद्भुत < हर्य्यद्भुत (*Nidhānpur*, line 81).

Sandhi is not done even after entry into *Samāsa*. Similarly दाण्डपाशिक-औपरिकरिक-औत्खेटिक (line 38, *Nowgong Grant*) though compounded are not joined together in *Sandhi*. This is exactly similar with *Samāsas* in modern Assamese.

धृतिस्वामीगोत्रेण < धृतिस्वामिगोत्रेण (*Nidhānpur*, line 82). This is following the Assamese orthography of the present days.

सम्वेद्या < संवेद्या (*Nidhānpur*, line 129)
षष्ठिम्वर्ष < षष्ठिंवर्ष (*Nidhānpur*, line 136)
परदत्ताम्वा < परदत्तांवा (*Nidhānpur*, line 138); other examples are सम्वेश्यताम् गांभीर्यम् (*Bargaon Grant*, lines 26, 48), etc. etc.

The above irregularities are due to the confusion in articulation of the sounds व and ब.

देव्या कमलनिवासीमिव < देवी कमलनिवासिनीव (*Hāyuṅgthal Grant*, line 23). Even now such mistakes are of frequent use e.g. देव्या, दास्या etc. for देवी, दासी। See महादेव्या < महादेवी (*Hāyuṅgthal Grant*, line 24).

शास इता < शासयिता (*Nidhānpur*, line 135)

Similarly,

वाहिकताइक < वाहिकतायिक (*Bargaon Grant*, line 35)
स्थलि < स्थली (*Bargaon Grant*, line 32)
पृया < प्रिया (*Bargaon Grant*, line 43)
क्षपृता < क्षपिता (*Gauhati Grant*, line 33)
आर्य्र्याचारस्य < आर्य्याचारस्य (*Gauhati Grant*, line 42)
सतक्रतु < शतक्रतु (*Śubhaṅkara*, line 3)
ससाश < शशास (*Śubhaṅkara*, line 4)

सुहङ्कर<शुभङ्कर (*Śubhaṅkara*, line 47)
डूम्मरि<डूम्बरी (Do , line 58)

Modern Assamese डिमरु

ब्बभूव नयवान् धम्मे<ब्बंभूव नयवान् धर्म्मे (*Puṣpabhadrā*, line 7)

The रकार is omitted over both.

भटारक<भट्टारक (भटरा Assamese) (Do, line 17)
हस्थि<हस्ती<हाँथी (*Kāmarūpī*)
सङ्गोत्सलित<सङ्गोच्छलित (Do, line 28)

Here is an exchange of sounds.

चतुस्पथेषु<चतुःपथेषु (*Kāmarūpa*, line 29)

Influence of Sanskrit is perceptible on the spoken language.

तठ्ठकार<तक्षकार (*Kāmarūpa*, line 45).

Therefore it is to be recognised on all hands that the scribe and the engraver respectively in copying and engraving left the impress of the spoken language of the time on the Sanskrit language widely recognised as the literary and state language. It might have been likely that Sanskrit had shaped the spoken language in its transitional stage of development. In other words the literature of the time comprising a language that is a peculiar blending of *Kāmarūpī Prākṛta* with Sanskrit has indicated the interim stage in the development of the Assamese language. Really speaking, the so-called mistakes in Sanskrit might be the glaring examples of the spoken language of the people as represented by the scribe and the engraver. Such wrong usages of Sanskrit have given the model of the spoken language under the direct influence of *Prākṛta*. The *Bargaon Grant* of Ratnapāla betrays such specimens of Sanskrit in its prose portions.

पश्चिमग। उत्तरग वक्रेण क्षेत्रांलि काशिम्बलावृक्षश्च। पश्चिमोत्तरेण क्षेत्राल्याम् हिज्जलवृक्षः। पूर्व्वंग। उत्तरगक्क्रेण क्षेत्रालि। शाल्मलीवृक्षौ। पुणः पूर्व्वंगदक्षिणगवक्रेण क्षेत्रालि। काशिम्बलावृक्षौ। किञ्चित् पूर्वंग। दक्षिणगवक्रेण क्षेत्रालि इत्यादि ....(lines 68-72).

Some of the words in the above example appear to have been used in their spoken forms without the Sanskrit inflexions, and they betray a striking resemblance with the subsequent Assamese prose literature.

The Gauhati Grant of Indrapāla also betrays some such examples in its prose portions—

अस्या सीमा पूर्व्वेण कोष्ठमाक्खियान विल्लपूर्व्वः कूलंम् कून्तवितखम्भवासत्कमकूतिम्क्खियान भूसीम्नि क्षेत्रालिश्च। पूर्व्वंदक्षिणेन तद्भू कून्तवितलाक्खवाभोगकासीपाटकभूम्योः सीम्नि बृहदालिः। दक्षिणेन तद्भूसीम्नि बृहदालिः। उत्तरग। पश्चिमगवक्रेण स्वल्पद्युतिकैवर्त्तानां भोगदीर्घिका इत्यादि... ....(lines 45-47).

The word आलि used here is of frequent and common use in Assamese so that the word has made the Sanskrit prose here Assamese complexioned. The *Gauhati Grant* of Indrapāla has in the above examples made use of certain *Prākṛta* words which have probably denoted certain place-names. But at the same time neither the derivative meanings of these words nor their etymological significance can be established even with the utmost laxity. Possibly these were used in the spoken dialect and the people were quite conversant with their meanings. The words like "कोष्ठमक्खियान," "कून्तवितखम्भवासत्कमकूतिमाक्खियान," "कुन्तवितलाक्खवाभोगकासीपाटक," cannot be understood in their proper significations. There is no means whereby we can ascertain whether these were certain technical terms. That some such terms were in use from the 9th century is also indicated by the *Tezpur Stone Inscription* of Harjaravarmā—

श्रीहर्जरवर्मदेवस्य वर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये महासामन्तसेनाध्यक्ष श्रीसुचित्तस्य अधिकारदिने कैवर्त्तनौकुक्षि स्वभक्ष नौसाधनी......नौरज्ज तस्य नाक्कजोसी शुद्धव्यवहारश्चोद्भूत तत्र नौरज्जक न हि तत् प्रविस्तः ......सावर्णी श्रीचित्रधरदक्ष भट्टजीउ दिनजी लाहिली झा दक्ष दिग्वासी दलाकववा......इत्यादि, ...(lines 3-6).

It is apparent, although the language here is Sanskrit, almost all the names given here are in prākṛtised forms and it is likely that these were then easily understood, for these might have been then related to the spoken language, whatever it was. Moreover such seemingly Sanskrit words as कैवर्त्तनौकुक्षि,, स्वभक्षसाधनी,, नौरज्ज are largely not comprehensible, for these words cannot be directly related to some recognised meanings. It is most likely that they might denote the names of some persons; "प्रविस्तः" is wrongly written in place of प्रविष्टः। This and some such examples possibly indicate the dominance of the dental sound in Assamese from the earliest times as in the present days. "भट्टजीउ", "दिनजी", "लाहिली झा" etc. indicate clearly the influence of Prākṛtistic orthography. Again sometimes it is very difficult to comprehend the meaning in some of the prose portions of the so-called Sanskrit, e.g. "प्रवरभूमिरित्यवरपर्वत उत्तरा" "पञ्चवुट्टिकां गृहीतव्यमिति" ।। Here "प्रवरभूमिरित्यवरपर्वतात्, उत्तरा", "पञ्चवुटिका ग्रहीतव्याश्चेति" some such readings would have been clearer. Whatever it is, these examples simply point out to the fact that a tradition of such wrong Sanskrit usages has been prevalent from the haloed past, giving an unmistakable information with regard to the current of the spoken language. That such wrong usages of Sanskrit which ultimately shaped to some extent the spoken language of the subsequent periods were current from very olden days can be confirmed from the *Umācal Rock Inscription* of Surendravarmā and the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā. The wrong Sanskrit of *the Umācal Rock Inscription* भगवतः वलभद्रस्वामिनाय इदं गुहम् correct Sanskrit भगवतः वलभद्रस्वामिनः अथवा भगवते बलभद्रस्वामिने इयं गुहा) and that of the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* श्रीभूतिवर्मस्य पादान् (correct Sanskrit श्रीभूतिवर्मदेवस्य अथवा श्रीभूतिवर्मणः पादानाम्) generally appear as the proto-type of a spoken language in the learned or the semi-learned circle, the mistakes therein though palpable appearing as correct due to their frequent uses in the spoken dialect.

We have previously shown from the *Hāyuṅgthal Grant* of Harjaravarmā that the expressions like "देव्या कमलनिवासीमिव" in place of "देवी कमलनिवासिनी इव "महादेव्या" in place of "महादेवी", etc. are used in a very naturalistic way. Such uses possibly point out to the influence of the spoken language; so also "हरि-अ्रद्भूत" "अ्रौपरिकरिक-अ्रौत्खेटिक", "पृया"," शासइता" "वाहिकताइक" and many other wrongly-written words. Apart from these wrong usages influence of the spoken language becomes perceptible from some other words used in the inscriptions—the names of some persons such as "श्रीक्षिकुण्ड" "दुन्धुनाथ" "कालिया" referred to in the lines 133, 134, 136 of the *Nidhānpur Plates* are even now very common in Assam exactly in the same form or with slight variations, viz, क्षिकुण्ड<खेकुन्दा :: दुन्धुनाथ<दिन्दिनाथ दिण्डिनाथ :: कालिया<कलिया<कलीया In the *Suālkuci Grant* of Ratnapāla we come across खोड़ाम्रवृक्षौ (line 59); चन्दे नौकि (line 61) which have a striking resemblance with the modern Assamese words like खँरा अ्राम्; चन्दे नाओरीया etc.

A few words seem to have been inscribed without implying anything at the end of the *Guākuci Grant* of Indrapāla. These are शनि, ढनि and अ्रनि. These appear to have recorded the names of three persons possibly connected with the preparation of the plates and the engravement on them. Here it is clear that these names have held aloft a picture of the national life of the time bringing to bold relief its continuity even up to the present times, because these words are exactly similarly used in modern Assamese. From this the inference becomes irresistible that though through the medium of Sanskrit, Prākṛta and Vrajabuli languages in different times the Assamese literature evolved a form of its own, still with the march of time Assamese language also tended to acquire parallely its present form from the middle of the 11th century. Though the nature and content of the form of the spoken language cannot be determined with any amount of precision from the available materials, still it cannot be denied that the aforesaid words were taking shape from then onwards in the modern Assamese pattern. But at the same time it cannot be agreed on all hands that the modern Assamese has straightway evolved from the Sanskrit language. Contrarily it can be said that many words from the spoken dialect infiltrated into the domain of Sanskrit literature and gave entirely a new form to it. This very fact can be illustrated from the inscription engraved on the image of Hari-Hara from Deopani. The Sanskrit of this inscription is significant for the determination of the nature of the growth of the Assamese language. We for the sake of convenience and easy reference reproduce the whole inscription below:[5]

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[5] The text of this inscription was first determined by Sri P. D. Chaudhury, Ex-Director of Archaeology, Assam and was published in the Assam Tribune with a detailed analysis.

ॐ नमः। महाराजाधिराज श्रीजीवररायेः सूंजः कण्ठोदवती संपन्नविपन्नशिव्यतपस्विनियाः सुतः गड़ौनाथ संकर-नारायणकीर्त्तनः वलभिदिनामेकं सैलान्दे लिखिदः ।।

Though Śrī Jīvara is styled here as *mahārājādhirāja* still from the materials so far available his identity cannot properly be established. Therefore it is very difficult decisively to identify him as belonging to a particular prominent royal lineage of ancient Kāmarūpa. He might have ruled after the Sālastambha dynasty in the Deopānī, Kācamāri and the Ḍavakā areas by assuming the imperial title, or he might have been a king of the Sālastambha dynasty after Balavarmā III, because on paleological grounds he might be placed towards the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century. Viewed from this standpoint, the *Hari-Hara Image Inscription* occupies a very significant position after the *Tezpur Stone Inscription* of Harjaravarmā in the determination of the nature of the Assamese language in its early stages of evolution. At least how the Sanskrit words have undergone changes in the spoken language in close affinity with the language of the *caryāpadas* has become clearly manifest from this inscription.

सूंजः<सूर्यः।
कठोदवती<कठोरव्रती।
शिव्यतपस्विनियाः<शैवतपस्विन्याः।
गड़ौनाथः<गौरीनाथः।
बलभिदिनामेकं<बलभिन्नामैकम्।
सैलान्दे<शैलान्ते।
लिखिदः<लिखितम्।
जीवररायेः<जीवरराज्ये।

As to the origin of the *Prākṛta* language it is inferred that a form of spoken language, whatever it is, must have been prevalent from the days of Buddha. We find from the dramas of Bhāsa besides the specimens of Aśokan *Prākṛta* of the inscriptions that *Prākṛta* languages had already a very developing form at least in the first century A.D. Pāṇini's references to different language forms prevalent in the *prācya*, *pratīcya* and other areas clearly point out to the fact that Sanskrit from that time onwards tended to evolve particular forms in particular regions which later on assumed the forms of *Prākṛta* languages in different areas. E. B. Cowell in the introduction to his edition of the Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* holds a similar opinion on the development of *Prākṛta* language.[6] From all these it is quite evident that for centuries *Prākṛta* was prevalent in India side by side with Sanskrit. Though the Pāṇini's grammar recognised a standard form of development for the Sanskrit language, still the influence of *Prākṛta* on it came to be visibly felt. Therefore the regional languages subsequently developing cannot be described as the direct offsprings of either Sanskrit or *Prākṛta.* Two streams of influences seem to have acted independently for their evolution. One is provided by the specimen of literature composed with words predominantly Sanskrit in origin and the other is through the *prākṛta* words of *Māgadhī* origin with infiltrations of *Vrajabuli* language which with slight variations acquired a new form in collusion with the local dialects and gave rise to what may be called the *Kāmarūpī Prākṛta* in the early middle ages. This again, it is likely, acquired a popularity in a wider circle in the form of the languages of the Bauddha *Caryāpadas* and the *Dohās.*

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[6] *Prākṛta* (as has been already observed) "is the common name given to the various dialects which sprang up in early times in India, from the corruption of the Sanskrit" and as the word is used by the grammarians it signifies "derived" thereby to denote its

The above proposition on the first glance may appear not convincing and therefore may not be generally accepted because it is a common belief and an axiom among scholars that from Sanskrit, *Prākṛta* as also *Māgadhī Prākṛta,* from it the language of the *Caryāpadas,* then the *Vrajabuli* language and then the modern vernaculars have evolved. But we should reckon with the fact that even when the Sanskrit language was in height of its development and was in use in full swing as a literary language *Pāli* and *Prākṛta* languages were also developing side by side. This can be gathered from the fact that Pāṇini has given due recognition in his *sūtras* to these dialects. This rather testifies to the fact that whatever be the spoken language or languages the main stream of the Sanskrit literature was always flowing unimpeded by the subsidiary streams of language and literature. To our mind it appears a similar process was also working here in this region. And the idea of some such process is confirmed by the Stone Inscription found at Ambari, Gauhati, which was engraved during the days of King Samudrapāla. This King got a residential institution constructed at Yogihātī, a part of a suburb of his capital and donated it as proclaimed by this charter for the performance of pious activities. The text of the inscription is as follows:

आदित्यसम श्रीसमुद्रपालराज्ये। प्रवल सवासिक सत्र सगुणक्रिया। सत्रयासीन् बोले दान पुण्य सज। योगीहाती। शक इश वाण चक्र। मूढ़ भणति।

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connection with the original Sanskrit. Thus Hemacandra defines it—"प्रकृति: संस्कृतं तत्र भव: तत आगतं वा प्राकृतम्"—Introduction to Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa,* p. XV.

Again—

When the Greeks, under Alexander, came in contact with India, *Prākṛt* seems to have been the spoken dialect of the mass of the people. The language of the rock-inscriptions of king Aśoka, which record the name of Antiochus and other Greek princes about 200 B.C., is also a form of *Prākṛt;* and similarly we find it on the bilingual coins of the Greek kings of Bactria"—Preface to the Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa.*

It is clear that the time referred to in the inscription is *Śaka* 1104 i.e., 1232 A.D. The words in the text of this semi-Sanskrit Inscription agree almost fully with modern Assamese. With the retention of all its words the inscription takes the following form in modern Assamese—

आदित्यसम श्रीसमुद्रपालराज्ये प्रवल सवासिक सत्र (वर्त्तमान)। (इ) सगुणक्रिया (युक्त)। सन्नयासी वोले दानपुण्य सज। (स्थान)-योगीहाती। शक ईश वाण चक्र। मूढ़ भणति।

It is therefore clear that through the use of Sanskrit words, the sentences in the inscription is very much akin to modern Assamese. Though the word भणति is Sanskrit, still its use is profusely seen in the *Śaṅkarī* literature. If this line of thinking is correct, then it can be presumed that the spoken Assamese of those times had a striking affinity with that of the present days. The veracity of this statement can be established by pointing out to the use of the three proper names in the Copper Plates Grant of King Indrapāla—"पुष्टा सिरि and अष्टहेन्त". It is possibly from these times or those prior to it the Assamese language began to evolve some definite form. Even then it cannot be denied that a form of spoken language with an intermixture of *Prākṛta* dialect was currently prevalent. This also can be established from the same inscription where it is recorded "पुष्टा सिरि अष्टहेन्ता।" which is a sentence consisting of *Prākṛta* words and which when rendered into Sanskrit stands as follows— "पुस्तं श्रीअस्तकेत।" "पुस्तम् means drawing of pictures and the sentence will therefore mean—the pictures were drawn by Sri Astaka.

Therefore just as on the one hand the *Prākṛta* language was for centuries used in literature along with Sanskrit so also the local languages or dialects were gradually developing along with the *Prākṛta* language. The latter appears not to have been a sudden phenomenon but seems to have been a gradual process. The Assamecised words such as "श्रीक्षिकुण्ड", "दुन्धुनाथ", "कालिया" which we have come across in the early *Nidhānpur Copper Plates Inscription* of Bhāskaravarmā besides many Assamecised spellings deemed as wrong so far as Sanskrit orthography is concerned infiltrating into the body of the Sanskrit texts of these inscriptions may lend support to such a proposition.

But certain facts controvert our above observations. The specimen of prose which we have found in the *Gāchtal Stone Inscription* of *Śaka* 1284 (1362 A.D.) does not support our above conclusion, for it is not written down in modern Assamese in which words Sanskritised in shape are profusely used. It is a model of Assamese prose wherein words of *Maithilī* and *Vrajabuli* languages are profusely used. Therefore the inference is irresistible that we can arrive at the stage of modern Assamese through the following order in the growth of languages—Sanskrit, *Prākṛta*, *Maithilī*, the language of the *Caryāpadas*, the local languages and the modern languages. In support of this we may point out to the fact that the literatures of the *Pre-vaiṣṇava* and the *Vaiṣṇava* ages were all written down in an admixture of words from the *Vrajabuli* and the *Maithilī* languages. Therefore it is very difficult to opine that the Assamese language directly evolved from Sanskrit through the aid of *Prākṛta* languages.

The above objection, it appears, simulates with facts, because the literature of the *Vaiṣṇava* period has been so interspersed with mixed words from the *Vrajabuli* and the *Maithilī* languages that we cannot think of any other specimen of language being prevalent in the times. We should not forget to take into account the fact that the spoken languages were never used as literary languages in India from very early times. Even the use of Sanskrit was as a standard literary language, where in the *prācya*, *pratīcya* and *udīcya* regions various forms of Sanskrit dialects were prevalent. The veracity of such a conclusion can be inferred from some such phrases as "इति भाषायाम्" "इत्युदीचाम्" used in many of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini. Patañjali the reputed author of the *Mahābhāṣya* has also accorded due recognition to the local Sanskrit-based languages. Even then no literature was composed in these languages. Contrarily the use of a language other than the spoken language or a blending of the spoken language into different speech forms was very much appreciated in the learned circle. Even the *Vaiṣṇava* preachers while they composed literary pieces for the propagation of their religious doctrines thought that their faiths would evoke deeper appreciation if these were propagated through a literary medium of local languages thrown into the background of a stranger language and the usefulness of such an approach was proved also. When possibly due to the incomprehensibility of the Sanskrit language the popularity of this literature came to be gradually reduced and the *Prākṛta* languages became unintelligible with the growth of the local languages, literatures in them began to be composed in admixtures of *Maithilī* languages. The *Gāchtal Stone Inscription* bears evidence to such a literary movement being as it were among the literary specimens so far available the pioneer in this direction. The text of the inscription is given below for perusal—

"सीमा एरिया यवन डवाकत गयत। शक १२८४ वेदास्तराशिगणन। इति श्रीविष्णुवासधर शैलकार। शकत म्लेच्छ इथान उजाँसा। देखहुँ शतात्रिश वइर वङ्गल बहुकार्य इहात फण्ड। वहाख जल। तोसभ सञ्जात यासा। दि जलश्री। पंञ काथ्य वाद्य रोल जल सेनाइ वैरीक भावि जलान्तसेक खदावि।।"

The result is that we are not in a position to determine the nature of the regional languages of the time. Such a propensity seems to have grown from the last part of the 12th century A.D. and continued till the beginning of the British administration when the regional languages asserted themselves as literary forms proper.

Whatever it is that the forms of prose in either of these two stone inscriptions the *Ambari* and the *Gāchtal* are dissimilar is quite apparent. One is Sanskrit-based and other is Vrajabuli-Maithilī-oriented. The former indicates that apart from a literary language, the current of a Sanskrit-based spoken language with which modern literary Assamese has a great similarity was very strong.

G. THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ASSAMESE SCRIPT

The growth and development of the Assamese Script cannot be viewed separately from those of the Indian Script, because it is an evolutionary species of the latter of which it is an integral part.

There is a universal agreement to the proposition that *Brāhmī* is the origin of all Indian Scripts. Many scholars opine that this script is an adaptation of a foreign script and is not an independent growth.[1] Moreover, it is, they say, a development not of very early times and is of recent origin, because we get a very few written evidences before Aśoka and prior to that Indian period they are completely absent[2]. That the Indian script is an adaptation of a foreign script and that it was developed a little earlier than the time of Pāṇini are attested to by the fact that references are met with in Pāṇini to a *Yavana script*[3], which must have been a foreign indent and which must have been a distinct inspiration for the shaping of Indian scripts. This *Yavana script* must have been the Greek script which was developed by the 4th century B.C. When Indian writing is not traceable beyond the 5th century B.C., it is likely that Indians derived sufficient inspiration for the development of their scripts from the contemporary Greek writings. This fact, they seem to have held, is recorded in the relevant *sūtra* of Pāṇini who must have flourished by the 4th century B.C.

But when B. C. Goldstücker exploded this theory of Max Müller and established after wide researches that Pāṇini flourished in the 8th century B.C. and also when a few inscriptions beyond the 4th century B.C. giving evidences to the art of writing in India even prior to the 5th century B.C. were discovered, some western orientalists advanced the theory that the *Brāhmī* script was developed in India with Phoenician or Semitic influences near about the 8th century B.C.[4] Another set of scholars holds the view that the Indus Valley Script is of Semitic origin, because this latter tribe flourished in the Sumerian region whence they carried it to the Indus Valley in course of their pursuit for land for colonization.[5]

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[1] See "*The Alphabet*", p. 335, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXV, p. 253, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 9-11.

[2] cf. Max-Müller—"I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which pre-supposes the existence of writing"—*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 262.

Even the latest European writer on Indian Palaeography, David Diringer, in his book "*The Alphabet*" (1949) p. 334 mostly relying on the researches of the early European Orientalists, maintains a more or less similar view; for this see Rajbali Pandey's *Indian Palaeography*, p. 2.

[3] इन्द्र वरुणभव etc., Pāṇini, IV. 1.49 wherein the word यवन is explained by Kātyāyana as यवनाल्लिप्याम् explained by Bhaṭṭojīdīkṣita as यवनानां लिपिर्यवनानी. This *Yavana lipi* is, it is most likely, the Greek alphabets introduced into India after Alexander's invasion and after Pāṇini's time. According to Max Müller and Bühler, Pāṇini flourished in the fourth century B.C.

But no credence can be lent to such theories, because there is a record among the Sumerian people that their country in very early times was attacked by a sea-faring nation from the east and was turned into a colony of their own.[6] It is very likely that this tribe might have been the Phoenicians who might have migrated from the east into the land of Sumeria. It is the opinion of many a scholar that the tribe known as the *Paṇis* might have been the original dwellers of India coming into conflict with the Aryans and being pushed out of India by the latter migrated to Western Asia for a habitat where they came to be called the Phoenicians.[7] These *Paṇis* were a nation developing their own culture and civilisation and might have been akin to the Aryans and the descendants of the Alpine race which branched off into India several millenium years earlier. Therefore it is quite likely that Indian Scripts were of indigenous origin and might have developed from the Indus Valley Scripts, the discovery of which has made the theory of borrowing or indebtedness entirely untenable.[8]

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[4] A. C. Burnell—"*Elements of South Indian Palaeography*", p. 9; Dr. Bühler—*Indian Palaeography*, pp. 9-11, p. 17.

[5] For this point see *Indian Palaeography* by R. B. Pandey, pp. 31-32, where the learned scholar has summarised the opinions of various scholars.

Taylor, Deeke and Canon held the view that the *Brāhmī* script was of South Semetic origin while Dr. Bühler says that the Indian Scripts are of North Semetic origin; for this see *The Alphabet*, p. 335 by David Diringer.

[6] cf. "There is no sound argument to prove that this script was imported. The traditions of Sumeria, which is supposed to be the source of the Indus Valley script, themselves maintain that writing with the arts of agriculture and metalworking went there from sea-side (Woolley, C. L., *Sumerians*, p. 189). The possibility of the derivation of the Brāhmī script from the Indus Valley script has been suggested by some competent authorities on the subject (Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and Its Connection with Other Scripts*, Kegan Paul, London 1934, p. 49)"—from R. B. Pandey's *Indian Palaeography*. p. 21. fn. 3.

[7] See for a summary of the arguments on this point by the leading orientalists R. B. Pandey's *Indian Palaeography*, p. 32 ff. Also the following is pertinent—"The scholars of Tyre always maintained, and it was accepted by the Greek historians also, that the Phoenicians went to the east coast of the Mediterranean from the east via sea[1]. The Ṛgvedic evidences[2] indicate the Indian origin of the Phoenicians. The lack of similarity between the Phoenician alphabet and the Semitic characters of Western Asia also suggests that the Phoenicians were immigrants there from outside. Thus it becomes very probable that Phoenician alphabets were carried from India to the shores of the Mediterranean"—from R. B. Pandey's above book p. 42.

1. Herodotos, II, 44; 2. Vi 51.14; 61, 1; Vii 6, 3; Vi 39, 2.

Though the Indus Valley scripts are as yet not properly deciphered, still it cannot be denied that these are symbolic or pictographic or ideographic in nature.[9] It is crystal clear that figures of some of the animals or living beings were symbolically used and may be hieroglyphic in nature. Thus it is not impossible that these writings were connected with a form of *tāntric* religion very early in character. It has been shown out earlier that in the form of *Śiva-Śakti* worship *Śiva* is a *trans-Himālayan* God.[10] T. Gopinath Rao has stated that the *Liṅga* at Gudimallam which is deemed as very ancient (circa 200 B.C.) has the figure of *Śiva* with Mongolian features carved on it.[11] The coins of the Kuśāna kings, a *trans-Himālayan* people, bear the images of *Śiva* and other foreign tribes coming from the same region were all worshippers of *Śiva*. The *Kūrmapurāṇa* when it traces the origin of the *Liṅga* places it on the peak of the Himālaya. The *Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to point out to the same region. *Śiva Purāṇa* (I. 56) traces the origin of tantricism to a place near the Western ocean which has been identified with Aundh in the Nizam's territory. Tradition has it that a place named Camatkārapura is the origin of *Liṅga* worship and this place is identified with Baranagara in the district of Gujarat.[12] Thus tantricism might have been a dominant form of religion from very early times in the peripheral region and might have been connected with the Alpines who were designated as *Asuras* by the later Aryans and who spread as far as the easternmost corner of India up to the Patkai Hills in Assam. It is not impossible either that the Aryans or their cousins the *Asuras* who might have been the *Paṇis* themselves invented this script and carried it to Western Asia and Egypt and thus provided an inspiration for the evolution of a script there.[13]

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[8] Woolley, C. L. *The Sumerians*, pp. 188-90.

[9] See on this point Dr. R. B. Pandey's above book pp. 36-37 where he has adequately discussed the opinion of the scholars.

[10] See "*Origin and History of Śaiva Cult in the Tamilland*", pp. 25-27, by K. R. Subramaniar.

[11] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. Part I, Introduction, p. 6.

[12] In this connection, see "*The Tantras: Studies on Their Religion and Literature*" by Chintaharan Chakravarty, p. 49.

[13] cf. The Aryan tribes, according to the ancient historical traditions recorded in the *Purāṇas* and the Epics, migrated from North-West India towards the north and the west.[1] Under the circumstances, there is no impossibility about the fact that either the

But however ancient the growth of tantricism in Assam might have been we have not as yet come across any system of writing in similarity with the tantric hieroglyphics as in Mohenjodāro and Harappā, nor have we been able to find the traces of a civilisation as old as that at the two places. But at the same time references to Naraka in the *Mahābhārata* seem to have been started synchronically with those pre-historic times. Be that as it may, nobody can deny the fact that the civilisation of the times of Naraka in *Prāgjyotiṣa* was very ancient and must have represented the period of the *Asuras* in India. Whatever it is, the fact remains that till a systematic process of exploration and excavation is not taken up, nothing definite for and against such a postulation can be uttered.

We have stated earlier that the *Hastyāyurveda* was written or compiled in Assam by the sage Pālakāpya. Without the evolution of a system of writing such compilations were not possible. Therefore it appears the system of writing in Assam must have been very old and is attested to by the ancient inscription found in the greater *Kāmarūpa* area that was the *Prāgjyotiṣa* Kingdom. The evidence of the *Mahāsthāna fragmentary Stone Plaque Inscription* (3rd century B.C.) may be referred to in this connection. The script of these inscriptions falls within the range of the *Brāhmī* of the eastern variety. But a discussion on the nature of these scripts does not come within the purview of the inscriptions we are dealing with and is therefore beyond our scope.

Therefore we are to initiate discussions on the script beginning from those of the *Umācal Rock Inscription* of Surendravarmā.

1. The letter *a* (अ)

In the *Umācal Rock Inscription* we do not come across the letter *a*. In the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription*, its shape approaches that of *sa* in *Devanāgarī* with the hook becoming more drawn towards the vertical line, the *mātrā* above not being connected with this vertical line on the right-hand. In the inscriptions of Bhāskaravarmā the hook on the left hand has tended to become a curve in the shape of the first bracket. From the times of King Vanamāla, *a* has tended to evolve its present form with the left hand first bracket having gradually changed into some form as in

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Aryans or their cousins the *Asuras* invented the Indus Valley script and carried it to Western Asia and Egypt and thus inspired the evolution of scripts in these parts of the world.

1. E. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, XXV from R. B. Pandey's above book pp. 34-35.

Devanāgarī *u*, its upper part being changed into a zero, we get the present *a*.

2. The letter *ā* (आ)

This letter is not found independently in the *Umācal Rock Inscription*. In the *Bargaṅgā* and the king Bhāskaravarmā's inscriptions, the *a* added to with a short उकार-like sign of the *Devanāgarī* script denotes *ā*. In the rest of the inscriptions one vertical line as in the modern days is added to the right-hand side of आकार. The sign to denote an आकार after a consonant is indicated in Surendravarmā's inscription both with a उकार type sign below or an inverted hook above on the right-hand. This latter trend is maintained in the *Bargaṅgā Inscription*, but the hook tends to be less curved but straight or angular. In the inscriptions of Bhāskara the hook has been straightened into a short stroke added sideways to the letter or above the *mātrā* of the letter. In Vanamāla we find both the hook above and the straight line on the right hand side as in the modern days. This modern tendency is uniformly present after Vanamāla.

3. The letter *i* (इ)

Here it may be said in passing that the letter इ in Brāhmī is represented by three zero-like dots put together, mostly two above on a horizontal plane and one below. The two dots perpendicularly are retained in almost all the inscriptions of Assam. The third is replaced (*i*) in the *Umācal Inscription* by a thick vertical line on the right-hand with a thick angular base on the right-hand forming not a right angle but an acute angle; (*ii*) in the *Bargaṅgā* the two dots on the left-hand with a thick vertical line on the right-hand with a thick but short horizontal line above at an angle of 180 degrees; (*iii*) in *Bhāskaravarmā's Plates* the r.h. line has tended to assume the form of the middle bracket. (*iv*) In *Harjaravarmā's Plates* the two dots above with a stroke below parallelly to the dots. (*v*) In the rest of the inscriptions the stroke below has assumed the forms of a comma or hook (in Indrapāla the hook going above and the dots coming below). Only in thirteenth century, the form has approached its present one. When joined to a consonant this letter has been represented by a sign similar to a thick first bracket put above the letter on the right-hand side turning towards the left in the earlier inscriptions. But from Harjaravarmā onwards it has been used either as an inverted hook placed on the left-hand stretching above the letter or the first bracket on the left-hand side of the letter.

4. The letter *ī* (ई)

Only rarely this letter is independently met with. In Bhāskara a short vertical line thick towards the base but pointed in the upper part with a short *mātrā* above and flanked by two zero-like dots has represented the letter. In the thirteenth century inscriptions this has assumed a form mostly similar to the present उ in *Devanāgarī*. In association with a consonant it is indicated. (*i*) In the *Umācal Inscription* over the *mātrā* of a particular letter by two short strokes —the left-hand side one a little curved toward the right and the right-hand one straight. (*ii*) In the *Bargaṅgā* it is used as an inverted उ from the right-hand side above the *mātrā*. (*iii*) In Bhāskara both the short strokes of the *Umācal Inscription* appearing curved towards the right. After Bhāskara, the tendency is to the evolution of the modern form.

5. The letter *u* (उ)

It is not to be traced in the *Umācal* and the *Bargaṅgā Inscriptions*. From Bhāskara onwards the tendency to its modern form is developed. It is also seen that this letter *u* in *Brāhmī* is represented by an angular hook which being twisted and elongated towards the left has evolved its modern form. This vowel when used to a consonant is sometimes represented by a knob often on the side of the vertical line on the right-hand, is sometimes represented by stretching a little the vertical line downwards and sometimes by the use of an upward hook from the foot of the vertical line of a particular letter, in Harjara roughly by an angle of 90 degrees below the letter. In Vanamāla this and the modern form, both are found side by side and this is the tendency in the later inscriptions.

6. The letter *ū* (ऊ) This is not independently found in any one of the extant inscriptions. As a vowel joined to a consonant its form appears in various ways. The chart attached herewith can better illustrate than we can express it through verbal description. In the *Bargaṅgā Inscription* of Bhūtivarmā it is used as a hook appended below the letter with a small curve on the left-hand. In the rest of the inscriptions, it is almost like र-कार joined to a letter in the *Devanāgarī* script.

7. The letter *ṛ* (ऋ) Only in the inscription of Balavarmā we find an independent *ṛ* (for this see chart). Joined to a consonant this is represented by a conical angle put below the letter in the earlier inscriptions, but in the later inscriptions it is an acute angle though this is not seen uniformly, the earlier tendency being sometimes retained.

8. The letter *e* (ए) We do not find it independently in the two earlier inscriptions. In the two Bhāskaravarmā's inscriptions it takes the shape of a cursive and sometimes a regular triangle with the left-hand arm extended beyond the vertex. In Vanamāladeva's plates it has taken the shape of a P—with its face reversed and in Ratnapāla U—with a horizontal stroke (*mātrā*) joining the two points. In Dharmapāla the tendency to the evolution of its modern Assamese form is distinct. In combination with consonants it has been indicated by one half of the first bracket thickly placed above the letter on the right-hand side but turning towards the left. But from Vanamāla onwards it has been used on the left-hand side of a particular letter adjoined to the interior of the horizontal *mātrā*. But in the thirteenth century inscriptions we find it used as श्रोकार joined to a consonant in *Devanāgarī*

9. The letter *ai* (ऐ)	It is also not independently found. In combination with consonants it has been indicated by two one-halves put together of the first bracket thickly drawn above the *mātrā* of a letter on the right-hand. In Vanamāla it is used like the औकार in modern Assamese (ठौ), only the slanting stroke above coming to the middle. In Balavarmā the vertical line on the right-hand is elided and the first-bracket-like formation on the left-hand has been lifted up a little and joined to the slanting line above changed into a curve. In the thirteenth century inscriptions, it takes the form of *ekāra* in modern Assamese.
10. The letter *o* (ओ)	Vidyāvinoda finds an ॐ-कार in the *Nidhānpur Plates* of Bhāskaravarmā which is not very distinct. Except this we do not remember to have found any *o* independently. In combination, this occurs as two parallel signs—one a little curved and the other straight put on the right-hand side over the *mātrā* of a certain letter in Bhāskaravarmā. In Vanamāla and Balavarmā it is approximately represented by ओकार of the Modern Assamese Script, the curve on the left-hand side of which being short in both but in Balavarmā a gap seems to have been left between the curve on the left and the vertical line on the right. This seems to have been the form in the inscriptions of the latest centuries.
11. The letter *au* (औ)	When joined to a consonant, it is the same form of the ओकार in Bhāskara but only a small vertical line is drawn below. But in the other inscriptions one bend formation overtops the vertical line of the ओकार of the other plates.
12. The letter *ka* (क)	The *Brāhmī ka* is written with a sign approximating the plus sign of the present times, though the horizontal stroke tends to get shortened. In the *Umācal Inscription* this horizontal stroke is a little curved downwards while a *mātrā* is added in the shape of a concave lense. In the *Bargaṅgā Inscription* the

	upper portion from the *mātrā* to the point of the horizontal line which has been more curved on the left-hand side is absent. In Bhāskara, it almost tallies with that in the *Umācal Rock Inscription* in which the *mātrā* above concave in shape has become straight. From Harjaravarmā onwards we are on the path of the evolution of the *ka* of the modern Assamese script.
13. The letter *Kha* (ख)	This letter seems not to have been connected with its *Brāhmī* counterpart and we can trace the evolution of this letter in modern Assamese to the days of Bhāskara where the left-hand tongue was more straight and the base round. In Vanamāla its modern shape is distinct which was more manifest in the later inscriptions. But in Balavarmā and Ratnapāla a tendency towards its formation as in *Devanāgarī* is distinct.
14. The letter *ga* (ग)	It has retained its original *Brāhmī* characteristics to some extent; only a *mātrā* is added and the space between the hinge on the left-hand and the vertical line on the right-hand is widened. In the *Umācal Rock Inscription* the loop gets expanded and blunted but in Bhāskara the loop has formed an angle. In the rest the semblance of the modern *ga* is distinctly perceptible leading to its final evolution.
15. The letter *gha* (घ)	This letter is an adaptation and modification of the Brāhmī *gha* that does not differ much from its modern counterpart in Assamese as the chart will show.
16. The letter *ṅa* (ङ)	Any specimen of writing in this letter is not found in *Brāhmī*. In the *Umācal* and the *Bargaṅgā Inscriptions* this letter is absent. In the inscriptions of Bhāskara a crude form of the *ṅa* of the *Devanāgarī* in its upper portion without the dot is seen. In Vanamāla and Balavarmā this upper part without the dot has taken the distinct shape as in *Devanāgarī*. In Ratnapāla we have

	it in its present shape with the zero-like dot originating from the stem.
17. The letter *ca* (च)	In Bhāskara we have it in the form more or less of a cursive i.e. hand-written *D* in English intersected in the middle. In almost all the inscriptions of Assam it is written like the *ba* of modern Assamese in a very crude form except in Vanamāla where an obverse representation of the present *ca* is to be found. The *ca* in its present form is a development only of the Ahom period.
18. The letter *cha* (छ)	In Bhāskaravarmā's plates, this appears as a knot of two zeroes originating from the same rope. In Balavarmā this has been inverted with a tendency to a half-formation of the zeroes. In Dharmapāla we see the type in Bhāskara is followed.
19. The letter *ja* (ज)	This is an exact prototype of the Brāhmī letter in the earlier inscriptions of Assam. Later on from Harjara onwards the horizontal line at the top instead of being projected to one side came to the middle and served as the *mātrā*. Gradually the other two parallel strokes became elongated downwards, the lower one being turned round towards the left-hand. Therefore really speaking the modern Assamese *Ja* can be traced from the days of Vanamāla.
20. The letter *jha* (झ)	We have been able to trace the form of this letter only once in the extant inscriptions of Assam i.e., in the *Hāyuṅthal Grant*. Here the shape of this letter appears to be similar with the *jha* of the *Devanāgarī script* of the Bombay type; only the joint is brought down.
21. The letter *ña* (ञ)	We have only two specimens of this letter, one in Bhāskara and the other in Vanamāla, the former having the formation of a flat *la* of the present Assamese script without the *mātrā* and the vertical line; the latter having the vertical

	line a little curved towards the right and bereft of the *mātrā*.
22. The letter *ṭa* (ट)	The drawing of this is very much inconsistent and varies from epigraph to epigraph. In Bhāskara we have it like the English numeral three drawn horizontally. In Harjara this is written with the lower formation of the first bracket of three half-drawn; also we find this letter as in the *Devanāgarī alphabet*. In Vanamāla the numeral figure of a three has tended to become sometimes vertical, sometimes reversed. In Balavarmā, Ratnapāla, Indrapāla and Dharmapāla its shape has become quite different (for this see chart).
23. The letter *ṭha* (ठ)	In Vanamāla this is drawn with a zero with a small dot-like handle on the right-hand top. In Balavarmā it is a clean zero. In Indrapāla this zero is obliquely drawn but not fully so that an opening is left on the right-hand. In Gopāla this opening is left on the top by the side of the dot-like handle of Indrapāla.
24. The letter *ḍa* (ड)	In Vanamāla this has been written as the *u* in *Devanāgarī* only with this differential that the angle joining the upper and the lower portions is very thickly drawn and the lower portion is not turned round to the left-hand side though it is made curved. The angle later on instead of being thickly drawn has become prominent and the curve has been turned round to the left gradually till subsequently its form in modern Assamese is arrived at.
25. The letter *ḍha* (ढ)	From the days of Bhāskara its form is akin with that of its *Devanāgarī* counterpart.
26. The letter *ṇa* (ण)	This letter we have come across in the *Umācal Rock Inscription* also where it has more or less a similar form with the *bha* of the *Devanāgarī script*. In the *Bargaṅgā Inscription* this has taken the shape of a crude *la* of the *Devanāgarī script* without the *mātrā* above. In Bhāskara

	the vertical line of the *la* is absent. In the inscriptions following both these two forms are met with but one of the *Bargaṅgā Inscription* predominates.
27. The letter *ta* (त)	Except in the *Bargaṅgā* and the *Bhāskaravarmā's Inscriptions* where it has taken the shape of *ga* of the *Devanāgarī script* with the left-hand side-line becoming short and oblique, this letter *ta* has a form which has facilitated the evolution of the *Devanāgarī ta* with a *mātrā* above, sometimes concave and sometimes straight, and an inverted hook below sometimes touching this *mātrā*. In Assamese, curve of the hook is made into a round figure and the vertical straight line is twisted to the left in the manner of a curve.
28. The letter *tha* (थ)	In *Bhāskaravarmā's Inscriptions* it has been represented by a figure of slightly oblique semicircle segmented into two, the upper and the lower by a vertical diameter and a horizontal radius. In course of time the upper segment began to assume the form of a zero and the lower segment became roundish. The later inscriptions show the trend of an open zero, though in modern Assamese this zero is still retained.
29. The letter *da* (द)	In the *Umācal Rock Inscription* this letter is drawn by a vertical line slightly curved towards the left drawn from the *mātrā* and joined at the base to a short, curved upwards and thick horizontal line at an obtuse angle. The same tendency is found in the *Bargaṅgā* and the *Bhāskara's Inscriptions*, though the angle is represented by an oval formation. In the later inscriptions, another short line comes down from the end of the lower arm of this oval formation.
30. The letter *dha* (ध)	In the *Umācal Inscription* it is represented by a figure approximating the letter *ya* in modern Assamese. In the *Bargaṅgā Inscription* the *mātrā*

	and the upper part of the left-hand crook are so coalesced as to form a round with the right-hand vertical line slightly curved. In Bhāskara this upper bent was either opened up with a knot or eliminated with the middle portion reaching the vertical line on the right-hand. This latter phenomenon has presented the appearance of a triangle crudely formed. In the later inscriptions the arms of this triangle were curved so that an opening was left at the vertex. Then the left-hand arm is again opened up with a zero formation on its end, turned up towards the left-hand. Later on when this zero formation was added to a handle and turned towards the right-hand and the arm again joined to the right-hand arm, we get the *dha* of modern Assamese.
31. The letter *na* (न)	This is formed in the shape of a knot at the middle of a very short rope, there being a *mātrā* above. In course of time the knot has become vertical so much so the two parts of the same rope began to be erect and the knot was later on elongated with a handle.
32. The letter *pa* (प)	This is in the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* a modified form of the Brāhmī *pa* in which in most cases the left-hand arm is long; but here the two arms have become short and thick, the left-hand one having a thick and short *mātrā* over it, the right-hand one without the *mātrā* but bent up to the right so that there is an opening above. The base here unlike in Brāhmī has become flat as in a flower vase. In the later inscriptions the two side-arms have become longer, the right-hand being longer than the left-hand one. Still later the gap above was covered up by a *mātrā* joining the two ends of the arms.
33. The letter *pha* (फ)	This is only the letter *pa* with the right-hand line having only an ear-like formation on its end.
34. The letter *ba* (ब)	It is not separately written and is represented by *va* in the inscriptions.

35. The letter *bha* (भ)	In the *Umācal Inscription*, this letter consists of a *mātrā* from which a vertical line is thickly drawn on the right-hand and a short line obliquely and thickly drawn with a flat end on the left-hand. In the *Bargaṅgā Inscription* the left-hand short line and the *mātrā* above are superimposed on one another and are joining the vertical line. In Bhāskara the left-hand short line has tended to be thin and of curved tip like that of an elephant's trunk. From Harjara onwards possibly it has assumed a cursive form.
36. The letters *ma* (म) and *ya* (य)	In the initial stages of their development these two letters were almost identical, the differences being in *ma* the horizontal projection on the left-hand side is a simple one while that in *ya* it is little curved below, then upwards with a round formation at its tip. Later on *ya* was stripped off of this curve with the round formation and *ma* was written with this, of course, bereft of this curved projection. Both of them later on had the *mātrā* over them. This is the general trait. For minor characteristics see chart.
37. The letter *ra* (र)	This is represented by a thick but short line vertically drawn from a thick *matrā*. Later on this thick line came to be slim from the side of the *mātrā* and flat towards the base. Still later as in Harjara's time the flat base was changed into a hook-like formation. Gradually this hook was again connected with the vertical line making it flat in the middle which as if over-strained left a triangular gap in the middle. Thus we get the *ra* of modern Assamese.
38. The letter *la* (ल)	We get a specimen of this letter in the earliest inscription, the *Umācal Rock Inscription* of Assam. This letter, it appears, is an adaptation of the Brāhmī *la*. The one found in the *Umācal Rock Inscription* appears to be of an earlier stage in development.

39. The letter *va* (व)	It has retained the characteristics of a crudely formed triangle in the Brāhmī form. Later on a *mātrā* short, thick and invertedly conical in shape was added. With progress of time the *mātrā* began to be thin and long and we arrive at its present shape.
40. The letter *śa* (श)	This letter cannot be regarded as even distantly related in its evolution from its Brāhmī counterpart because it is marked more by dissimilarity than similarity with it. In the *Umācal* and the *Bargaṅgā Inscriptions* and those of Bhāskara, it is written like *sa* of *Devanāgarī* but the tip of its downward projection simulates the shape of two coalesced zeroes which are so distinct in the picture of the letter in modern Assamese. The tendency to its shape in modern Assamese with the two zeroes put together is very strong in the inscriptions of Harjaravarmā, Vanamālavarmā, Balavarmā and Ratnapāla. But later on a cursive representation bereft of the two zeroes is a manifest tendency in its development so that we get in the inscriptions of the early Ahom period these two traits separately in two distinct manners. It may also be said in passing that the *śa* of the *Deopāni Viṣṇu Image* has a striking likeness with that of the *Allahabad Municipal Museum Yupa Inscription* (line 8—see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, No. 34, p. 250).
41. The letter *ṣa* (ष)	In the *Bargaṅgā*, the *Nidhānpur* and the *Ḍubi Inscriptions* this letter is written like the *ma* in the *Devanāgarī script* but the *mātrā* is absent. In the *Bargaṅgā Insciption*, this *mātrā* is represented by a short thick line over the left-hand formation and in Bhāskara two short lines, one over the left-hand formation and the other on the top-side of the right-hand formation. Thereafter the tendency to its modern Assamese form is very much pronounced in all the later inscriptions.
42. The letter *sa* (स)	In the earliest three inscriptions, it is very difficult to distinguish between *sa* and *ṣa* be-

cause both are written down in an identical manner. But from Harjaravarmā onwards the tendency to the evolution of its *Devanāgarī* form is distinct, with which, it can be seen, the letter *sa* in modern Assamese is almost identical.

43. The letter *ha* (ह)

In the earlier two inscriptions this letter is quite differently written and most approximately approaches the form of English capital J. But in Bhāskara we find two forms of this letter—one the capital J form and the other, from the J some cursive line is drawn towards the right-hand, then turned below. This cursive formation is not uniform in all the later inscriptions and has taken various shapes.

A Discussion on the Characters of the Umācal Inscription

We have already seen above that both *a* and *ā* independently are not found in the *Umācal Rock Inscription.* But we have independent *a* and *ā* in the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription.* It is noticed that the *ā* is formed here by adding below simply the उकार-like sign to the *a*, though strictly it is denoted by an inverted hook above on the right-hand side of a letter when it is indicated in this inscription with a consonant. This above trait of the idependent आ of the *Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription* i.e. of adding simply a उकार-like sign appears to be the vestige of earlier inscriptions like the *Umācal Rock Inscription*, where this appears to be generally adopted, cf *ṇā* in *Varmaṇā*. This is a tendency of the 2nd and 3rd century inscriptions viz., Śātakarṇi I, Rudradāman etc. The representation of *a* by this *ā* is met with in the lines 4 and 6 of the *Dharanikota Dharmachakra Pillar Inscription* of the 2nd century A.D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, P. 259).

The manner of writing the letter *i* in this inscription represents a period which, it seems, represents an earlier phase because the simple vertical line of this letter on the right-hand in the *Prayāga Praśasti* has ended in an angular base forming an acute angle on the right-hand. The addition of *ī* to a consonant in this inscription seems to be more straight than in the *Prayāga Praśasti* where it is a bit cursive and therefore represents an earlier form of the North Indian variety of the Brāhmī alphabets. It appears to have come in between the *Allahabad Yupa Inscriptions* of the 2nd century A.D. where the overhead formations are both long and the *Kosam Inscription* of Bhadramagha's reign (approximately 329 A.D., see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 256-57) where the *ī* in combination with a consonant is indicated by a U-shaped formation over the *mātrā*.

The letter *ka* here represents an earlier variety most likely of the later Kuśāṅa period or of the earlier Gupta period (*Allahabad Praśasti*). But the *mātrā* here has become slightly longer and concave in shape and the cross line convex. This seems to be a characteristic of the eastern region in the early Christian centuries.

The letter *ga* seems to be an independent development from the *Brāhmī* letter, though a similar type is found in the *Bilsaḍ Inscription.*

The letter *ja* is shaped after the *Brāhmī* letter, though it has its likeness in the *Allahabad Museum Yupa Inscription* (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, 250-51, pp. 2505).

The letter *ta* is similar with that of the *Prayāga Praśasti.*

The letter *da* seems to have some similarity with that in the *Kosam Inscription* (cf. सिद्‌धायतने line 10, E, I. XXIV, p. 147).

The letter *d̀ha* is of independent development.

The letter *na* has a similar form with that in the *Kosam Inscription* of the reign of Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa (see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146-147) bearing certain similarities with the *Kosam Inscription* of Kaṇiṣka, wherein there is an alternative form of *na* without the loop, more archaic in nature with a bent base.

The letter *ṇa* seems to be independent in growth because the right-hand vertical line is pushed above the sideway *mātrā* whereas in the *Kahaum Inscription* the vertical line has ended in and become bent with the sideway *mātrā*. In some of the earlier inscriptions the archaic *na* has denoted *ṇa* with the addition of one horizontal stroke below the *mātrā*.

The letter *bha* appears to have been developed after its own characteristics, because the *bha* of the *Kosam Inscription* almost tallies with that in Bhāskara's inscriptions whereas that in the *Bilsaḍ Inscription* has the angle formation from the extreme point of the vertical line. Here the angle-formation is blurred by the thickness of the hook which appears to have emerged from both the vertical line as well as the *mātrā.*

The letter *ma* has some similarity with the *Kahaum Inscription* of 459 A.D. But here the left-hand side extension is longer than the one in the former or even the *Kosam Inscription.* This definitely places it earlier than the above two inscriptions, because the extension being shortened into a loop-like formation leads to the evolution of the *ma* in Devanāgarī or Assamese.

The letter *ya* tallies more with that of the earlier inscription of the 1st and 2nd century A.D.

The letter *śa* is similar with that in the *Kosam Inscription* of Bhadramagha of the year 329 A.D. (see *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XXIV, p. 256). But it appears it presages its development after the 3rd century characteristics.

The letter *sa* is quite distinct from its earlier type and appears to be a fore-runner of the *Bargaṅgā Inscription*, being identical in shape with the *Kosam Inscription*.

The letter *ra* is intermediate between the inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries and 4th-fifth centuries, because here the vertical line is neither curved below nor straight downwards but short with a tendency to a curve towards the left.

The letter *la* seems to be a peculiar development from its *Brāhmī* counterpart so far as this *Umācal Rock Inscription* is concerned.

The letter *va* comes close to that of the Northern Indian alphabets of the 1st-2nd century A.D. or 4th century A.D.

The letter *ha*, it appears, manifests characteristics of an earlier period, because the *ha* we come across in the *Kosam Inscription* of the reign of Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa of the 4th century A.D. is similar to the one in the *Bargaụgā Inscription*. But the *Kosam Inscription* of Bhadramagha (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, p. 256) shows a conspicuous curve below, unlike the one in the *Umācal Inscription* wherein the curve is not much drawn down. This possibly fixes the date of the inscription near about 350 A.D.

It is seen, therefore, that the characters in the *Umācal Rock Inscription* paleographically range from the period of the later part of the 3rd century A.D. to the early part of the 4th century A.D. though some of them have some resemblance to those of the *Prayāga Praśasti* or the *Bilsaḍ Inscription*. Though early records showing out the nature of the gradual changes the *Brāhmī* script underwent in course of time are wanting, still one thing that is manifest from a study of the contents given above is that there is a continual development of the letters beginning from the period of the *Brāhmī* script, because it is seen that some of the letters have retained still now their *Brāhmī* features. A brief reckoning on the following lines will clear out the position.

a, *ā*} These two letters have taken shapes independent of their *Brāhmī* counterparts in its North Indian variety. The same strain in the development is maintained in the N.E. regions.

i The *Brāhmī* origin is distinct all through, and its form approaches that in modern Assamese from the 13th century only.

u is *Brāhmī* in nature and only by being a little cursive it has reached its present form in Assamese.

e It is only a development of the *Brāhmī* letter with some local innovations.

o The addition of this vowel after a consonant is following the present Assamese manner from the days of Balavarmā and seems to be independent of other influences, because that during the days of Bhāskara differs from other contemporary uses.

ka	The evolution of the form of this letter in Assamese can be traced almost without break from its *Brāhmī* form.
kha	may be a cursive evolution from its North Indian counterpart.
ga	It might evolve from its *Brāhmī* form taking a cursive form later on from the days of Vanamāla.
gha	The *gha* in modern Assamese is almost a prototype of the *Brāhmī* letter.
ṅa *ca*	This might develop from the North Indian script.
cha	The *Brāhmī* form continued till the thirteenth century.
ja	has evolved from its *Brāhmī* form.
ta	is an adaptation of *Brāhmī*.
tha	is of independent origin.
da	is of North Indian origin.
dha	is a development from the *Umācal Rock Inscription.*
na	is of *Brāhmī* origin.
ṭa	Though the cursive form is used in almost all the inscriptions of Assam, still the modern Assamese *ṭa* has no relevance to the cursive form but betrays some resemblance in origin with the *Brāhmī* form.
ṭha	is a development of the *Brāhmī* form with the overhead projection added later on in Assamese.
ḍa	This is only an adaptation of the *Brāhmī* form.
ḍha	appears to have evolved from its *Brāhmī* form.
ṇa	is an independent growth from the *Umācal Rock Inscription.*
pa	is a development of the *Brāhmī* in all the inscriptions of Assam and that in Assamese is a sudden adoption in the Ahom period.
pha	is from *Brāhmī*.
bha	is an adaptation from *Brāhmī* which gradually assuming a cursive type has arrived at its present Assamese form.
ma *ya* *śa* *ṣa* *sa*	These letters seem to have taken forms, it seems, independent of their *Brāhmī* counterparts and have by taking to a cursive formation arrived at their present shapes in Assamese.
ra *la*	have gradually evolved from their *Brāhmī* forms. It is interesting to note that *ra* has taken its shape in modern Assamese of being cut across by a line in the middle and *va* with a dot below elongated later on into a line from the thirteenth century onwards.
ha	Though this letter seems to have taken an independent form

in the earlier two inscriptions still its later development might be from the *Brāhmī* with which it taking a cursive shape betrays some resemblance.

Therefore it can be posited that the *Brāhmī* scripts in course of time began to give up their fixed forms and develop in a certain order throughout Northern India and also in South India known by the designations of the North Indian and South Indian varieties of the *Brāhmī* scripts. These again also came under the local influences and therefore came out with local variations leading to the evolution of regional styles shaped differently at different periods. Thus we talk of the Kuśāṇa script of the earlier and the later varieties; so also the Gupta script, the Gupta script proper, the eastern variety of the Gupta script. As a matter of fact what we call this or that variety of scripts on the basis of region or time is nothing but an evolution of the *Brāhmī* scripts through the insertion of certain local influences. Therefore when we refer to some script as Gupta script, it becomes misleading to some extent. We have seen above, that in the development of the script in this N. E. region, there are certain characters which have directly evolved from the *Brāhmī* letters, certain others which have similarity with their North Indian counterparts and still others which have developed independent forms through local influences. Therefore it is not unlikely that scripts developed independently in certain areas from the *Brāhmī* scripts undergoing, as time advances, changes with cultural exchanges and migration of population. The rapidity with which a particular script could be written showed the progress a particular community achieved in cultural fields. This possibly led on people to develop a more cursive style in writing.[14] Therefore the talk of cursive characters cannot establish an independent script but a variety of developed letters of a certain script. Thus the talk of the *Kuṭila* script from which the characters of the eastern group of languages are deemed to have originated has had no real substratum to stand. As a matter of fact *Kāmarūpa* had its own scripts which were developed *ad seriatim* from the days of the earliest inscriptions and were channelised into two slightly different streams of writing, the *Kāmarūpī* proper and the *Asama* script, after the introduction of two political regimes at two different areas in the beginning of the early mediaeval period. The so-called *Bāmuṇīā*, *Kāithelī-Lahkarī* and *Gargañā* schools of alphabets are but the subsequent variations of the Kāmarūpī school in the later period.

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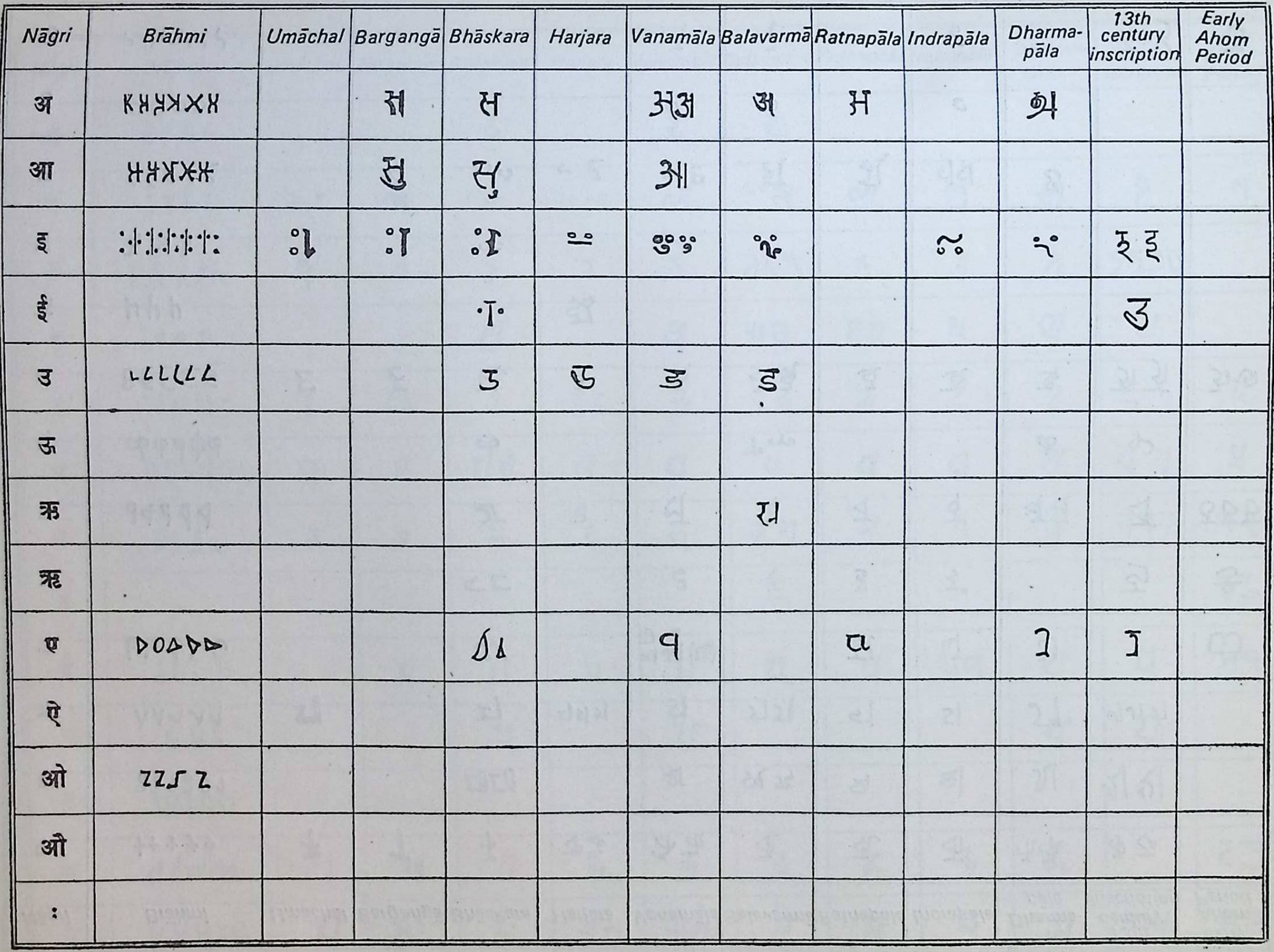
[14] See on this point, Pandey's above book, pp. 18-19.


Nāgri
Brāhmi
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
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Balavarmā
Ratnapāla
Indrapāla
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13th century inscription
Early Ahom Period
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Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate I

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Therefore it can be posited that the *Brāhmī* scripts in course of time began to give up their fixed forms and develop in a certain order throughout Northern India and also in South India known by the designations of the North Indian and South Indian varieties of the *Brāhmī* scripts. These again also came under the local influences and therefore came out with local variations leading to the evolution of regional styles shaped differently at different periods. Thus we talk of the Kuśāṇa script of the earlier and the later varieties; so also the Gupta script, the Gupta script proper, the eastern variety of the Gupta script. As a matter of fact what we call this or that variety of scripts on the basis of region or time is nothing but an evolution of the *Brāhmī* scripts through the insertion of certain local influences. Therefore when we refer to some script as Gupta script, it becomes misleading to some extent. We have seen above, that in the development of the script in this N. E. region, there are certain characters which have directly evolved from the *Brāhmī* letters, certain others which have similarity with their North Indian counterparts and still others which have developed independent forms through local influences. Therefore it is not unlikely that scripts developed independently in certain areas from the *Brāhmī* scripts undergoing, as time advances, changes with cultural exchanges and migration of population. The rapidity with which a particular script could be written showed the progress a particular community achieved in cultural fields. This possibly led on people to develop a more cursive style in writing.[14] Therefore the talk of cursive characters cannot establish an independent script but a variety of developed letters of a certain script. Thus the talk of the *Kuṭila* script from which the characters of the eastern group of languages are deemed to have originated has had no real substratum to stand. As a matter of fact *Kāmarūpa* had its own scripts which were developed *ad seriatim* from the days of the earliest inscriptions and were channelised into two slightly different streams of writing, the *Kāmarūpī* proper and the *Asama* script, after the introduction of two political regimes at two different areas in the beginning of the early mediaeval period. The so-called *Bāmuṇīā*, *Kāithelī-Lahkarī* and *Gargañā* schools of alphabets are but the subsequent variations of the Kāmarūpī school in the later period.

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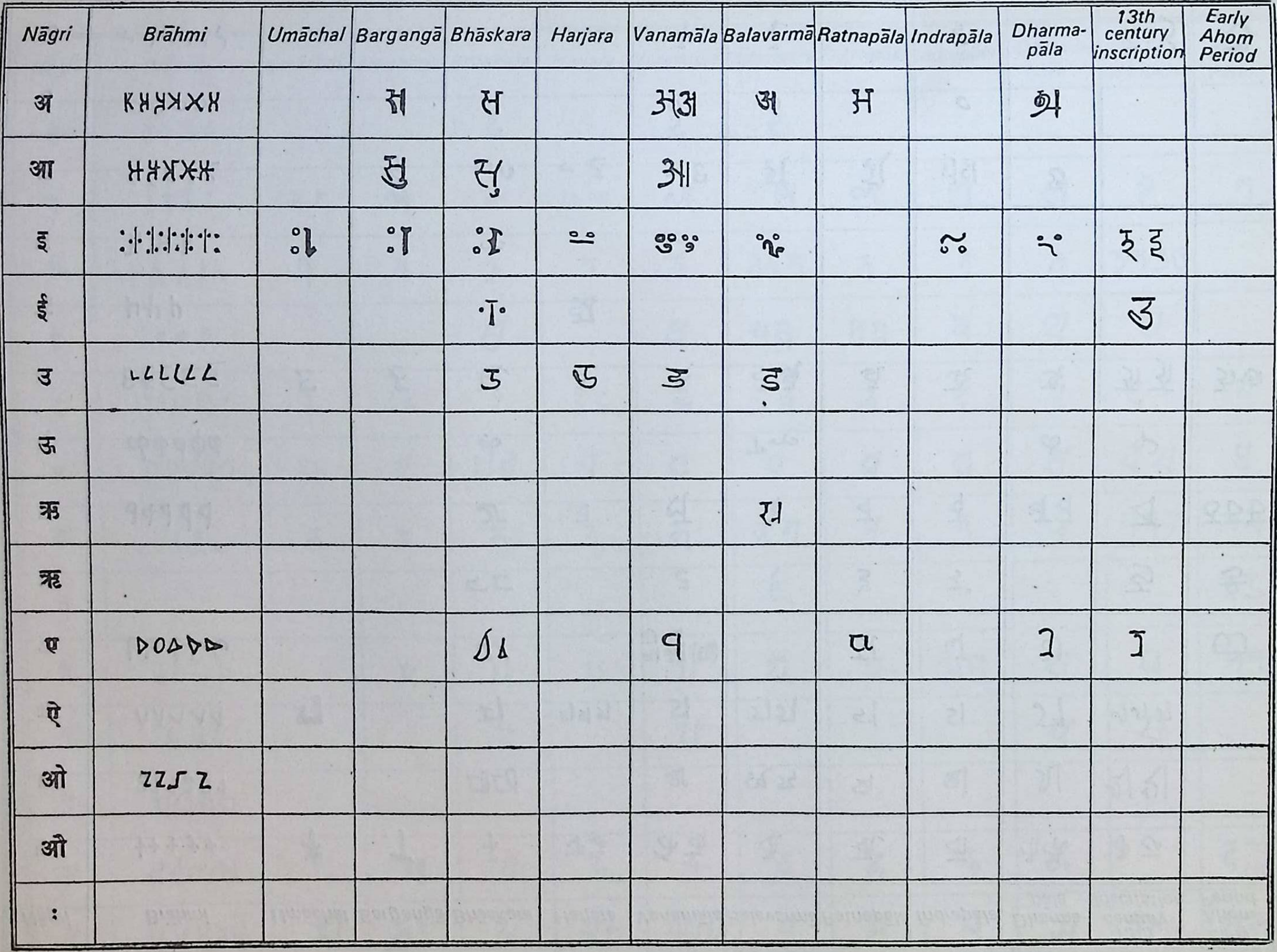
Nāgri
Brāhmi
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
Vanamāla
Balavarmā
Ratnapāla
Indrapāla
Dharma-pāla
13th century inscription
Early Ahom Period
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Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate I

in the earlier two inscriptions still its later development might be from the *Brāhmī* with which it taking a cursive shape betrays some resemblance.

Therefore it can be posited that the *Brāhmī* scripts in course of time began to give up their fixed forms and develop in a certain order throughout Northern India and also in South India known by the designations of the North Indian and South Indian varieties of the *Brāhmī* scripts. These again also came under the local influences and therefore came out with local variations leading to the evolution of regional styles shaped differently at different periods. Thus we talk of the Kuśāṇa script of the earlier and the later varieties; so also the Gupta script, the Gupta script proper, the eastern variety of the Gupta script. As a matter of fact what we call this or that variety of scripts on the basis of region or time is nothing but an evolution of the *Brāhmī* scripts through the insertion of certain local influences. Therefore when we refer to some script as Gupta script, it becomes misleading to some extent. We have seen above, that in the development of the script in this N. E. region, there are certain characters which have directly evolved from the *Brāhmī* letters, certain others which have similarity with their North Indian counterparts and still others which have developed independent forms through local influences. Therefore it is not unlikely that scripts developed independently in certain areas from the *Brāhmī* scripts undergoing, as time advances, changes with cultural exchanges and migration of population. The rapidity with which a particular script could be written showed the progress a particular community achieved in cultural fields. This possibly led on people to develop a more cursive style in writing.[14] Therefore the talk of cursive characters cannot establish an independent script but a variety of developed letters of a certain script. Thus the talk of the *Kuṭila* script from which the characters of the eastern group of languages are deemed to have originated has had no real substratum to stand. As a matter of fact *Kāmarūpa* had its own scripts which were developed *ad seriatim* from the days of the earliest inscriptions and were channelised into two slightly different streams of writing, the *Kāmarūpī* proper and the *Asama* script, after the introduction of two political regimes at two different areas in the beginning of the early mediaeval period. The so-called *Bāmuṇīā*, *Kāithelī-Lahkarī* and *Gargañā* schools of alphabets are but the subsequent variations of the Kāmarūpī school in the later period.

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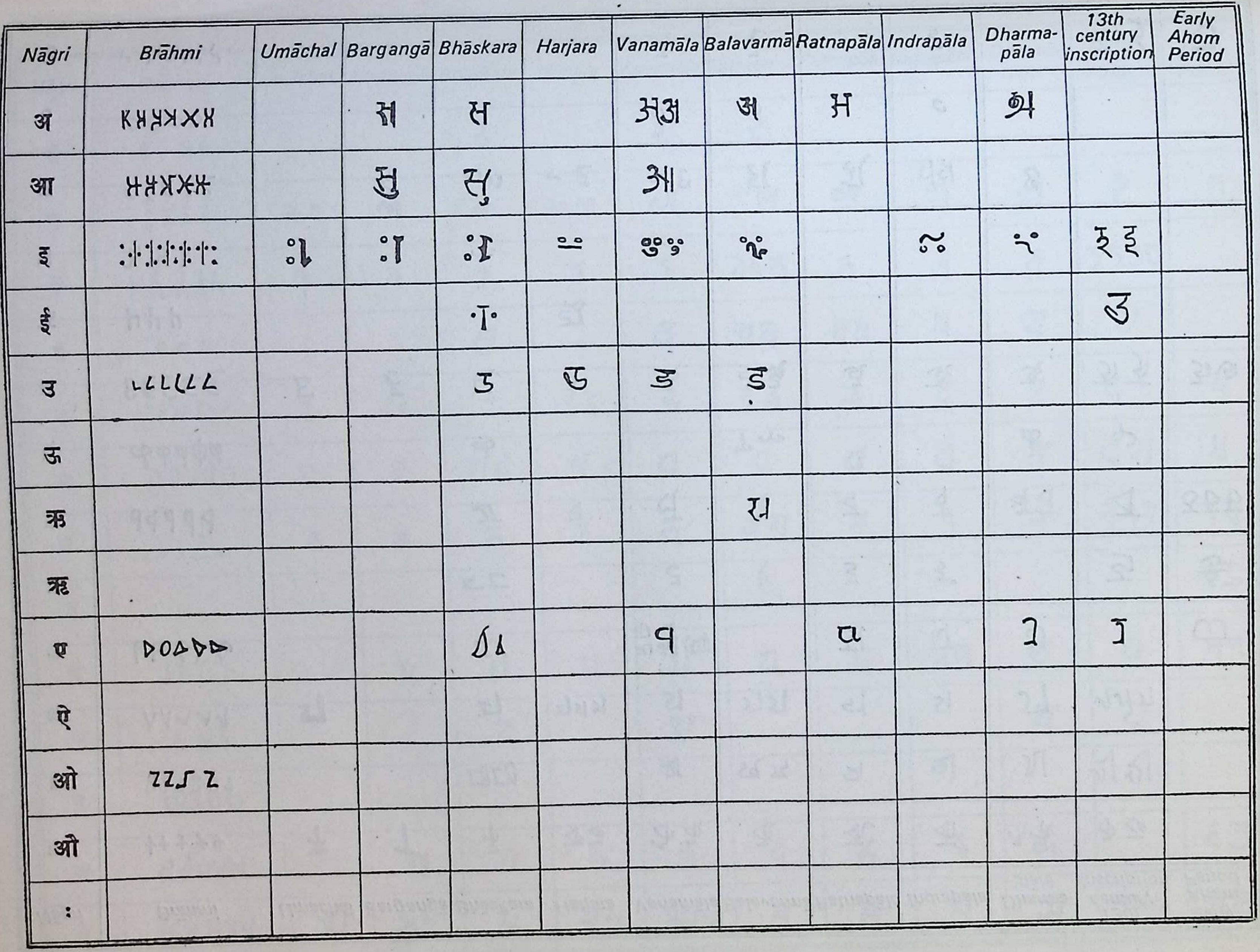
[14] See on this point, Pandey's above book, pp. 18-19.


Nāgri
Brāhmi
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
Vanamāla
Balavarmā
Ratnapāla
Indrapāla
Dharma-pāla
13th century inscription
Early Ahom Period
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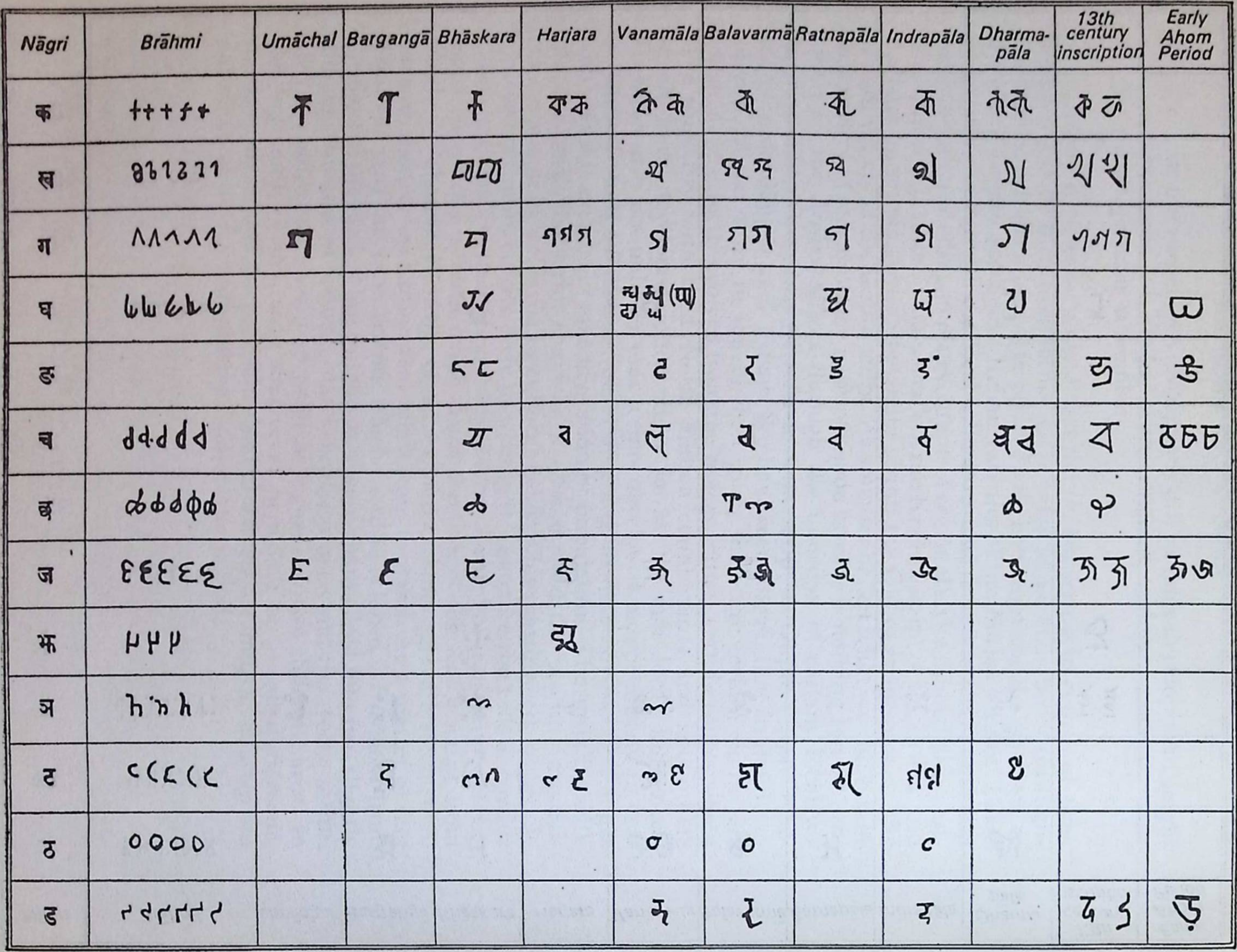
Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate I

Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate II


Nāgri
Brāhmi
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
Vanamāla
Balavarmā
Ratnapāla
Indrapāla
Dharma-pāla
13th century inscription
Early Ahom Period
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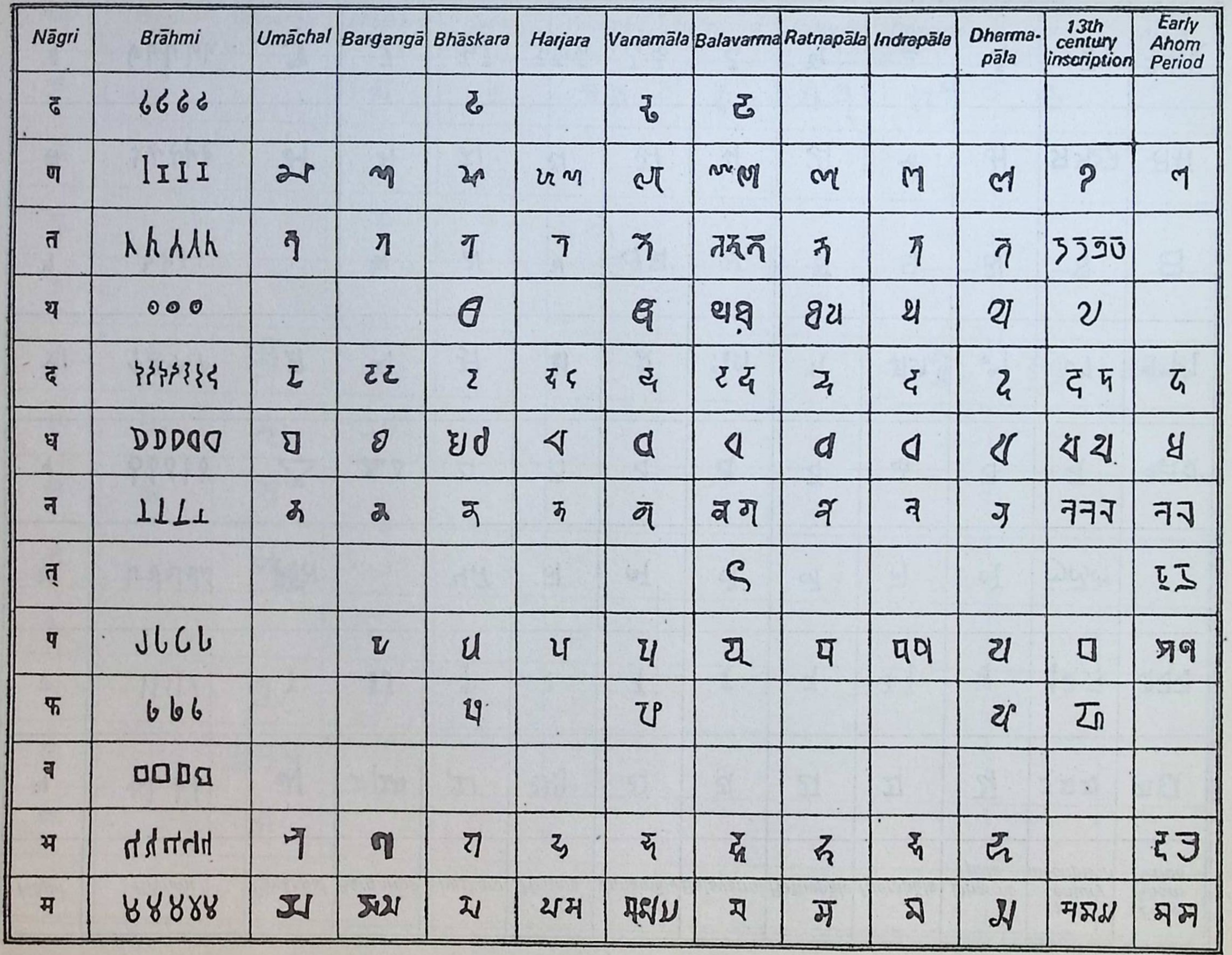
Nāgri
Brāhmi
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
Vanamāla
Balavarma
Ratnapāla
Indrapāla
Dharma-pāla
13th century inscription
Early Ahom Period
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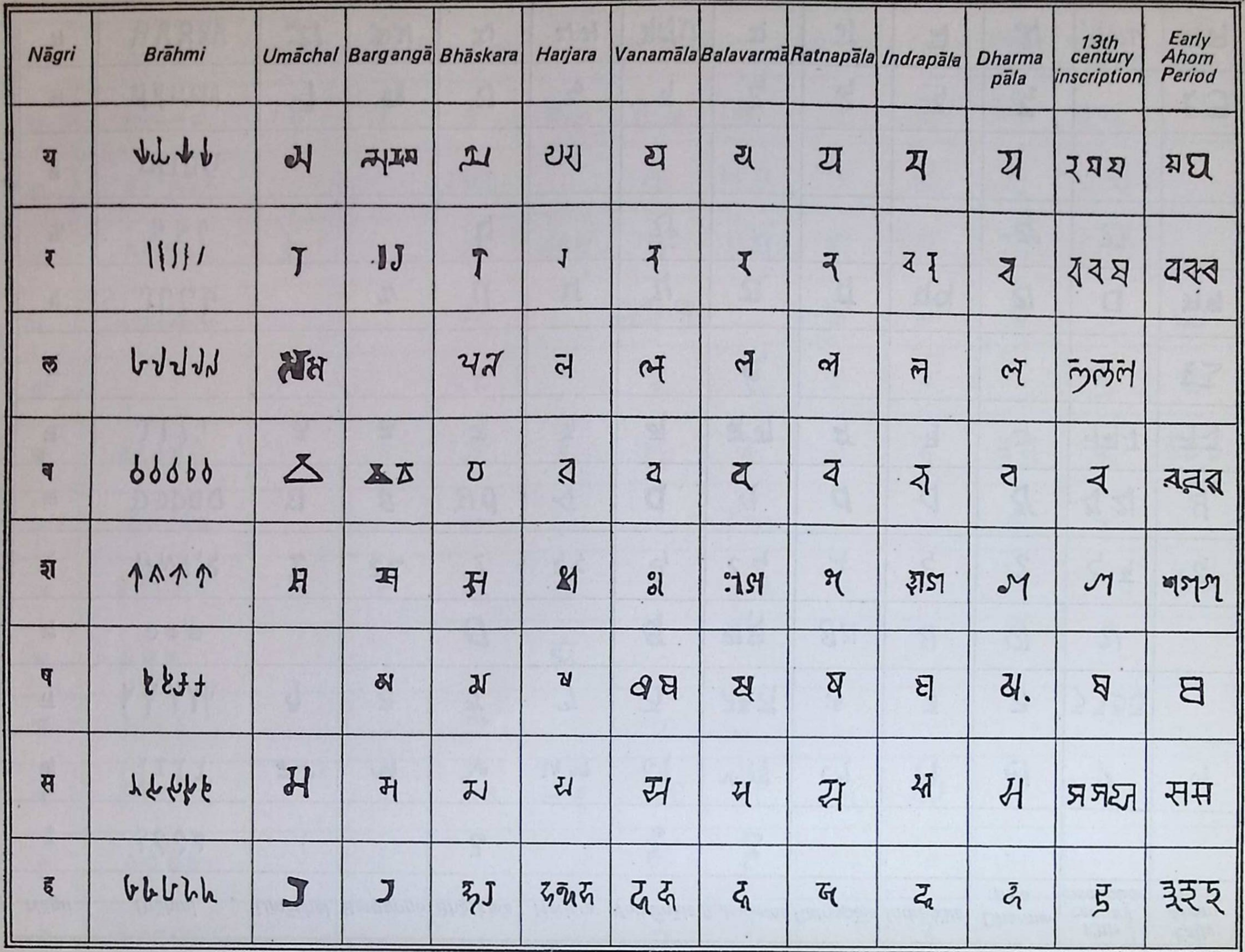
Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate III

Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate IV


Nāgri
Brāhmi
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
Vanamāla
Balavarmā
Ratnapāla
Indrapāla
Dharma pāla
13th century inscription
Early Ahom Period
य
र
ल
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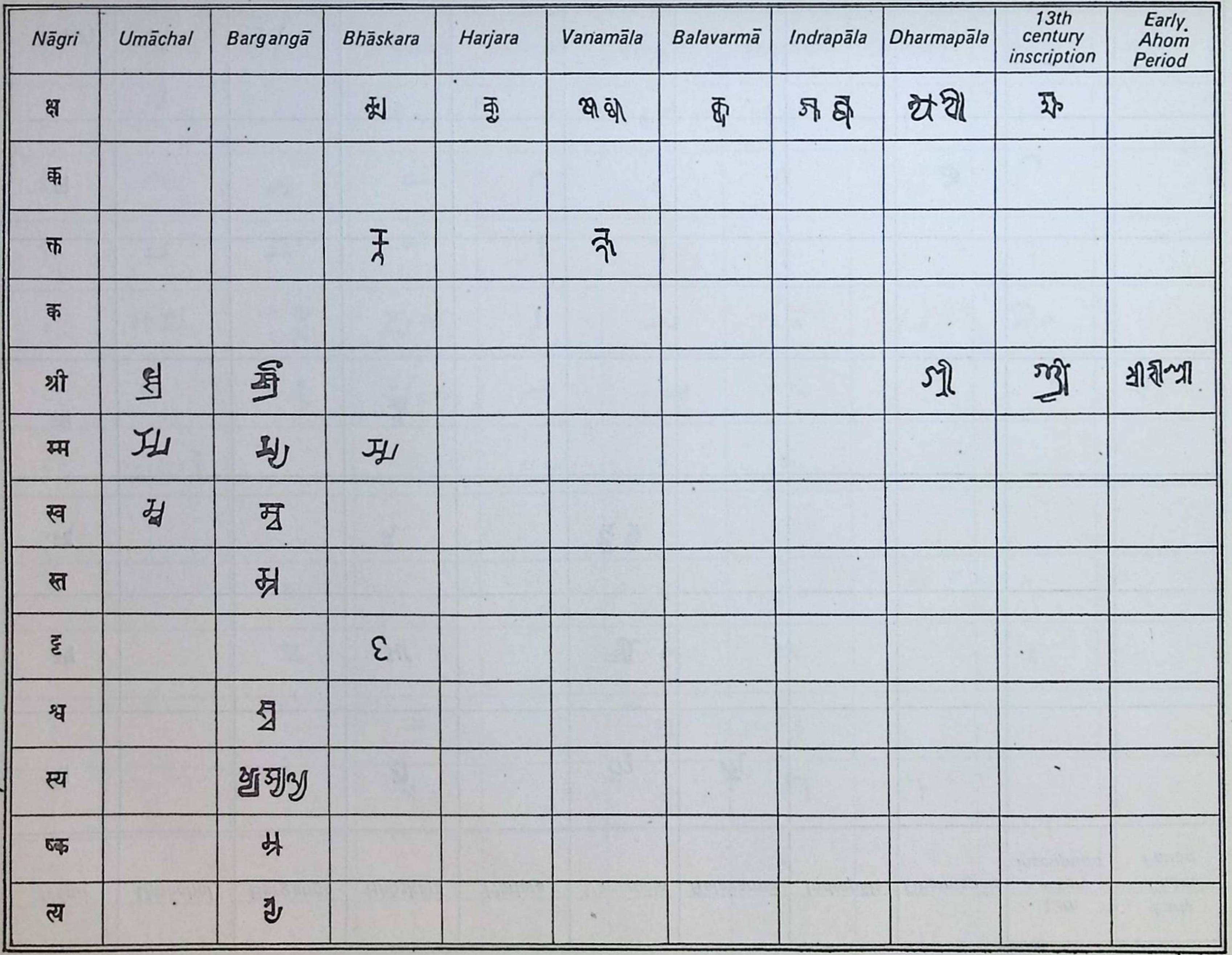
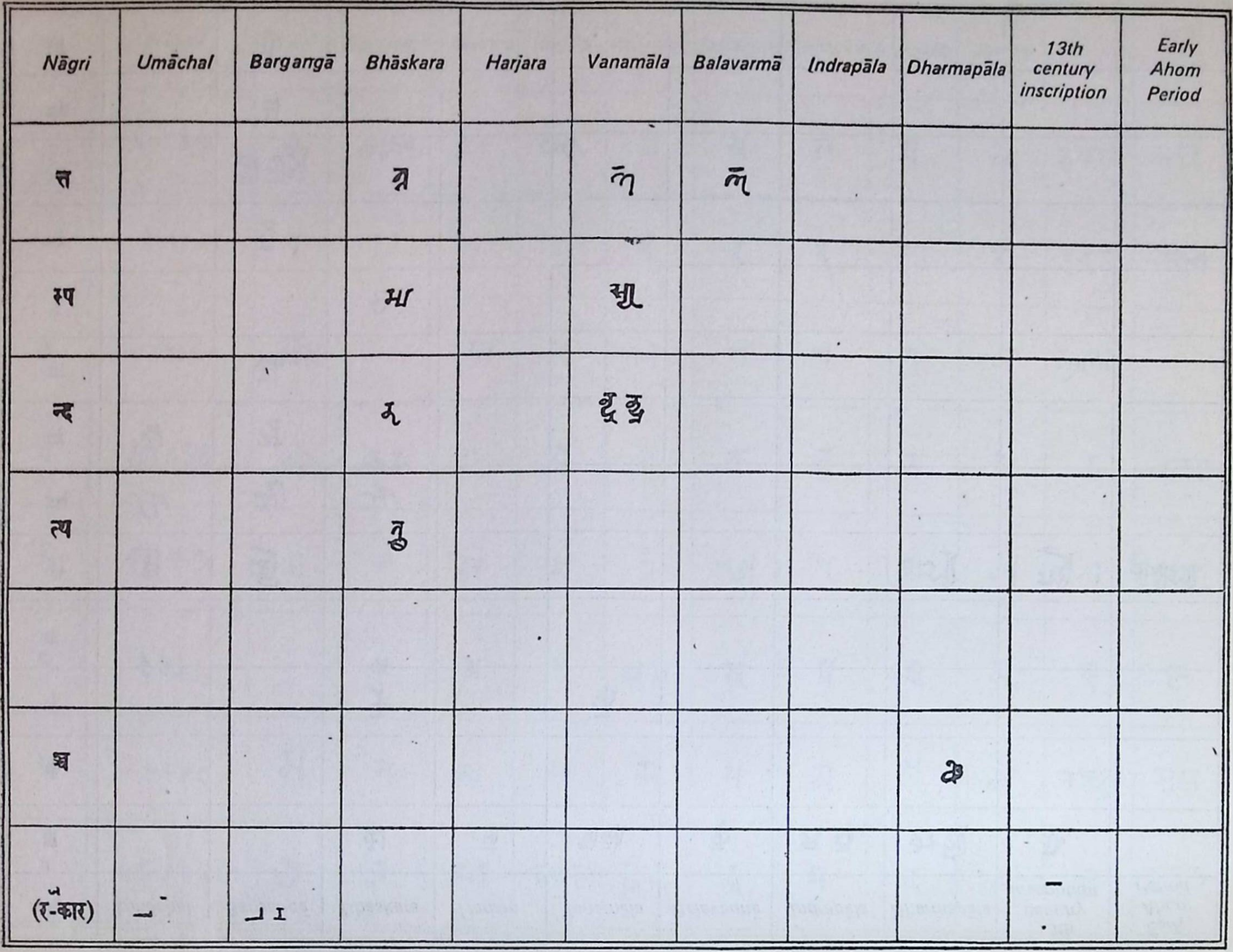
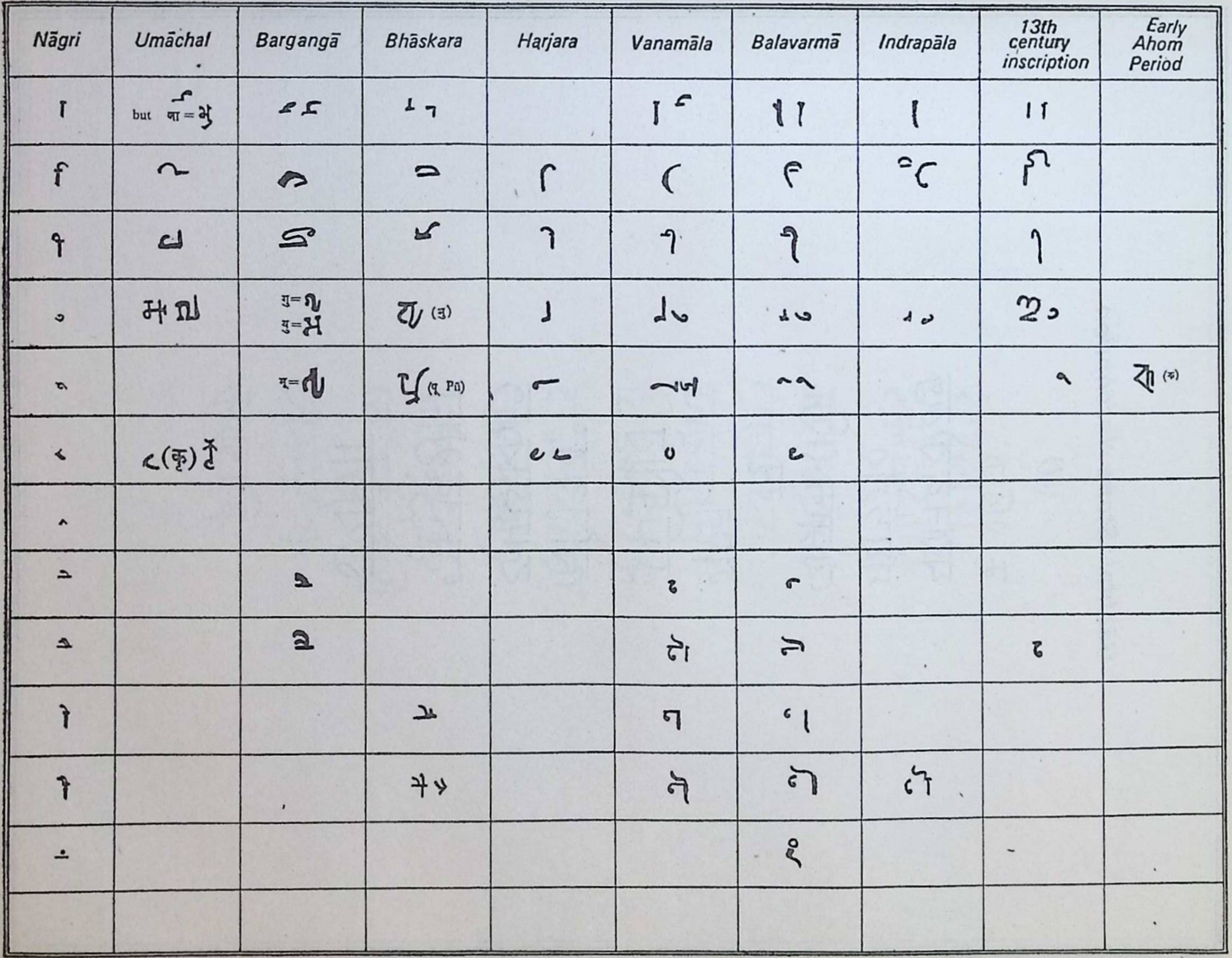

Nāgri
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
Vanamāla
Balavarmā
Indrapāla
Dharmapāla
13th century inscription
Early. Ahom Period
क्ष
क्म
क्त
क्व
श्री
स्म
स्व
स्त
ह्य
श्व
स्य
ष्क
त्य

Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate V

Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate VI

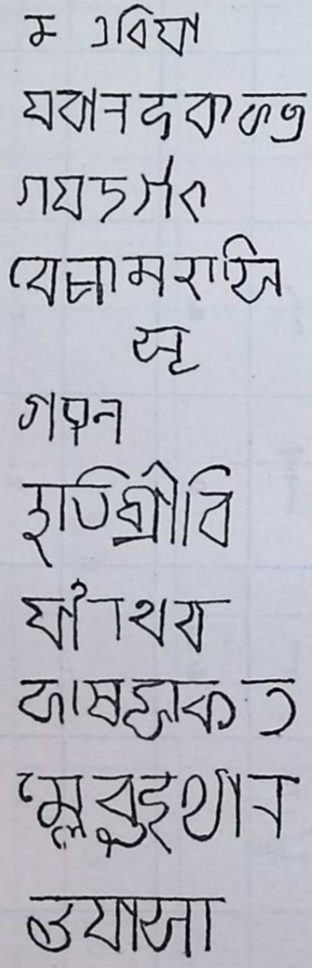

Nāgri
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
Vanamāla
Balavarmā
Indrapāla
Dharmapāla
13th century inscription
Early Ahom Period
त्त
स्प
न्द
त्थ
ध्व
(र-कार)


Nāgri
Umāchal
Bargangā
Bhāskara
Harjara
Vanamāla
Balavarmā
Indrapāla
13th century inscription
Early Ahom Period
but

Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate VII

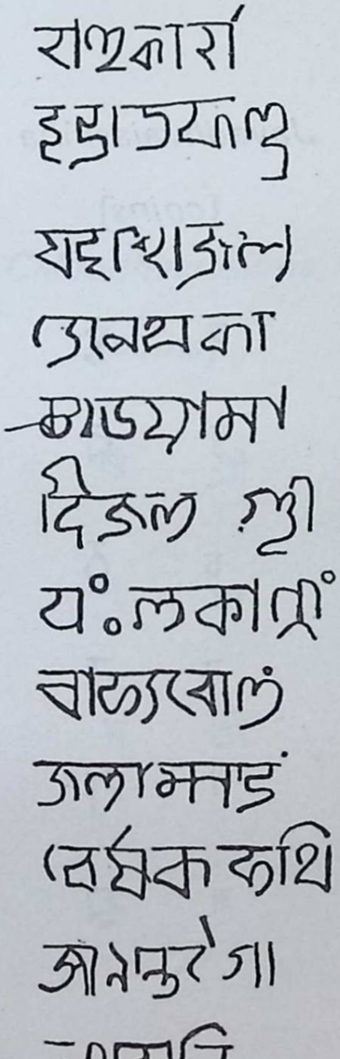
Gāchtal Stone Inscription

(I)



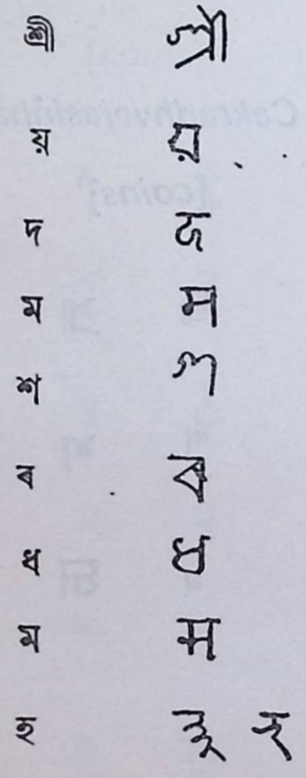
Gāchtal Stone Inscription

(II)



Gadādharsinha

from canon-inscriptions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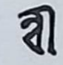
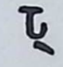
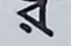
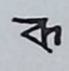
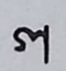
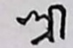
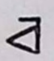
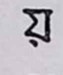
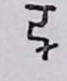
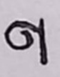
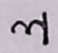
Rudrasinha

[coins]

শ্রী	
ৎ	
ৰ	
ৰু	
শ	

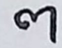
Naranārāyaṅa

[coins]

শ্রী	
ৰ	
য়	
ভূ	
প	
ল	

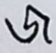
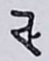
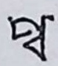
Raghunārāyaṅa

[coins]

ন	

Jayaṅtiāmudrā

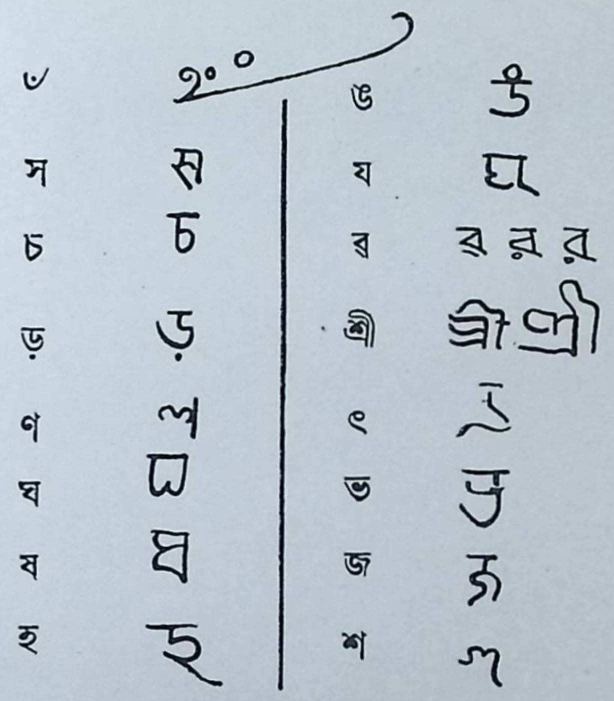
[coins]

জ	
ৰ	
পু	

Dup Duar Stone Inscriptions

of

Śivasiṅha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Palaeographic Illustrations : Plate XV

KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ

PART II

TEXTS

KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ

(Upto 1400 A.D.)

Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarmā

Late Sri R. M. Nath, the then Principal of the Assam Civil Engineering Institute at Gauhati, is to be credited with the discovery of this rock inscription of king Surendravarmā in the year 1955. The inscription goes by the name "*Umācal Rock Inscription*" because it was discovered in Svāmī Śivānandaji's Umācala *Āśrama* on the north-eastern slope of the Kāmākhyā or the Nīlācala hill. This particular portion of the Nīlācala hill is known as Umācala hill.

Later on, a photograph and an impression of the inscription were sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India. Dr. D. C. Sarkar, (Ootacamund) who along with Sri P. D. Chaudhury (Gauhati), the then Curator of the Assam State Museum, edited the inscription giving the text and English translation in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXI, No. 10.

The Rock bearing the inscription is 10 ft in height and 12 ft in breadth. The inscription consists of four lines of writing and covers a space measuring 12″ to 15″ by 10″ to 11″. The first line is 12″ in length and the last 15″.

In respect of palaeography and style, this inscription has close resemblance to the *Bargaṅgā* inscription of Bhūtivarmā (circa 518-42 A.D.); but the inscription seems to be a bit earlier in date[1].

The inscription is meant to serve as a label of an artificial cave or cave temple constructed by *Mahārājādhirāja* Surendravarmā mentioned in the inscription identified by many scholars with Mahendravarmā of the *Bhauma-Naraka* dynasty, in our opinion, with doubtful certainty[2], because it is incredible that a particular man or a king is known by two synonymous names; he cannot be called Hari because he is named Viṣṇu. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this rock inscription is considered the earliest so far discovered in Assam.

---

[1] "The form of the letter Y in the passage *āyuṣkāmam viṣaya* in line 3 of the *Bargaṅgā* inscription, however, seems to be later than that of the same letter in *svāmināya* in line 4 of our record."—E. I. vol. XXXI. No. 10.

[2] We have discussed this point in detail in the Introduction.

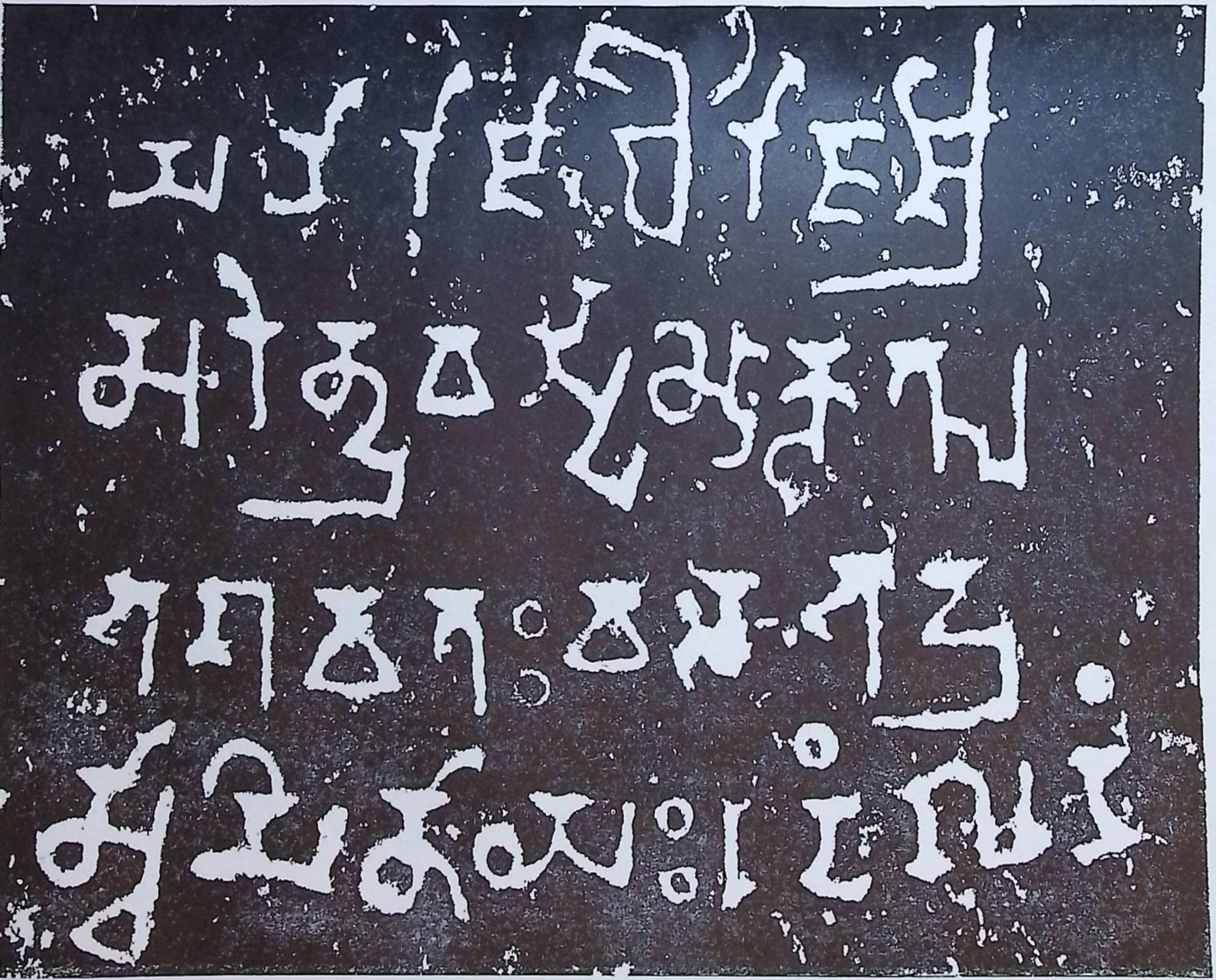
UMĀCAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMĀ

1. महाराजाधिराज श्री–
2. सुरेन्द्रवर्म्मणा कृतम्
3. भगवतः वलभद्र–
4. स्वामिनाय[1] इदं गुहं[2] [।।]

---

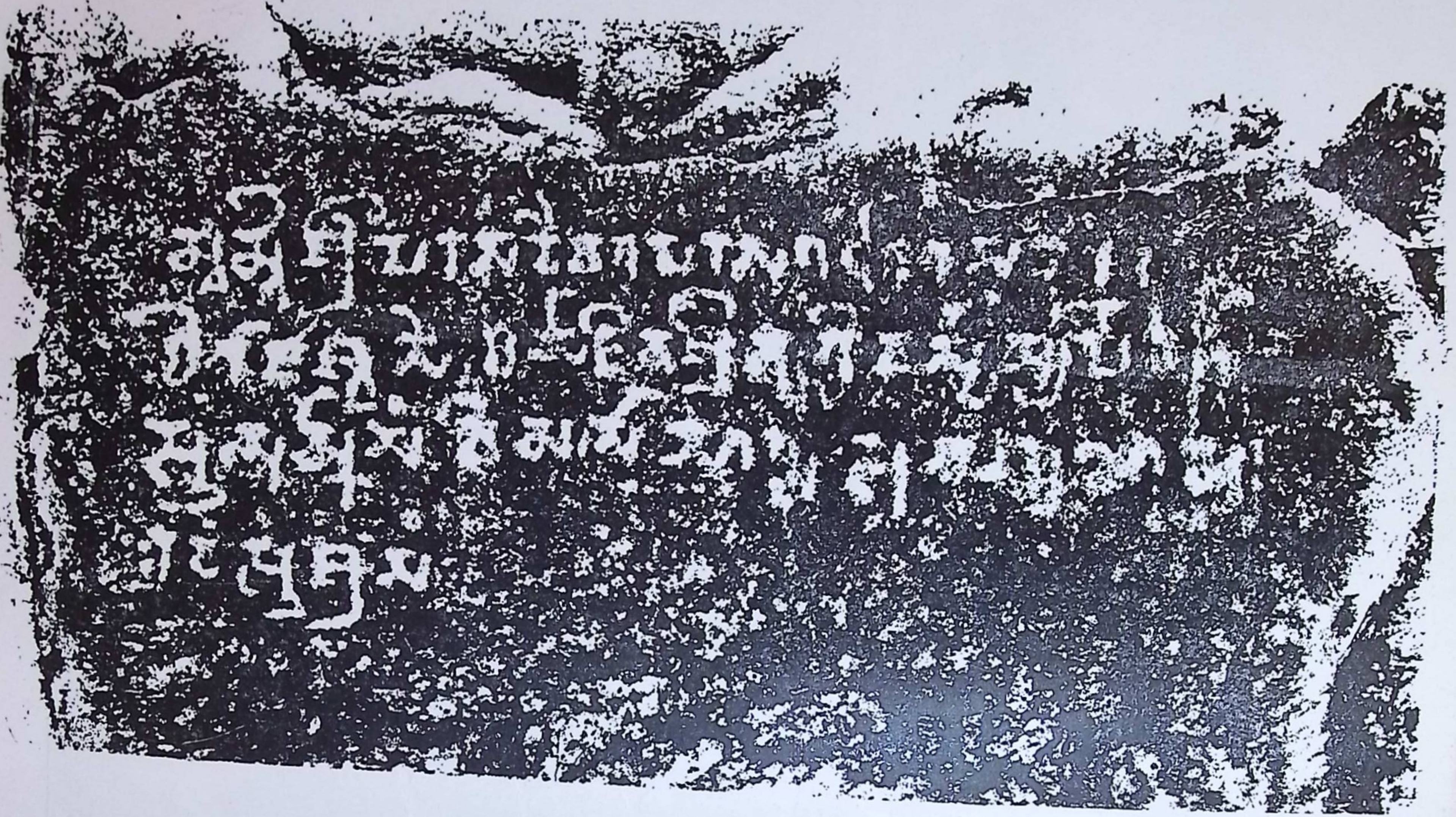
[1]. Read either स्वामिन : or भगवते वलभद्रस्वामिने ।

[2]. The correct Sanskrit form इयं गुहा ।



UMĀCAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMĀ

BARGAṄGĀ ROCK INSCRIPTION OF BHŪTIVARMĀ



Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription of Bhūtivarmā

Bargaṅgā is a small stream joining the Harkāthi and the Dīghalpānī rivers. On the left back of the Bargaṅgā stream, where it has abruptly widened into a lake, there are two huge blocks of standing rocks side by side with a small gap in between, the left one bearing the inscription. The position of the rock epigraph is about 19 miles from the Ḍabakā *Bazaar* [1]. Late Mr. R. M. Nath, B.E., of Assam Engineering Service (P. W. D.) while discussing the ruins of Ḍabakā first reported the presence of the inscription [2]. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali published an article on the inscription in *the Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII, 1941, pp. 138-39 (cf. also *Bhāratavarṣa*, B.S. 1348, 90; IHR, March, 1945/19-28). He re-edited the inscription in *the Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXVII. No. 5. Dr. D. C. Sarkar re-edited the inscription giving different readings of the inscription in *the Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXX No. 12. According to Dr. Sarkar, the inscription does not contain any date in the Gupta era or the name of any *viṣaya* as determined by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali.

The rocks bearing the inscription are about 22′ long, 12′ high and 7′ to 12′ wide. On the inside face of the left rock and facing the passage, there are 3¼ lines of writing in one embossed block, 2′×2′.

The inscription speaks of *Paramadaivata Parmabhaṭṭā-raka Mahārājādhirāja* Bhūtivarmā, a performer of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, during whose reign a royal officer named *Avaguṇa*, who was the governor of a district of Bhūtivarmā's kingdon, made an *āśrama* at the findspot of the epigraph for the longevity of his master. This Bhūtivarmā is said to be identical with Śri-Mahābhūtavarmā of the *Nidhānpur* [3] and the *Dubi* grants [4] of Bhāskaravarmā because the seal attached to the *Ḍubi grant* mentions Śri Bhūtivarmā as a successor to *Śrī* Nārāyaṇavarmā. Taking the period of rule of *Śrī* Bhūtivarmā[5] as circa 518-42 A.C., the date of the inscription may be placed approximately in the first quarter of 6th century A.C.

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[1] Ḍabakā is a place situated on the river Jamunā lying 24 miles away on the motor road from Nowgong to Hojai. The site of the inscription now lies in the Mikir Hills.

[2] *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. V, 1937-38, P. 14-57.

[3] *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*. P. 13.

[4] E. I. Vol. XXX. No. 47. P. 300.

[5] Ibid P. 288. J.A.R.S.P. 32 Vol. XII. 1949 No. 1 and 2 *Nālanda Clay-seal* mentions '*Śrī*. Mahābhūtavarmā' (*Early History of Kāmarūpa*, P. 97).

BARGAṄGĀ ROCK INSCRIPTION OF BHŪTIVARMĀ

1. **स्वस्ति [।।] श्रीपरमदैवतपरमभट्टारकमहारा [जा]**
2. **धिराजाश्वमेधयाजिन [:] श्रीभूतिवर्म्मस्य[1] पादान्[2]**
3. **आयुष्कामं विषयामात्य[3]–अवगुणस्य**
4. **इदं[4] आश्रमं[5] [।।]**

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[1]. Evidently the form is incorrect; वर्म्मण: would be the correct form.

[2]. Dr. Sarkar has corrected as भूतिवर्मणः पादानां But the entire second line, when grammatically corrected assumes the form . . . जाश्वमेधयाजिनां श्रीभूतिवर्म्मपादानाम्. Dr. Sarkar has corrected the portion in पादानाम् leaving out the portion in अश्वमेधयाजिनां श्रीभूतिवर्म्म etc. [i.e. without reducing वर्म्मण: to its base form].

[3]. By *sandhi* the form should have been विषयामात्यावगुणस्य ।

[4]. This should have been इदमाश्रमम् ।

[5]. N. K. Bhattasali's readings differ as follows—

- (*i*) भागवत in place of भट्टारक in line 1.
- (*ii*) अश्वमेधयाजिनां in place of अश्वमेधयाजिन: in line 2.
- (*iii*) श्रीभूतिवर्म्म (देव) पादानां in place of श्रीभूतिवर्म्मस्य पादान् in line 2.
- (*iv*) He then reads after it a syllable सं conjecturally, abbreviated for संवत्सर in line 2.
- (*v*) He finds the numerals 200, 30, 4 and मा for आयुष्कामं in line 3 meaning "in the month of माघ of the Gupta era 234, मा standing for माघ ।
- (*vi*) आर्यगुणस्य in place of अवगुणस्य in line 3.

The Nālandā Seal of Bhāskaravarmā

"Bhāskaravarman's close connection with Śri Harṣa and Yuan Chwang led to his association with the famous Buddhist University of Magadha, for his seal has been discovered recently at the site of Nālandā in the company of two fragmentary seals of Śri Harṣa. The seals were found by Dr. Spooner during the excavation of the ruins of Nālandā in the year 1917-18, Mr. K. N. Diksit in his "Epigraphical Notes of the Nālandā Finds" referred to the seal and stated that the kings mentioned therein were not known to belong to any north-India dynasty. This was corrected by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee in *"The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society"* (Vol. V.)[1]. We have adopted here the corrected reading of the text of the seal as subsequently given by Mr. Diksit.

---

[1]. From *"Early History of Kamarupa"* pp. 96-97.

NĀLANDĀ SEAL OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

1. श्रीगणपतिवर्म्मा श्रीयज्ञवत्यां श्रीमहेन्द्रवर्म्मा
2. श्रीसुव्रतायां श्रीनारायणवर्म्मा श्रीदेववत्यां श्रीमहाभूतवर्म्मा
3. श्रीविज्ञानवत्यां श्रीचन्द्रमुखवर्म्मा श्रीभोगवत्यां
4. श्रीस्थितवर्म्मा तेन श्रीनयनशोभाायां (श्रीसुस्थितवर्म्मा)
5. श्रीश्यामालक्ष्म्यां श्रीसुप्रतिष्ठितवर्म्मा
6. श्रीभास्करवर्म्मेति ।

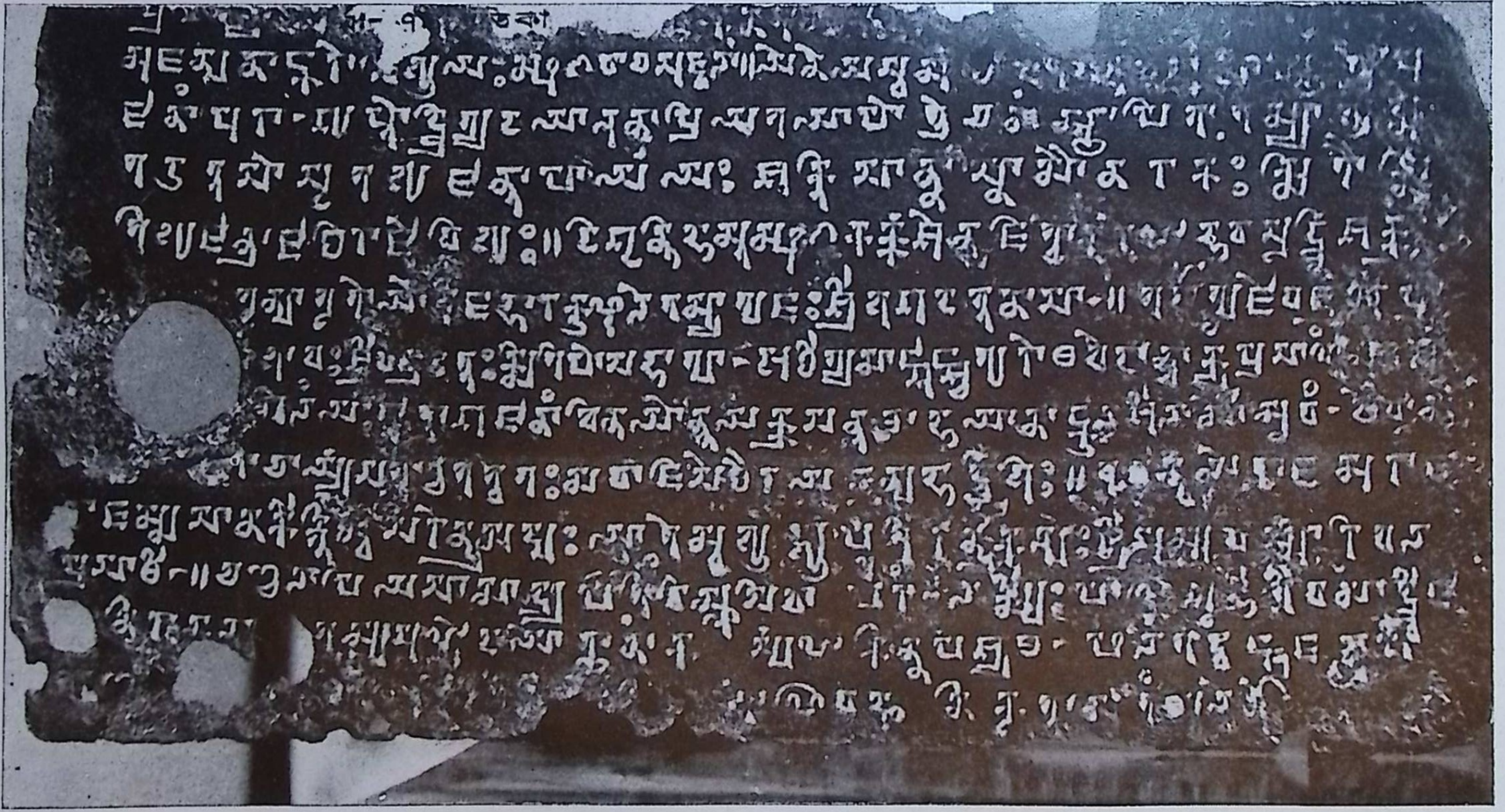

PLATE I—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

Dubi Plates of Bhāskaravarmā

A labourer, while digging the earth near a *Śiva* temple, called Parisareśvara-devālaya, in the village of *Ḍubi* in the Kamrupa District Assam, about three miles from the Pathsala railway station on the N.E. Frontier Railway, discovered a set of inscribed copper plates. Śrī P. D. Chaudhury, the then Curator of the State Museum, Assam, edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XI, Nos. 3-4 pp. 33-38; Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 16-33. Dr. D. C. Sarkar re-edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX. No. 47, after obtaining the plates from Śrī Chaudhury with full text but without English translation.

The set contained not less than six plates. Unfortunately the sixth or the last plate is said to have been broken and lost soon after discovery of the set. The five plates together weigh 149 tolas, while the weight of the seal together with the ring is 87½ tolas. The original size of the plates, as shown by the second and the fifth plates, the sides of which are better preserved, was 9.3″ by 4.6″. The first plate is inscribed on one face only while the other plates have writings on both the faces. There are altogether 117 lines of writing. The second side of the 2nd plate has 14 lines and the second side of the third plate 12 lines, while the inscribed faces of the other plates have 13 lines each. The ring-hole at the side of the plates is 8″ in diameter, while the margin near it measures 6″. The plates are strung together on a ring, the two ends of which are secured in a landle-shaped lump of bronze containing the seal. The surface of the seal is oval, its diameter being 3.4″ lengthwise and 3.1″ breadthwise. On the upper part of it is inscribed the figure of an elephant facing front. Below this royal emblem, about two-thirds of the seal is covered by the legend in 11 lines. A straight line demarcates the figure of the elephant and the legend.

There is no date in the inscription. It is well known that Bhāskaravarmā came to the throne in 606 A.D. and his rule continued as late as 648-49 A.D. The first half of the seventh century may be taken as the date of issue of the grant. It must be mentioned in this connection that, *Ḍubi* grant is believed to be earlier than the *Nidhanpur* grant on the ground that the former refers to a joint adventure undertaken by the two brothers Supratiṣṭhitavarmā and Bhāskaravarmā against the army of the Gauḍas, while the latter does not contain any reference to it. The invasion by the Gauḍas possibly remained vivid in the mind of the composer of the inscription.

Its aim was the renewal of an older charter originally issued by a predecessor of the king, king Bhūtivarmā.

ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

First Plate

[*Figures on the left hand side indicate the lines of original plates*]

१. [1]प्रण[म्य देवं शशिशेखरं प्रियं पिनाकिनं भस्मकर्णैर्विभूषितं[2]
विभूत]ये भूतिमत् [आम्][3]
२. सुजन्मनाङ करो [मि] भूयः [4]स्फुटवाचमुज्ज्वलां ।।१।।[5]
येनेयं[6] वसु[धा] वराहवपुषा स्थित्यै प्र]–
३. जानां पुरा। गुप्तोद्धृत्य[7] दयालुना प्रियतया पौत्रे च
संस्थापिता। तस्या [भूत् सु]–
४. त उत्तमोमृतभुजान् तापाय[8] यः शक्तिमान्नाम्नासौ नरकः
क्षितौ क्षि–
५. तिभुजां राजाधिराजो विभुः[9] ।।२।। दिग्दन्तिहस्त-स्फुट-
कर्कशे [न] जित्वा [करे] णाहवमूर्द्ध्न शक्रं।

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[1] There is no trace of the ॐकार or स्वस्ति in the beginning of the line.

[2] In this inscription, the stop at the end of the first half of a verse is indicated by a short horizontal mark and the last म-कार of the first half is changed into अनुस्वार।

[3] Lost portions of the inscription including syllables and words are put within [ ].

[4] In the original the form is wrongly used as मुज्वलां।

[5] Verses 1, 13, 22 are in वंशस्थविल।

[6] In the original यम्; evidently the *sūtra* मोऽनुस्वार : is not followed.

[7] .. .. the reading गुप्तोद्द्धित्य is evidently wrong.

[8] Original reading seems to be तापायं. Dr. Sarkar suggests a correct reading तापाय।

[9] The metre in this verse and in the verses 37, 50-53, 55, 58, 62, 67, 68, 70, 75 is शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित।

Ḍubi Plates of Bhāskarvarmā

६. तन्मातृतो यो [वि] जहार कुण्डले तस्या [त्म] जः श्री भगदत्तनामा ।।३।।[10]
तदात्मजो[11] वज्रधर-प्र–
७. भावः श्रीवज्रदत्तः क्षितिपो महात्मा। अधीत्य साङ्गांश्च[12]तुरोऽथ
वेदान् वाक्यं प्रमाणं [समया]
८. खिलं यः ।।४।।[13] [ज्ञात्वा] गजानां विनयोन्नयक्रमन्तथा हयानाङ्कुलशील-
सौष्ठवं। [देवासु]
९. राचार्यमतश्च तत्त्वतः[14] स वाजिमेधैरयजन् महर्द्धिभिः ।।५।।[15] तदन्वये
[रा] जसु रा [ज]
१०. राज[16]-समानकीर्त्तिष्वमरेन्द्र-सत्त्वः[17]। यातेष्वभूद्भूपतिरिन्द्रकल्पः श्री [पुष्य]-
व [र्म्मा] रि-बल–[18]
११. प्रमाथी ।।६।।
चञ्चलापि यमासाद्य पतिं विष्णुमिवापरं।
लक्ष्मीः पा [णिगृहीते] व साद्धी या–
१२. [ता] निराकुला ।।७।।[19]
तस्य पुण्योदयोत्थानां कर्म्मणां किन्न पश्यथ।
फलं तद्वंशज [न्मानो]
१३. भुञ्ज [ते] UU–UU ।।८।।
[पुण्यानि] [कर्मा]णि बहूनि कृत्वा सुतं स लेभे UU–U

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[10] The metre is a variety of उपजाति having three of the feet in इन्द्रवज्रा and one in वंशस्थविल। Dr. Sarkar finds a double-*daṇḍa* here which is not intelligible. See *Epigraphia Indica*. vol. xxx. p. 298.

[11] In the original तृपात्मजो seems to be the reading.

[12] .. the *sandhi* is साङ्गाङश्च which is grammatically not correct.

[13] Verses 4, 6, 9, 11, 18, 20, 28, 49, 57 are in उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा—उपेन्द्रवज्रा)

[14] In the original with single त ।।

[15] Verses 5, 15, 40, उपजाति (इन्द्रवंशा—वंशस्थविल)

[16] One more स is added after राज

[17] Original reading is सद्मः।

[18] In the original व.

[19] Verses 7, 8, 10, 12, 17, 25, 27, 29, 32-36, 41-48, 59, 61, and 65 are in अनुष्टुभ् metre.

Ḍubi Plates of Bhāskaravarmā

Second Plate (First page)

१४. – – [।]
शक्क्रेण – –UU–U– – यातो नरेन्द्रस् [त्रिदि] वौक [सानाम्] ।।६।।
[तमनुस्मृत्य] भूपाला विनि––
१५. UUU–UU । तस्य [ता]दृगभूद्वाहुररिनारी[20]-विलापदः ।।१०।।
गते तु तस्मिं[21] स्त्रिदशेशसख्यमभून्नरेन्द्र [:] पितृ––
१६. [तु]ल्य-विक्क्रमः। प्रख्यातिमान्[21]ज्ञानगुणोदयोर्ज्जितः समुद्रतुल्य [:]
स समुद्रवर्मा ।।११।। अगाधस्वच्छगम्भीरो
१७. व्यालरत्नोपसेवितः। महत्वाच्छैत्ययोगाच्च तुल्यो जलधिना नृपः ।।१२।। चिरं
स भुक्त्वा नृपसंघपूजितो गुणान्वितः
१८. शत्रुतमोपहो वशी। क्षितिं समग्रां शुभरत्नमण्डितां जगाम योगाभिरत-
स्त्रिविष्टपम् ।।१३।। श्रीदत्तवत्यां प्रथितो [म]
१९. हाबलः[22] श्रीमानभीष्टस्थितिकारणक्रमात्। धर्म्मानुगः[23] पार्थिवलक्षणैः श्रितः
प्रज्ञागुणैराप [न]रेन्द्र––
२०. तामसौ ।।१४।।[24] शरान् स सोढ्वा ज्वलनोपमान् रणे जित्वा बलीयान्[22]
सबलानपि द्विषः। बुभोज भौ [मान्व]––
२१. य-भूषणो मही [ं] यतस्ततोभूद्बलवर्मसंज्ञकः ।।१५।।
भुक्त्वा महीङ्कुञ्ज[25] ररत्नभूषितामिष्ट्वा चानेकैः
२२. क्रतुभिः सुदक्षिणैः कृत्वा रिपूणाँ[22] बल [मान] खण्डनन्ध्यानेन यातो दिवमेव
कामदः ।।१६।।
तस्य कल्या––
२३. णशेषण कल्याणचयसंभृतः कल्याणवर्मानृपतिर्भूतः कल्याणकारकः ।।१७।।
श्रीरत्नदेवीप्रभ––

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[20] In the original reading is वाहु and not बाहु।

[21] In the original न-कार is retained in *sandhi*.

[22] The original has व-कार।

[23] Śrī Chaudhury has adopted the reading धर्मनागः।

[24] Verses 14, 16, 56, इन्द्रवंशा।

[25] The reading adopted here by Dr. Sarkar is कुन्ध which does not conform to the metre. Therefore he suggests an alternative reading काञ्चन which retains the metre. But it far diverts from the reading in the original which is, as is suggested by Śrī Chaudhury, कुन्द. But whether it is कुन्द or कुन्ध the metre is not properly maintained. Therefore, the word suggested as probable is कुञ्जर meaning an elephant.

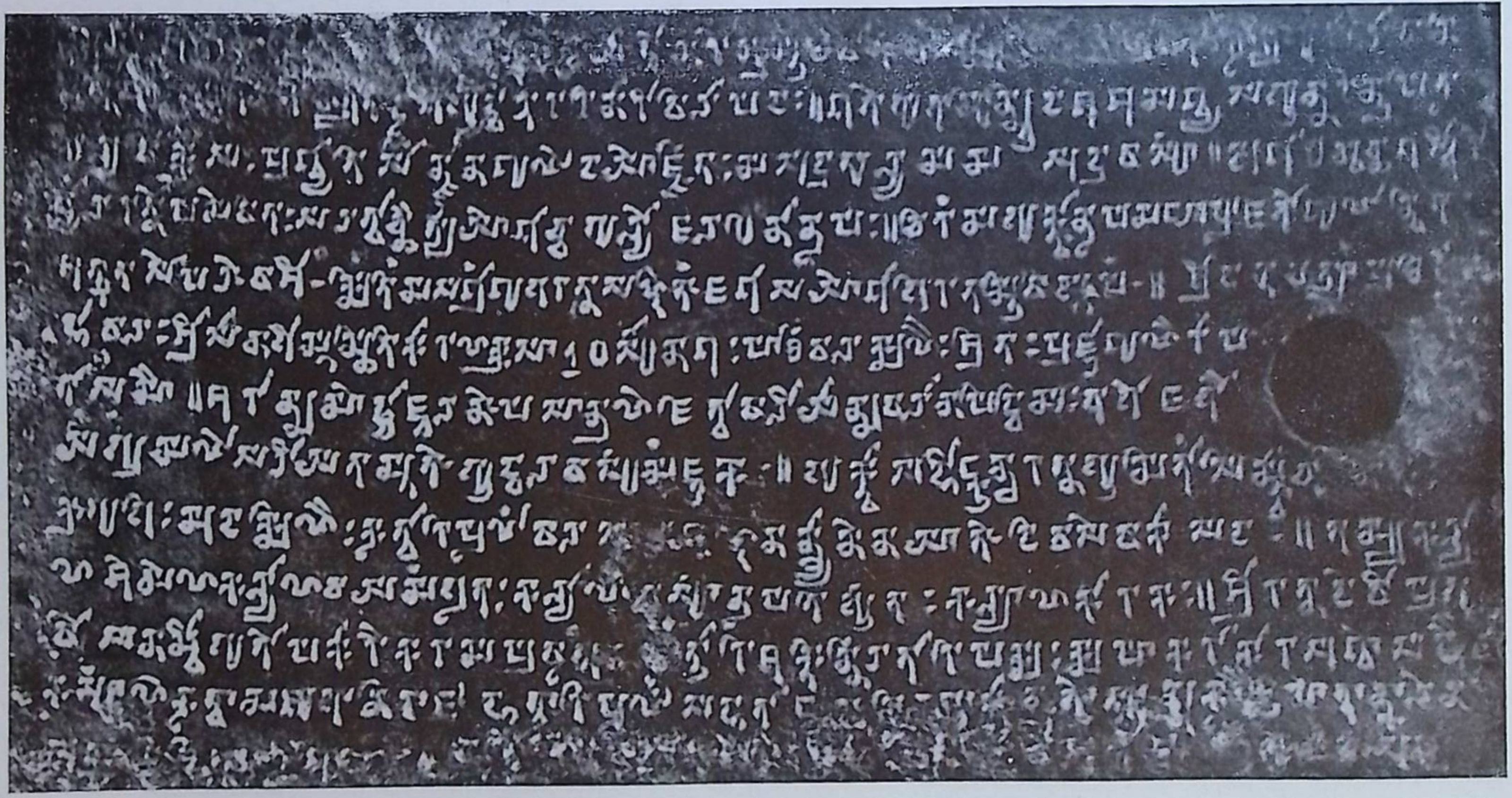
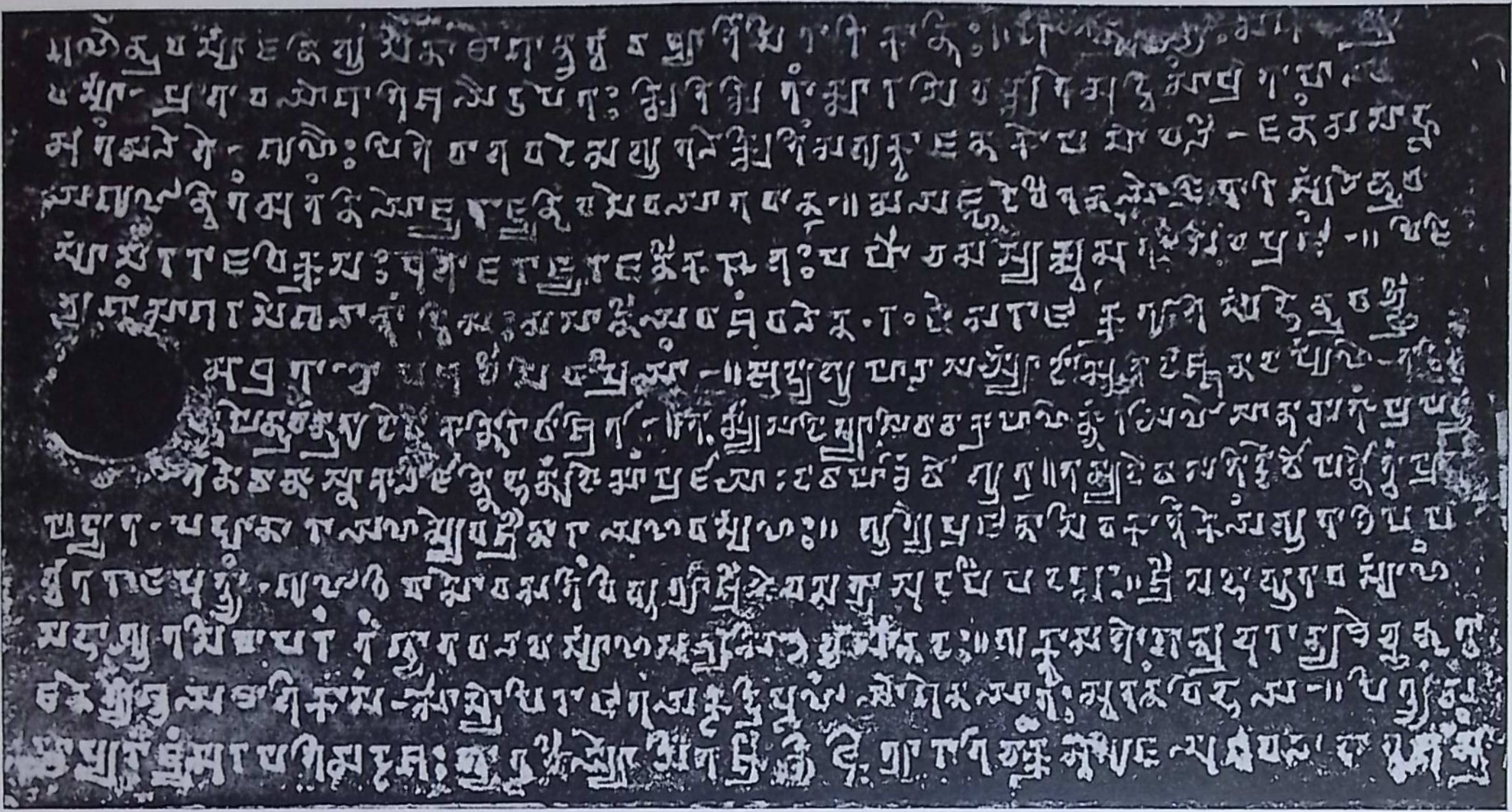


PLATE II a—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

PLATE II b—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ



२४. वो मनस्वी भूतोपकारैकरसप्रवृत्त [ः] वृत्रारिशक्तिर्न्निहतारिपक्षः
क्षपाकराकारमूखो म [हौजाः] ।।१६।।
२५. कर्म्माणि कृत्वा स शुभानि राजा हत्वा रिपूणां महतां [बलानि][26]। [भुक्त्वा] च
भो [गान् सु] कृ [तैरु] पात्तान् कालेन
२६. श [क्राति] थिताञ्जग[ाम] ।।१६।। U–U– –UU–U– –U–U– –UU–U
युग्म [ः।]

Second Plate (Second page)

२७. गणेन्द्रवर्म्माजिनि भूमिनाथो गान्धर्व्ववत्यां तिमिरारिकान्तिः ।।२०।। ग—
[णे]न्द्र[तुल्य]ः सग[णे]न्द्र—
२८. वर्म्मा प्रभावयोगातिशयैरुपेतः। क्षितिक्षितां क्षारमिव क्षतेषु द्विषाँ प्रतापाय
२९. सुतं स लेभे ।।२२।।[27] गुणैः पितेवाभवदेष भूतले क्षितिं स भुक्त्वा जनकोपमो बली।
जनं समाहू
३०. य गुणान्वितं सुतं नियोज्य राज्यन्दिवमेव यातवान् ।।२२।।
स यज्ञदेवीतनयो जितारिर्म्महेन्द्रव—
३१. र्म्मामिरराजविक्रमः। बुभोजराज्य(ं) रजनीकराभः पपौ च सम्यक्स्वसुतमिव
प्रजां[28] ।।२३।। विजि—
३२. त्य गां सागरमेखलान्तां द्विषः समानीय वशं बलेन। इजे स राजा क्रतुभिर्म्महेन्द्रवच्छ्री–
३३. सुव्रताञ्चापशचीमिव प्रियाँ ।।२४।।[29]
श्राद्य भूपालमर्थ्यादास्थितिर्दर्शनदर्पणे। तस्मि
३४. न्नृपेन्द्रचन्द्रे तु देवी कान्तिरिवाश्रिता ।।२५।।
तस्यामदित्यामिव चक्रपाणिर्न्नारायणो मानुषतां प्रपद्य।
३५. तेनैव नाम्ना कलिजान्निहन्तुं दोषान् प्रजाया इव पार्थिवोऽभूत् ।।२६।।
तस्य देवभतिर्द्देवी पत्नीत्वं प्रत्य–
३६. पद्यत। पद्मा नारायणस्येव श्रीनारायणवर्म्मणः ।।२७।।
भूत्यै प्रजानामिव कार्त्तिकेयं भूताधिप [ः] प

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[26] कुलानि is the reading adopted by Dr. Sarkar. But we have preferred बालानि adopted by Śrī Chaudhury.

[27] The metre is उपेन्द्रवज्रा।

[28] उपजाति metre.

[29] Evidently the verse is written without taking notice of any metre.

३७. र्व्वतराजपुत्र्यां। गुणाधिवासो वसति विभूत्या [:] श्रीदेवमत्यामुदपीपदत् सः ।।२८।।
श्रीमहाभूतवर्म्माणं
३८. महाभूतमिवापरं तं ख्यातबलवर्म्माणमभ्यसिञ्चच्च मानदः ।।२९।।
भुक्त्वा स भोगान् प्रचुरान् यथेच्छन्दत्वा
३९. [ज] नेभ्यश्च यथाभिकामं। सौम्योपि राजा भयकृद्रिपूणां योगेन यातः स्वतनुं
विहाय ।।३०।। पित्र्यं सं-
४०. प्राप्य राज्यं सुरपतिसदृशः ख्यातवीर्य्योमित श्री [र्न्निर्ज्जि] त्यारातिचक्रं स्वभुजयुगल-
बलादात्तशस्त्रं स

Third Plate (First page)

४१. [मस्तम्]। [दे] व्या [ं विज्ञानवत्यां] शशिसमवदनं सूनुमुत्पाद्य धीमानिष्ट्वासौ
वाजिमेधन्नरपतिरगमच्छक्र [वासं]
४२. यशस्वी[30] ।।३१।। ततः क्रमाप्तविजयः श्रीमद्भूपेन्द्रभूषितः। श्रीचन्द्रमुखवर्म्माख्यो
बभूव वसुधाधिपः ।।३२।।
४३. स्मरलीलाचलापाङ्गैर्ल्लोचनैः पुरयोषितां। गतवानेकपात्रत्वं परस्परजिहीर्षया ।।३३।।
सिंहास [न]
४४. गतो राजा रराज सवितेव सः। रत्नभाभिः सुपटुभिर्न्नयनानन्दकृत् सुधी [:] ।।३४।।
आनन्दहेतुर्ल्लोकानां स्वय--
४५. मानन्दितः सुखी। जनयामास तनयं देवीम्भोगवतीम्प्रति ।।३५।।
स पूर्व्वोपात्तधर्म्मेण विद्याभूतिज--
४६. यादिभिः। वर्द्धमानंः सुतं दृष्ट्वा राजागात् परमां मुदं ।।३६।।
कृत्वासौ विधिवद्द्रुतं वलवतां माना-
४७. पभङ्गं द्विषां जित्वा सागरमेखलां वसुमतीमिष्ट्वा च यज्ञैर्मुहुः। दानेनार्थिजनं
४८. श्रिया च सुहृदः सन्तोष्य पृथ्वीपतिर्यातः शक्रसलोकतां पृथुबलः संस्थाप्य पुत्रं
क्षितौ ।।३७।।
४९. स पुत्रेण[31] तेन मुमुदे लोकान्तरगतो[ऽ]पि सन्। रामेणेव पुरा राज्ञा स्वर्गे दशरथो
नृपः ।।३८।। कृत्वा यथाव
५०. त्पितृदेवतर्प्पणं पौरान् स सम्यक् परिसान्त्व्य च प्रभुः।
लग्ने ध्रुवे सर्व्वगुणोपपन्ने सिंहासनं सिंह इवा

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[30] Verses 31, 66, 69, 73, 74 are of स्रग्धरा metre.

[31] पुत्री तेन by Dr. Sarkar.

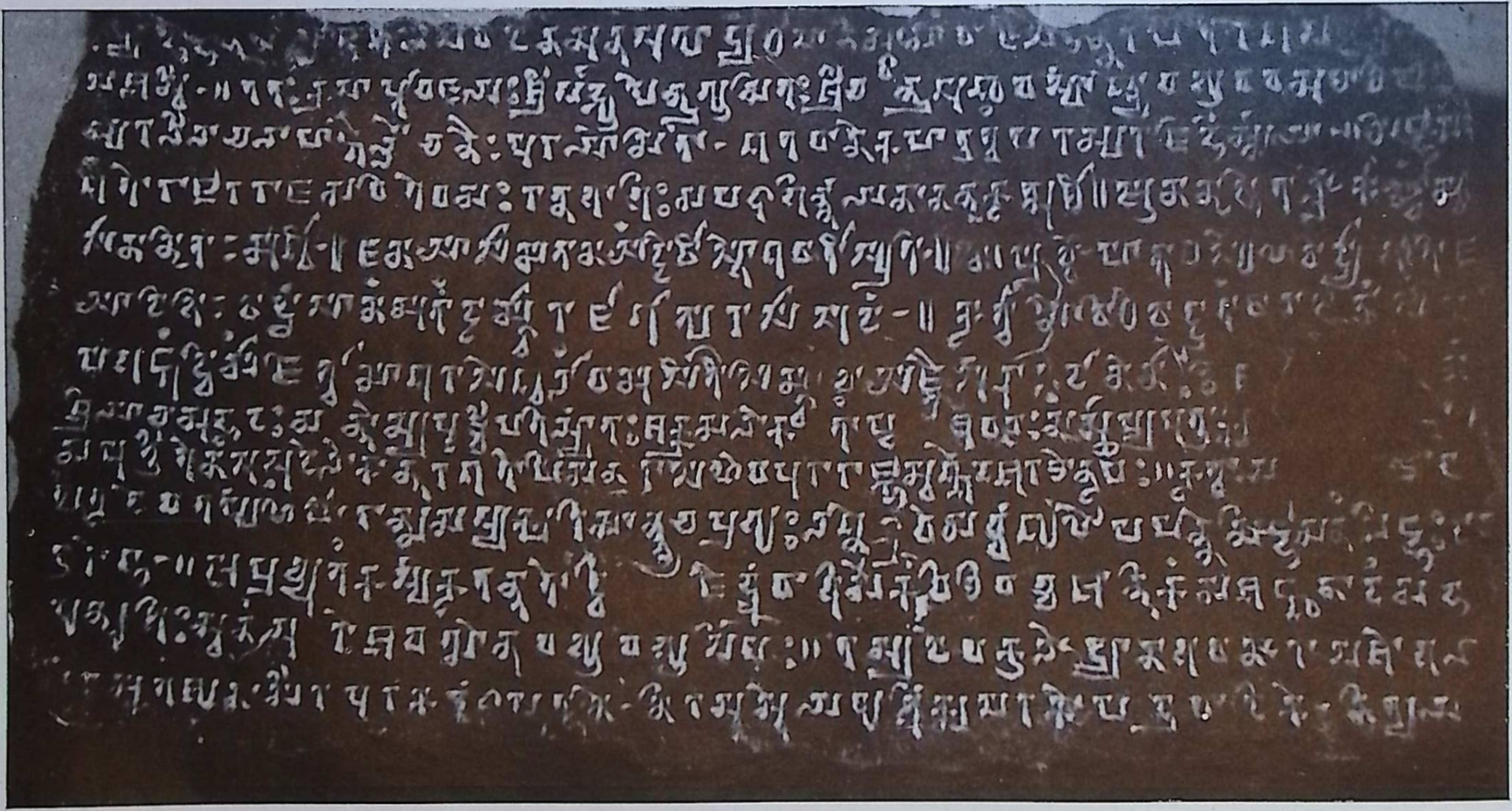
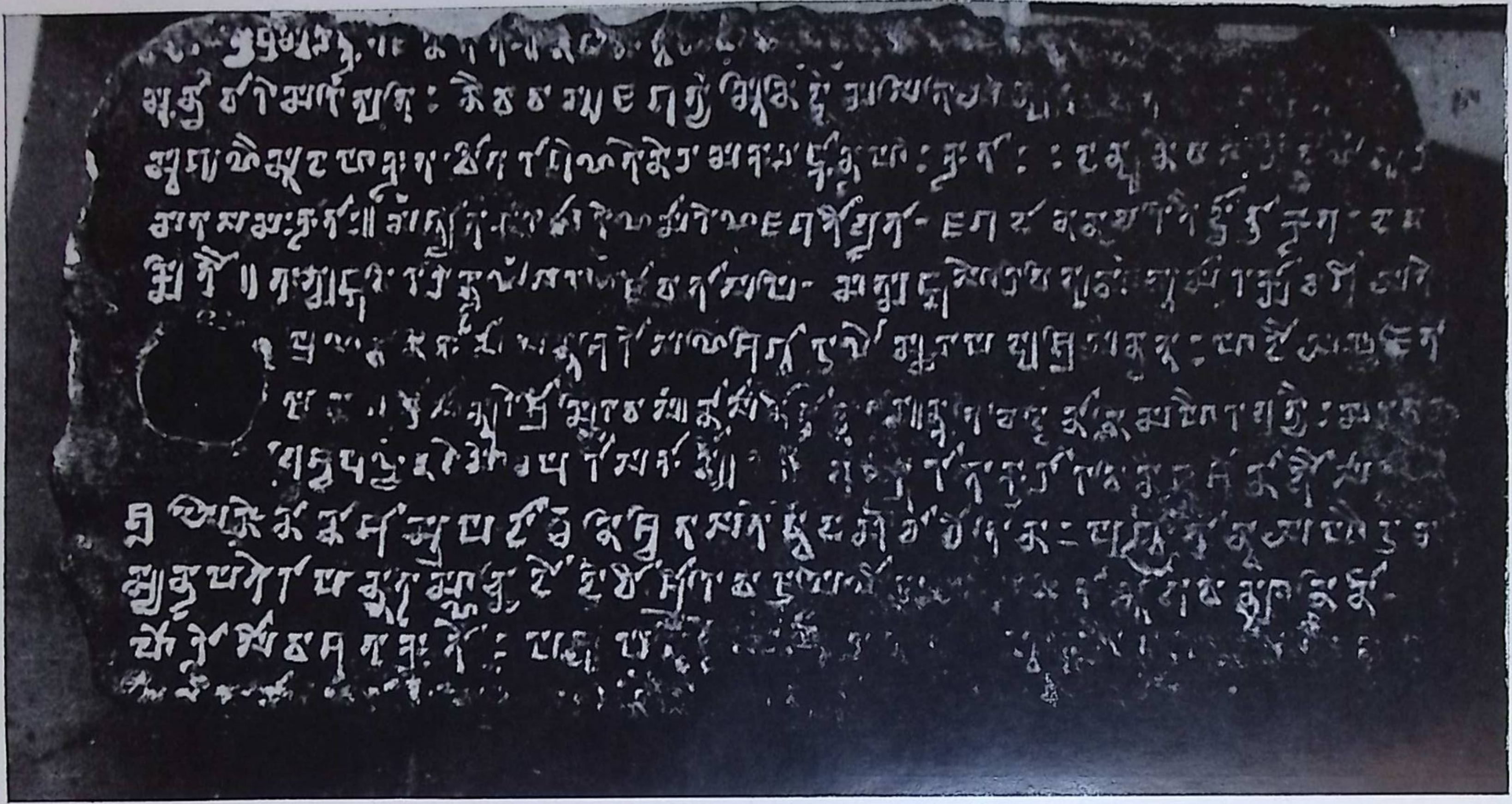


PLATE III a—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

PLATE III b—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ



५१. रुरोह[32] ॥३९॥ अप्रच्युतं कर्मकृतन्ततो द्विजैर्ध्रूवाभिषेकं विधिवच्च शान्तिकं।
सशङ्खनादं सह

५२. दुन्दुभिस्वनं सुरेशवत्सोऽनुबभूव भूमिपः ॥४०॥
तस्य देवकुलोद्यानभवनारामशोभ[या]

५३. [तिर] स्कृतशुनासीर[33] पुरक[र्व्व]टपत्तने ॥४१॥
निरस्तस्तेयदुर्भिक्षमरकोपद्रवादिके। नित्य--य

Third Plate (Second page)

५४. [शसा] सं ख्याग्रेस्वलङःकृतजना [त ते][34] ॥४२॥ UUUUU–UUUUUUU–U
UUUUU–UU

५५. स्कन्धावारे सरित्पतिः ॥४३॥
नैव वस्तु जगत्यस्ति निर्दोषमिति यन्मतम्।
वीत [दोषानुबन्धेन]

५६. स्वगुणैस्तदपाकृत [म्] ॥४४॥
वीतरागेन तेनेह सकलङ्का नृपाः कृताः।
इन्दुनेव महीद्ध्राणां गुहाः

५७. सतमसः कृताः ॥४५॥
संख्यात [कुलं] सारेण सारेण जगति भृताम्]।
जगदानन्दचरितैर्द्धात्रा कृत इव

५६. क्षितौ ॥४६॥ तत् सङ्गविरहे नृणां मरणं जीवतामपि।
सत्सङ्गमो हि विदुषां भूषा रक्षा च गीयते ॥४७॥

५९. प्रणतानेकसामन्तशिरोमणिशिखारुणौ। स्थलपद्मश्रियन्धत्तः पादौ यस्य जिता–

६०. त्मनः ॥४८॥ श्रीमान् पुरे श्रीस्थिरवर्म्मनामा नीत्वा [च त] स्मिन् कतिचिद्दिनानि।
स पौरभृत्यैः [सह] ब [न्धु]

६१. भिश्च पुण्ये नदे सोऽथ पुरीमकार्षीत् ॥४९॥
तस्यारातिकुलारविन्दशशिनो भौम [ान्वय]--

६२. श्लाघिनो नानाशास्त्रपदार्थनिश्चितमतेर्व्वेदेषु चाधीतिनः।
प्रख्यातान्वयपौरुष--

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[32] उपजाति metre (इन्द्रवंशा-इन्द्रवज्रा)।

[33] शुनासीर. . .

[34] Dr. Sarkar has for this portion × × × × व्यग्रस्वलङःकृतजनातते × × ×

६३. स्य नृपतेरापन्नतृष्णाच्छिदो देवी श्रीरिव रूपिणी [प्रियतमा] कान्ताभवन्मानिनी ।।५०।।

६४. पौलोमीव शतक्रतोः पशुपते [दुर्गेव शै]लेन्द्रजा । –––UU–U–UU

६५. U–––U––U–[।] –––UU–U–UUU–––U––

Fourth Plate (First page)

६६. U–U–U विपुलोर्व्वीव प्रजाजन्मभूः ।।५१।।
त्र्य्यामग्निरिवाध्वरेषु विपुलो U––U– नी [त्वा]

६७. शास्त्राणामिव सम्यगध्ययनतः संस्कारराशिर्म्महान् । तस्यां सज्जनसङ्गताविव परोधर्मा–

६८. [नु] भावागमो जातो वंशधुरां समुन्नमयितुं पृथ्वीतलाखण्डलः ।।५२।।
स्कन्देनेव गिरीन्द्रजादिति–

६९. रिव [त्रै] लोक्यभर्त्ता भृशं । कृष्णेनेव च देवकी भगवता दैत्यारिणा श्रीमता ।
प्रोत्खाताहितमण्ड[ले]न

७०. [बलिना] सम्पूर्णचन्द्रत्विषा सा श्रीसुस्थितवर्म्मण गुणवता देवी चि [रं] नन्दिता
।।५३।। याते स्वर्गं पि–

७१. [तरि] जगतां भर्त्तरि क्ष्मातलेन्द्रे कालेनेष्टं स्वसुकृतफलं भोक्तुमाखन्डलाभे । रक्षां
पृथ्व्याः पृथुरिव

७२. [गुणैः] स्वैरयं संविधत्ते शौर्य्याक्रान्तक्षितिपतिशिरोरत्नविद्योतिताङ्घ्रिः[35] ।।५४।।
येन व्याकार

७३. णोदको नयतिमिः साङ्ख्योरुनक्रो महान् [मी] मांसाबहुसारसानुरसितस्तर्कानि–––

७४. लावि [जितः] । व्याख्यानोर्म्मिपरस्परातिगहनो न्यायार्थफेनाकुलस्तीर्ण्णोज्ञेयसरित्पतिप्रकरणः

७५. [स्रो] तीवि[35a] ––U– ।।५५।। धीरागमैर्भाषिणमर्थवत्तया शक्तिर्ज्जयेनोत्तमवंशता
श्रिया । दानेन सम्पद्-वि

७६. न[येन शूरता] ––U––UU–U–U– ।।५६।। कृतापकारेप्युपकारवृत्तो वशी विजेता
प्रभुरि–

७७. न्द्रियाणाँ । U–U––UU–U––U–U–– [सुरराज] कल्पः ।।५७।।
येनाकृष्टपर U–

७८. UUU–––U––U––––UU–U–UUU–––U– भूयसी ।

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[35] मन्दाक्रान्ता metre.

[35a] स्रोतोविज्ञानान्वितः may be supplied to complete the Verse.

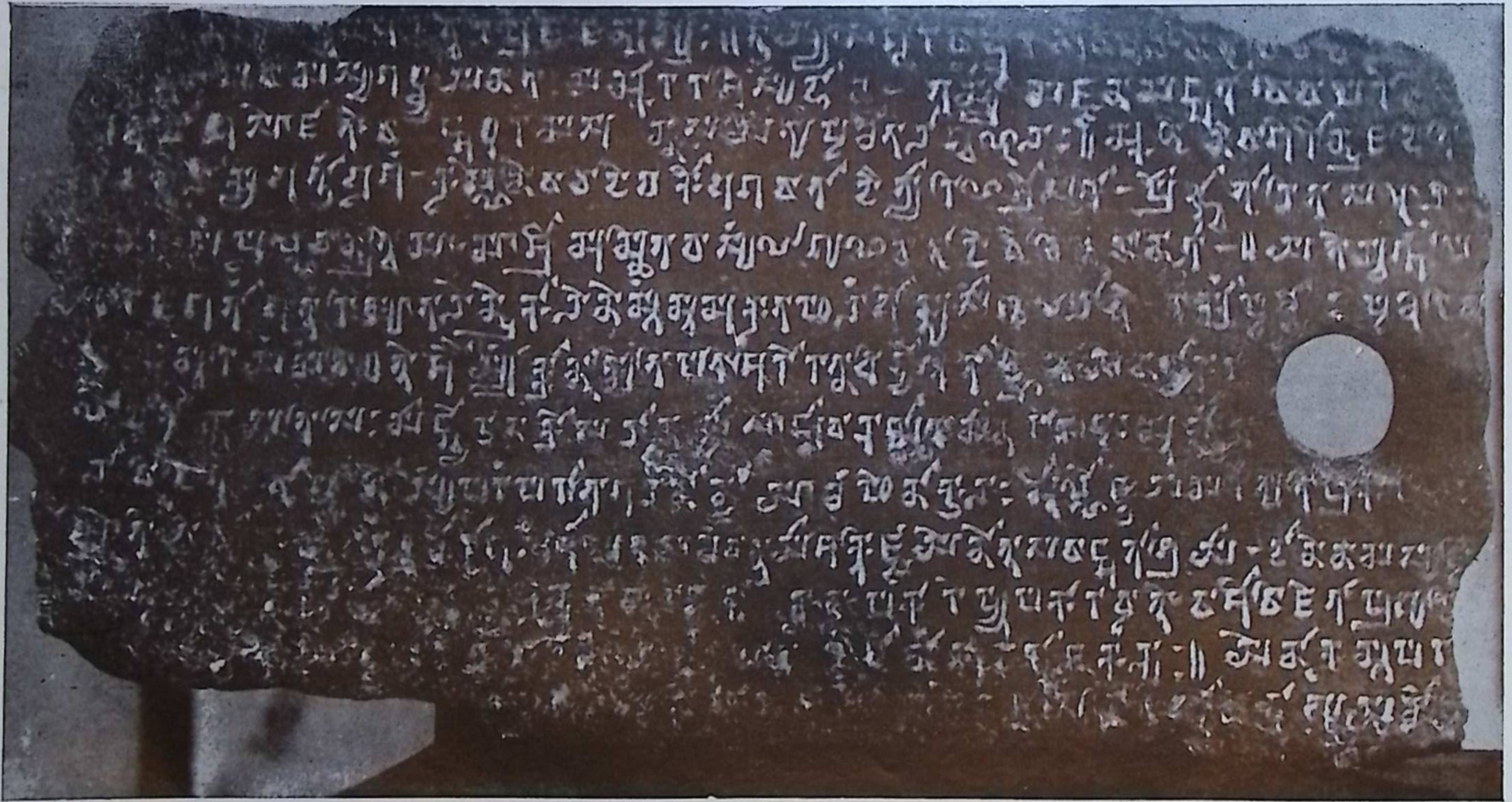
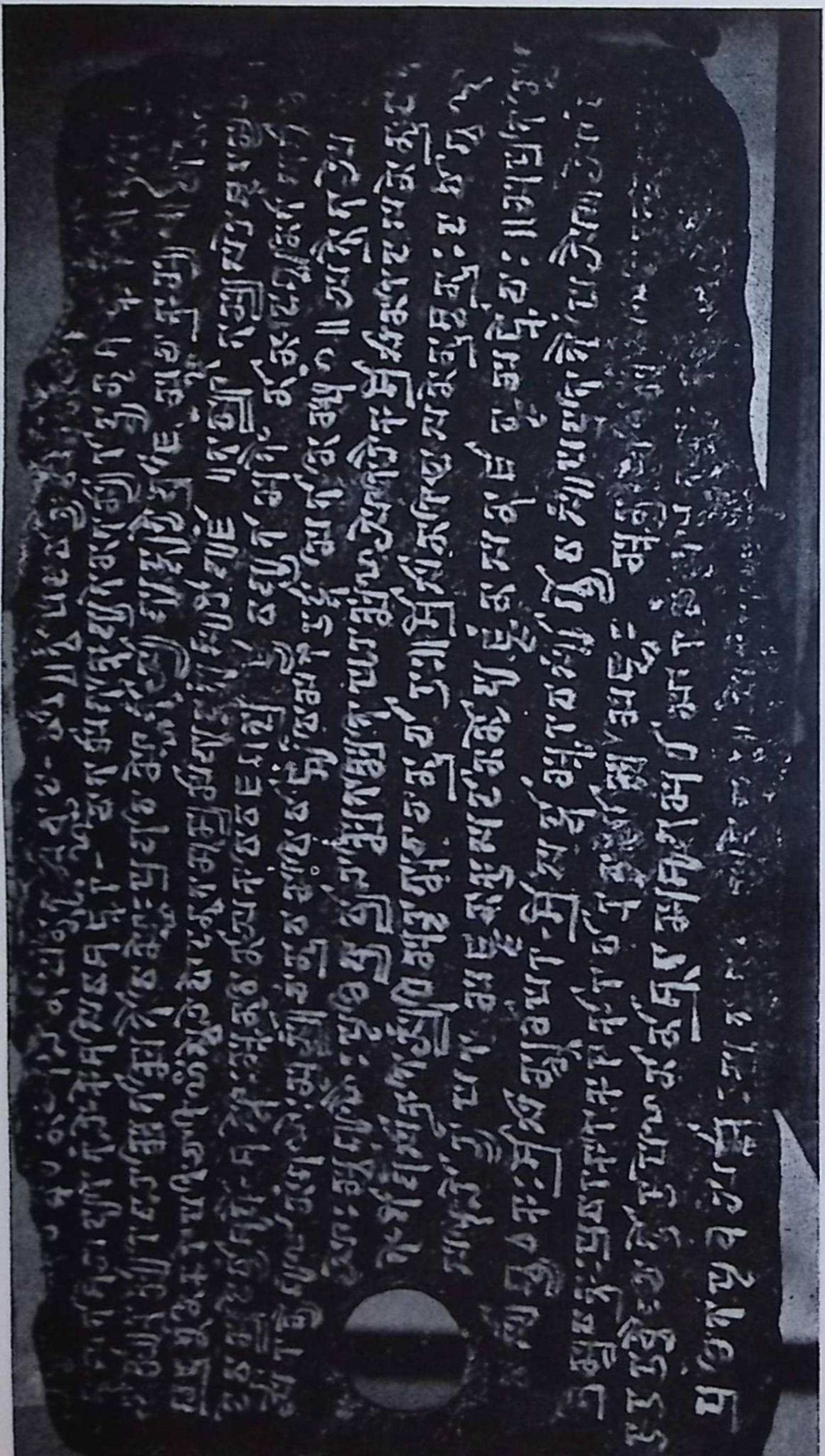


PLATE IV a—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

PLATE IV b—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ



Fourth Plate (Second page)

७९. –––UU–U–UUU लेनापन्नतृष्णाच्छिदो वाग्मित्वं पदवाक्य
–UUU–––U––U– ।।५८।।

८०. शमिताशेषदुरितं लोकेशमिव शङ्करम्। चेतसा भक्तिभूतेन तस्याराध्य–ं[नृशंङ्करं
।।५९।। [तस्य] श्री [ध्रुव]

८१. लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीरिव लक्षिता क्षितौ विष्णोः। प्रभविष्णोर्भार्य्याभूद् भूत्यै भ्राजिष्णुचक्रस्य[36]
।।६०।। अनेकोरु [द्यु]–

८२. मद्रत्ननिकरोपरिचारिणी । वेलेवोदन्वतस्तस्य साभूद्भर्त्तुर्महीभुजां ।।६१।।
तस्यां तस्य महेश्वरस्य वशिनो

८३. देवस्य देव्यां शुभौ। शम्भोः स्कन्दविनायकाविव जगत्पूज्यावभूता [ं] सुतौ।
नानादिग्वनितामुखानिUU

८४. यैरन्यैर्गुणानां गणैः सूर्याचन्द्रमसाविवांशुविसरैरुद्भासितानि स्फुटम् ।।६२।।
यत्रैतयोःप्र[थित]-––

८५. योः स्वगुणैः पृथिव्यां व्यालक्षितक्षितिपलक्षणयोरिहैक[ः]
श्रीमानरिदमनेन्द्र इति[प्र]

८६. तोभी भीमाकृतिर्युधि सुहृत्सु च चन्द्रचारुः[37] ।।६३।।
श्रीमानरिदमनेन्द्रश्चन्द्र इवाखण्ड

८७. मण्डलोह्यपर [ः]। सज्जनकुमुदानन्दो दुर्ज्जनमनुजाब्जसङ्कोचः ।।६४।।
सुप्रतिष्ठित––

८८. वर्म्माख्य एकः श्रीमांतथापर[ः]। श्रीमद्भास्करवर्म्माख्यो वर्म्मपद्धतितः[38] प्रियौ
।।६५।। यो ज्येष्ठ [ः]

८९. श्रेष्ठवक्त्रः प्रवरकरिकराकारबाहुर्म्मृगाक्ष [ः] सिंह-स्कन्धः U––UUUU–स्तम्भ [चा]

९०. रूरुरुच्चैः चित्रो रूपेण नानाश्रुतसुभगसुधासार-सम्पूर्ण ––––
––U––

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[36] आर्या metre in verses 60 and 64.

[37] The metre in this verse is irregular though वसन्ततिलक is intended, which may be construed by subtituting अरातिदमनेन्द्र for अरिदमनेन्द्र।
प्रतोभी is not happy in its sense here. प्रशोभि as suggested by Dr. Sarkar seems to be intended. Both Dr. Sarkar and Śrī Chaudhury have inserted]ल] after इवाखण्ड. This militates against the sense as well as the metre.

[38] Śrī Chaudhury has adopted the reading पद्धतन। Dr. Sarkar has deciphered it as पदतितन which he has substituted by rendering as in the text.

९१. प्रथितपृथुयशाः –U––U–– ।।६६।। येन –U–UU–UU–––U
––U–

Fifth Plate (First page)

९२. –––UUU श्रोदितशशिप्रस्पर्द्धिकान्तित्विषा। स्मृत्युत्तुङ्गितलोक लोचनचय-
स्याग्रे––

९३. यावत् क्षितौ चेतोभित्तिषु चारुरूपचरितेनात्मात्र चित्रीकृतः ।।६७।।
यावेतौ प्रथमे वयस्यपि पृथु-प्र-

९४. [स्पर्द्धि]सत्त्वोद्‌गमौ शक्रांशं विधिना प्रगत्थ पितरि क्ष्मान्तर्ान्निलीने क्रमात्। प्राप्ते
गौड़बले बलिन्यपि

९५. जले विस्रम्भसंरम्भतः स्तोकैरेव बलाच्युताविव बलैर्य्यो लीलयोपस्थितौ ।।६८।।
तत्रोपस्थाय युद्धे

९६. हरिकुलिशशितैस्तूर्ण्णमाकर्ण्णपूर्ण्णैर्ब्बाणैर्ब्बाणासुराजावजितभुजवलौ ताविवाप्तदर्पौ।
गौड़ा––

९७. [णां ली] लयैव प्रवरकरिघटाः क्रौञ्चशैलावलीवद् वह्वीस्तेषामभेत्तां हतविविधरिपू–

९८. णाञ्च बाणैयथा तैः ।।६९।। नानासायकशक्तिचक्रकनयप्रासासिघातैः शितैः कृत्वा––

९९. व्याकुलविह्वलं बलमहो तत्तूर्ण्णमेव द्विषाम्। तिग्मैस्तच्छरतोमरैः सुबहुशश्छनौ हि
मो-

१००. मोहङ्गतौ वन्याभिः करिणां घटाभिरहितैर्व्यर्विष्टच चासादितौ ।।
देशं स्वकं विधिवशादुपनीतयोश्चं

१०१. तैः शत्रुभिः खलु ययोर्गुणवत्तयैव। प्राप्य स्वराज्यमचिरात् पुनरागतौ तौ पित्र्यं
जगद्‌भृश–

१०२. मिदन्तु ननन्दतुश्च ।।७२।। [त] तो देवे ज्येष्ठे जनमनसि सेव्ये विधिवशात् तमस्या-
क्षिप्याशाः शशभृति यथास्तं प्रतिगते।

१०३. तालो –––UUUUU––UUU–U–– यैव ज्वलित उरुरुग्‌भास्कर इह[39] ।।७२।। देवे
श्रीभास्करे

१०४. –UUUUUU––U––U––––––U––UUUUUUश्रौपप्लवे [लोकभू]त्यै–

Fifth Plate (Second page)

१०५. ––––U––UUUUUU––U––U लोत्थम्। ––––U––
UUUUUU––Uश्रा–

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[39] शिखरिणी metre.

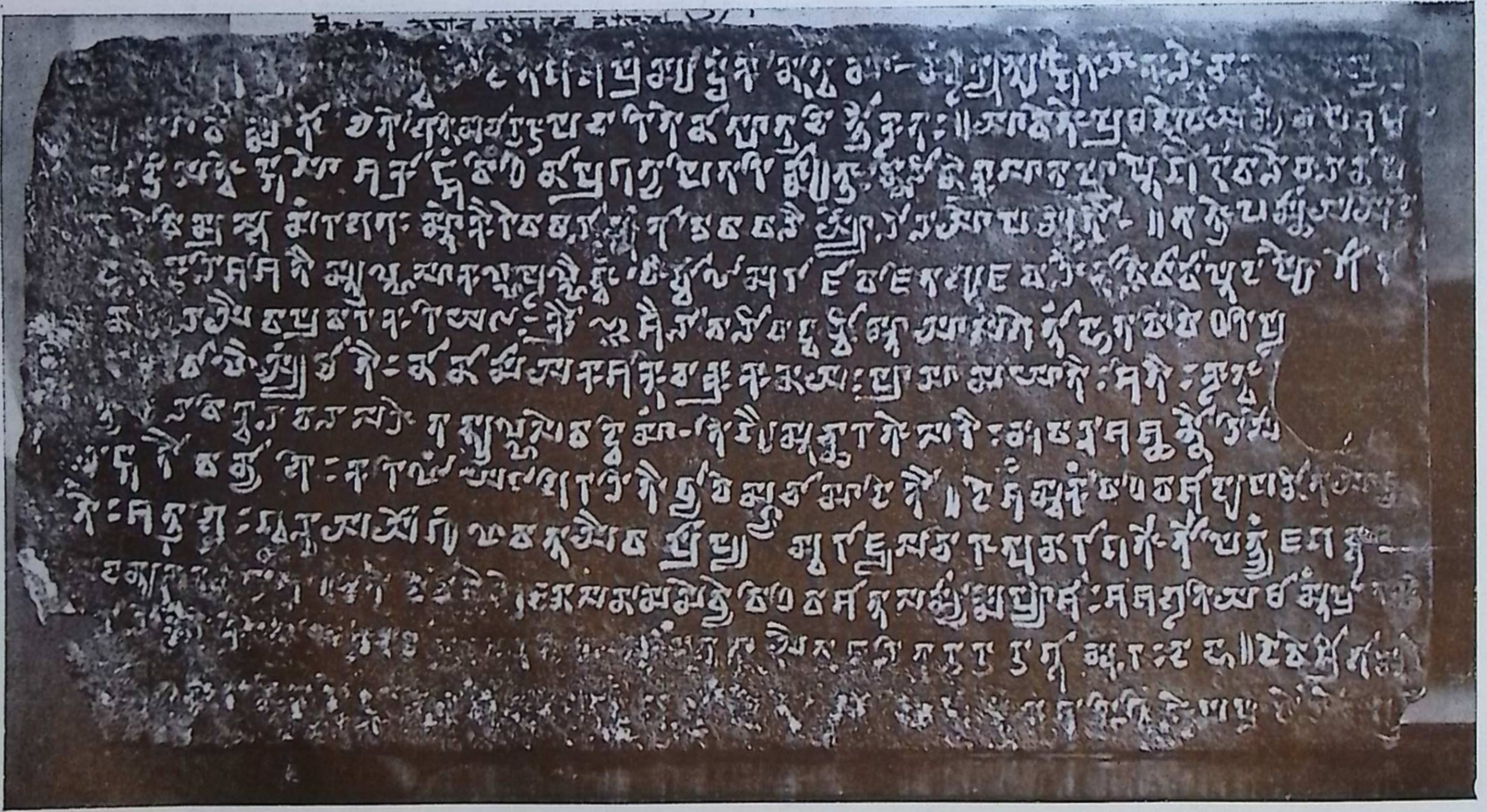
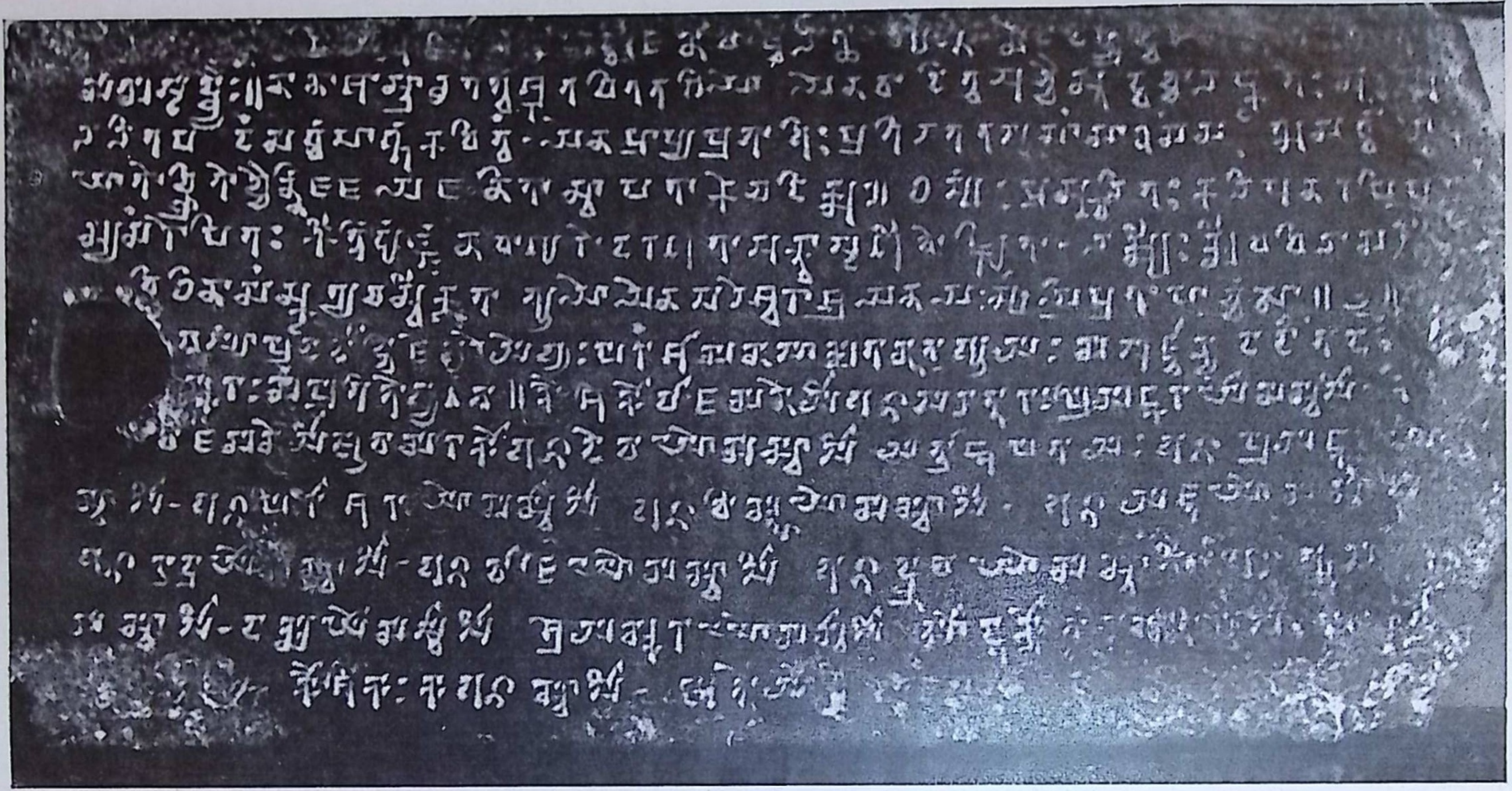


PLATE V a—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

PLATE V b—ḌUBI PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ



१०६. सीत्समृद्ध्यै ।।७३।। नानाशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वश्रुतविततधियो येन वादित्वमुच्चै-
स्तद्वच्चालंकृतैः सु-[स्फुट]--

१०७. ललितपदं सर्व्वमार्ग्गं कवित्वम्। येन प्राप्य प्रभाभिः प्रतिहततमसां साधुसंसत्सु
सर्व्वं स्वेच्छा-

१०८. घातोच्छ्रितोच्चैर्न्निजजयजनिता स्वा पताका च दिक्षु ।।७४।। धर्म्मः प्रस्खलितः कलिं
पुनरपि प्र [ध्वं]--

१०९. स्य संरोपितः कीर्त्तिर्दुर्ज्जनवागुरोदरगता मुक्त्वा मृगीवोज्झिता। लक्ष्मीः क्षीवविलास
[नीत–]-

११०. विधिना संस्कृत्य च स्वीकृता भूयो येन महेश्वराश्रयनयः स्फायीप्रतापार्च्चिषा ।।७५।।
[श्रीभूति]--

१११. वर्म्मा प्रददौ द्विजेभ्यो येभ्यः परं शासनमाक्षतन्तत्। भूयः समुज्ज्वाल्य ददौ तदर्थे
[श्रीभा]-

११२. स्करः सम्प्रति तेभ्य एव ।।७६।। कौशिको वाजसनेयी भट्टमहत्तरः प्रियङ्कुरघोषस्वामी।
[कौशिको]

११३. वाजसनेयी श्रावसरिको भट्टदेवघोषस्वामी। यत्रांशपतयः भट्टप्रियङ्कुर[घोष]

११४. स्वामी। भट्टपराशरघोषस्वामी। भट्टविष्णुघोषस्वामी। भट्टयज्ञघोषस्वा[मी]।

११५. भट्टरुद्रघोषस्वामी। भट्टवाजिघोषस्वामी। भट्टध्रुवघोषस्वामी।
[भट्टभू– म घो]

११६. षस्वामी। दक्षघोषस्वामी। श्रेयस्करघोषस्वामी। मौदगल्यो [वृहस्पति]
स्वामी। माण्ड [व्यो]

११७. ×××× । कौशिकः कभट्टस्वामी। आत्रेयो

TEXT OF THE SEAL

१. श्रीमान्नरकतनयो भगदत्तवज्रदत्तान्वयो महाराजा-
२. धिराज श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषेन्द्र पुष्यवर्म्मा तत्पुत्रो महाराजाधिरा-
३. जश्रीसमुद्रवर्म्मा तस्य तनयो दत्तदेव्यां महाराजाधिराज--
४. श्रीव(ब)लवर्म्मा तेन जातो देव्यां श्रीरत्नवत्यां महाराजाधिराज--
५. श्रीकल्याणवर्म्मा श्रीगन्धर्व्ववत्यां श्रीगणपतिवर्म्मा श्रीय-
६. ज्ञवत्यां श्रीमहेन्द्रो द्विस्तुरगमेधाहर्त्ता श्रीसुव्रतायां श्रीनारा-
७. यणवर्म्मा श्रीदेवमत्यां श्रीभूतिवर्म्मा श्रीविज्ञानवत्यां श्री-

८. चन्द्रमुखवर्म्मा श्रीभोगवत्यां द्विरश्वमेधया—
९. जी श्रीस्थिरवर्म्मा तेन श्रीनयनायां श्री-
१०. सुस्थितवर्म्मा तेन[40] श्रीध्रुवलक्ष्म्यां
११. श्रीभास्करवर्म्मेति ।।

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[40] The word तेन used in this place and in all the above places should have been तस्मात् ।

Nidhānpur Plates of Bhāskaravurmā

In the month of December of the year 1912 A.D., one peasant residing in a village named *Nidhānpur*, which falls in the *Pañcakhaṇḍa paragaṇā* of Sylhet district, discovered seven copper plates at an approximate depth of two feet under the ground while digging earth to level an elevated piece of land lying nearby his house. The peasant kept three plates for himself and sold the rest four to other persons at once. Padmanāth Vidyāvinoda got the three plates and published them in the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā,* 1319,4th issue; *Vijayā, Aṣāḍha,* 1320 and the *Epigraphia Indiea* Vol XII-No. 13. On examination, they were found to be 1st, 2nd and the last ones. Fortunately four years later, he could procure the sixth one too. He published it with the text and an article in the *Navayuga* (*Jyaiṣṭha,* 1328) and afterwards in the '*Pratibhā*' (1st issue, 1329) published every three months in the year. After a few months, the third plate was also discovered. The learned scholar wrote an article giving the text of this plate in the '*Pratibhā*' (2nd issue, 1330). He also edited the third and the sixth plates in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIX. No. 19. At last, he himself visited *Nidhānpur* in the year 1332, *Caitra* and saw the place where the inscription was found. After that he recovered another plate from a different Muslim tiller of the same locality which he believed to be intermediate between the third and the sixth one i.e. it might have been either the fourth or the fifth one. He left no stone unturned to recover the plate remaining undiscovered, but he was unsuccessful.

The first and the last plates have writings only on one face, the external faces being devoid of any writing. The plates are of 11″×6″ in size, each plate on the average containing 14 lines. The letters are very distinct although we find a few mistakes creeping in. The plates were strung together by means of a ring which was again firmly attached to an elephant-inscribed seal, the elephant possibly being the royal emblem of the Kāmarūpa kings. The letters of the seal are illegible and therefore it has been inferred that the seal was actually of the king Bhūtivārmā The inscription records the revival of a charter of Bhūtivarmā which was damaged by fire. It is possible that the seal was kept with care as a proof for the possession of the land even though the plates were destroyed in fire and it was this seal which was again joined to the copper plates issued by Bhāksaravarmā for the second time. The manner of binding the ring to the plates is different from that of *Ḍubi* plates of Bhāskarvarmā and those of the later Kāmarūpa kings in the fact that the holes were made on the right side of the plates instead of on usual left side.

THE NIDHĀNPUR PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

First Plate

१. ॐ प्रणम्य देवं शशिशेखर [ं] प्रियं
पिनाकिनं भस्मकर्णैर्विभूषितं[1] ।
विभूतये भूतिम[तां द्विज]
२. न्मनां
करोमि भूय [:][2] स्फुटवाचमुज्ज्वलां[3] ।।१।।[4]
स्वस्ति महानौहस्त्यश्वपत्तिसम्पत्त्युपात्तजयशब्दा [न्व-]
३. र्थस्कन्धावारात् कर्ण्णसुवर्ण्ण[5] वासकात् ।।
भोगीश्वरकृतपरिकरमीक्षणजितकामरूपम-
४. विमुक्तं ।
परमेश्वरस्य रूपं निजभूतिविभूषितं जयति ।।२।।[6]
जयति जगदेकबन्धु-
५. लोकद्वितयस्य सम्पदो हेतु [:] ।
परहितमूर्त्तिरदृष्टः फलानुमेयस्थितिर्धर्म्म [:] ।।३।।
६. धात्रीमुच्चिक्षिप्सो[7] रम्बुनिधे [:] कपटकोलरूपस्य ।
चक्रभृत [:] सूनुरभूत् पार्थिववृन्दारको नरक[:] ।।४।।
७. तस्माददृष्टनरकान्नरकादजनिष्ट नृपतिरिन्द्रसखः ।
भगदत्तः ख्यातजयं विजय [ं]
८. युधि यः समाह्वयत ।।५।।
तस्यात्मजः [:] क्षतारेर्वज्रगतिर्वज्रदत्तनामाभूत् ।
शतम-

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[1] The punctuation mark denoting a stop at the end of each half of a verse is not noticed in any of the *ślokas* in this plate.

[2] In the original the *visarjanīya* is omitted by the *sūtra* "खर्परे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्यः ।" We have inserted it for clarity.

[3] In the original the wrong spelling मुज्वलाम् with one ज ।

[4] The metre is वंशस्थविल ।

[5] Only the duplication has indicated the र-कारयुक्तत्व; actually र-कार overhead is absent.

[6] All the verses in this inscription except vv. 26 and 27 are written in आर्या metre.

[7] *Sandhi* is not done in the original.

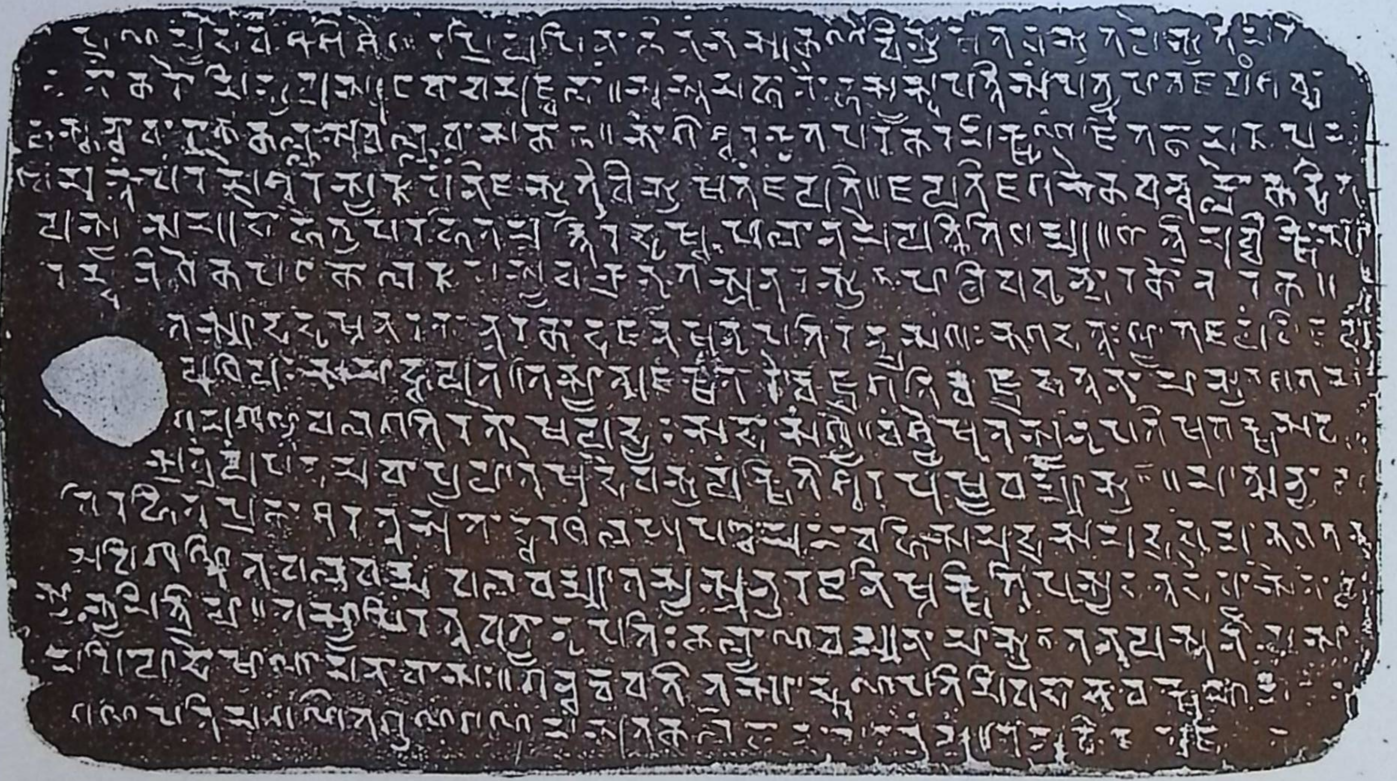
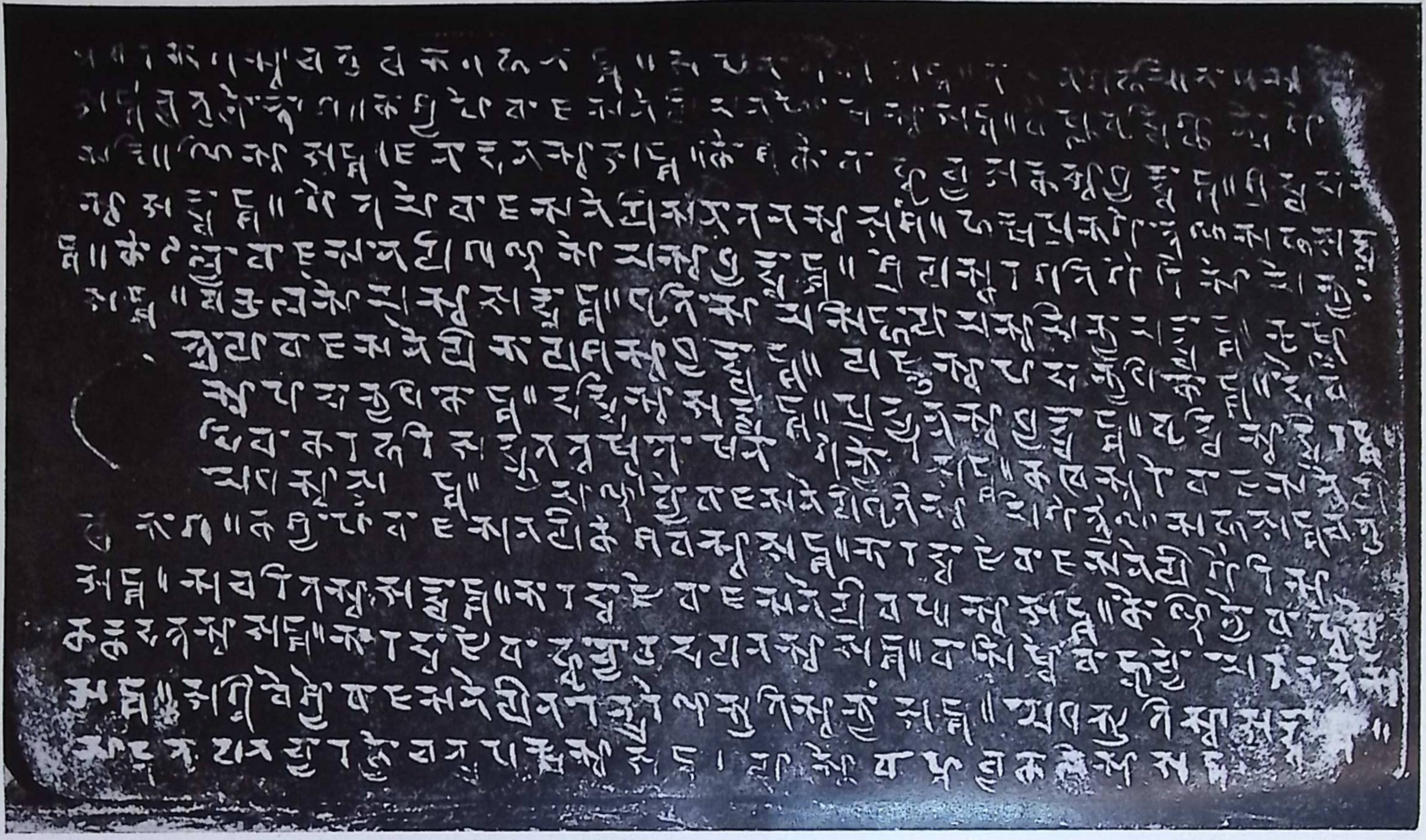


PLATE I—NIDHĀNPUR PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

PLATE IV a—NIDHĀNPUR PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ



९. खमखण्डबलगतिरतोषयद् यः सदा संख्ये ।।६।।
वंश्येषु तस्य नृपतिषु वर्षसह-
१०. स्त्रयं पदमवाप्य ।
यातेषु देवभूयं क्षितीश्वर [ः] पुष्यवर्माभूत् ।।७।।
मात्स्यन्याय[8]-
११. विरहित [ः] प्रकाशरत्न [ः] सुतो द्वैरथ[9] लघुः ।
पञ्चम इव हि समुद्र [ः] समुद्रवर्म्माभवत्तस्य[10] ।।८।।
१२. अविखण्डितबलवर्म्मा बलवर्म्मा तस्य सूनुरजनिष्ट ।
क्षितिपस्य दत्तदेव्या [ं][11] सेना य-
१३. स्याभ्यमित्रीया ।।९।।
तस्यापि रत्नवत्या [ं] नृपतिः कल्याणवर्म्मनामाभूत् ।
तनयस्तनीयसा
१४. मपि यो दोषाणामनावासः ।।१०।।
गन्धर्ववती तस्माद् गणपतिमिव दानवर्षणमजस्त्रं ।
१५. गणपतिमगणितगुणगणमसूत कलिहानये तनयं ।।११।।
तन्महिषी यज्ञवती

[Second Plate-first page]

१६. यज्ञवतीवारणि [ः] सुतमसूत ।
यज्ञविधिनामास्पदमनलमिव महेन्द्रवर्म्माणं ।।१२।।
तस्माद-
१७. जनयदात्मजमात्मविदः सुव्रता भुव [ः] स्थितये ।
नारायणवर्म्माणं जनकमिवाधिगतसांख्यार्थं ।।१३।।
१८. प्रकृतिरिव तस्य पुंसो देववती स्थिरगुणानुबन्धाय ।
षष्ठमिव महाभूतं दधौ[12] महा-

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[8] In the plate मात्सन्याय ।

[9] In the inscription द्वरथ is the reading. Vidyāvinoda has adopted the reading द्वैरथ but this contravenes the गण of आर्या । द्वैरथे may be adopted for the sake of the metre; it means a single combat in chariots: a single combat in general. See Apte's Dictionary.

[10] In the original भवतस्य is the reading.

[11] दत्तदेव्या: appears to be the correct reading by the sūtra भूवः प्रभवः (Pāṇini-1.4.31).

[12] In the original the reading is महाभूतन्दधौ ।

१९. भूतवर्म्माणं ।।१४।।
चन्द्रमुखस्तस्य सुतश्चन्द्र इव कलाकलापरमणीयः ।
विज्ञानव-
२०. ती द्यौरिव यं सुषुवे ध्वान्तशान्तिकरं ।।१५।।
भोगवती भोगवती भूतेः स्थितवर्म्मण-
२१. स्ततो[13] हेतुः ।
आसीद्भोगिपतेरिव भूमिभृतोनन्तभोगस्य ।।१६।।
तस्मादगाध-
२२. मूर्त्ते[14]रकलितरत्नादुपोढ़लक्ष्मीकात् ।
क्षीरोदधेरिव नृपादकलङ्क--
२३. श्रीमृगाङ्कोभूत् ।।१७।।
उदपादि नयनदेव्या [ं] सूनु[15] स्तस्य स्वबाहुधृत-
२४. राज्यः ।
देवः सुस्थितवर्म्मा यः ख्यातः श्रीमृगाङ्क इति ।।१८।।
प्रत्युरसं विलसन्ती [ं]
२५. तद्धन इव यां मुदा हरिर्वहति ।
सा श्रीरर्थिजनेभ्यः क्षितिरिव विश्राणिता येन ।।१९।।
२६. कार्त्तयुगीव श्यामादेवी तस्मादजीजनत्तनयं[16] ।
शशिनमिव सुप्रतिष्ठित--
२७. वर्म्माणमपास्तये त(म)सां ।।२०।।
यस्योन्नतिः[17] परार्था विद्याधरचक्रवर्त्तिसेव्यस्य ।
सग-
२८. जस्य सुप्रतिष्ठितकटकस्य कुलाचलस्येव[18] ।।२१।।
सैव श्यामादेवी तस्यानुजम
२९. कलितोदयमसूत ।
श्रीभास्करवर्म्माणं भास्करमिव तेजसां निलयं ।।२२।।

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[13] In the original the form is ततो ।

[14] .. .. मुर्तेः ।

[15] .. .. सुनु ।

[16] .. .. दजीजनतनयम् ।

[17] .. .. उन्नति ।

[18] .. .. कुलाचलस्यैव ।

[*Second Plate-second page*]

३०. एकोपि हि यः पुंसां[19] हृदयेष्वभिलक्षित [:] स्वभावेन ।
शुद्धेषु दर्पणेष्विव[20] वहुसुष-
३१. मं सम्मुखीनेषु[21] ।।२३।।
यस्याविहतमतनुभिस्तेजोभि[22] र्लक्ष्म नृपतिभवनेषु ।
उद-
३२. पात्रेष्विव[23] भूरिषु विलोक्यते भास्करस्येव ।।२४।।
अव्यालः स्वारोह[:] कल्पद्रुम-
३३. वत्समृद्धिभूरिफल[:] ।
छायोपाश्रित[24] जनतापरिवेष्टितपादमूलो यः ।।२५।।
३४. इत्यपि स जगदुदय[25] कल्पनास्तमयहेतुना भगवता कमलसम्भवेना-
३५. वकीर्ण्णवर्ण्णाश्रमधर्म्मप्रविभागाय निर्म्मितो भुवनपतिरिवोदयानुरक्तमण्ड-
३६. लो[26] यथायथमुचितकरनिक[र] वितरणाकुलितकलितिमिरसञ्चय-
३७. तया[27] प्रकाशितार्यधर्म्मालोक [:][28] स्वभुजबलतुलितसकलसाम-
३८. न्तचक्रविक्रम[28][:] स्थिति[29] विनयसंस्तवोपचितभक्तिषु प्रकृतिषु परम्परीणासु[30]
३९. निकाममुपकल्पिता[31] नेकभोगीनवर्त्मा[32] समरविजित नरपतिशतविहित[33]-

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[19] .. .. पुसाम् ।
[20] .. .. दर्पणष्विव ।
[21] .. .. सन्मुखीनेषु ।
[22] .. .. स्तैजोभिः ।
[23] In the original the form is पात्त्रेष्विव ।
[24] .. .. च्छायोपाश्रित ।
[25] .. .. जगदुदुय ।
[26] .. .. मृण्डलो ।
[27] .. .. तिमरसञ्चयतय ।
[28] .. there is no *visarga* and the entire word is deemed as one compound.
[29] .. the word is स्थित्ति ।
[30] .. the form is written as परंपरीनासु with अनुस्वार; but in the explanation of the sūtra "परोऽवरपुत्रपौत्रमनुभवति", Bhattojidīkṣita has commented like this परांश्च परतरांश्चानुभवति परम्परीणः प्रकृतेः परम्परभावोनिपात्यते। Therefore the use of anusvāra (अनुस्वार) in the word परम्परीणासु has no grammatical sanction behind.
[31] In the original there is कल्पता ।
[32] .. .. वत्म्र्रा ।
[33] .. .. वहित ।

४०. विविधनुतिवचनकुसुमरचित[34]-रुचिरकीर्त्तिचित्रावतंसाङ्कः[35] शिविरिव परो-
४१. पकारविश्राणनाभिरतसत्त्व[36] वृत्तिर्यथासमयमुदितगुणविधिविभाग-
४२. सम्बन्धपटुतया सुरगुरुरिवापर[37] [:] परैरवहितप्रभाव[:] श्रुतशौर्य्यधैर्य्य-
४३. शौटीर्य्यसुचरितैरलङ्कृतात्मवृत्तिः प्रतिपक्षसंश्रयनिराकृतैरिव विव-
४४. र्ज्जितो दोषैरचलितनिरन्तरप्रणयरसभराकृष्टकामरूपलक्ष्मीसमा[38]

[*Third Plate-first page*]

४५. लिङ्गनप्रकटिताभिगामिकगुणानुरागवृत्तिः कलियुगपराक्रमाकलितविग्र-
४६. हस्य समुच्छ्वास[39] इव भगवतो धर्म्मस्य नयस्याधिष्ठानमास्पदं गुणानां निधिः
४७. प्रणयिनामुपघ्नः सन्त्रस्तानां श्रीसम्पदामायतनं वसुमतीसुतक्रमाधि-
४८. गतपदसमुत्कर्षदर्शित[40] प्रभावशक्तिर्म्महाराजाधिराजः श्रीभास्करवर्म्म-
४९. देवः कुशली । चन्द्रपुरिविषये वर्त्तमानभाविनो विषयपतीनधिकर-
५०. णानि च समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतामेतद्विषयान्तःपातिमयूर[41]-
५१. शाल्मलाग्रहारक्षेत्रं[42] राज्ञा श्रीभूतिवर्म्मणा कृतं यत् तत्ताम्रपट्टा[43] भा-
५२. वात् करदमिति महाराजेन ज्येष्ठभद्रान् विज्ञाप्य[44] पुनरस्याभिनव[45] पट्टकरणाय शासनं
५३. दत्त्वा[46] चन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालमकिञ्चित् प्रगृह्यतया भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन पूर्व्वभो-
५४. क्तृ[46] ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रतिपादितं यत्र ब्राह्मण[47] नामानि । प्राचेतसो वाजसनेयी पट्टकप-

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[34] .. .. रचत ।

[35] .. the reading is चित्त्र । The word चित्त्र in the शब्दस्तोममहानिधि is derived like this: चित् क्विप्; त्रायते त्रै क वा तलोपः—therefore चित्त्र is correct.

[36] In the original सत्व ।

[37] .. .. परे ।

[38] .. लक्ष्मीस्समा which does not yield a good sense.

[39] .. .. समुच्छ्वास ।

[40] .. .. दर्षित ।

[41] .. .. मयुर ।

[42] .. .. -क्षेत्त्रम् ।

[43] .. .. पट्ट; the आकार is absent.

[44] .. .. महाराजज्येष्ठभद्रविज्ञाप्य ।

[45] .. .. अभिनत्र ।

[46] .. .. शासनम् दत्वा ।

.. .. भोक्तु ।

[47] .. .. यत्त्र ब्राह्मणा ।

५५. तिः अंश[48] द्वयभोक्ता साधारणस्वामी[49] ।। श्रीवसुर्भ्रातृत्रयेण[50] एकोंश [:] ।। सोमवसुर्भ्रातृसहितोर्द्धांशि [:] ।।

५६. कात्यायनच्छान्दोगो[51] मनोरथस्वामी चतुर्थांशहीनो द्विरंशः पट्टकपति [:] ।। अर्द्धांश [:] विष्णुघोषस्वामी ।।

५७. वेदघोषस्वामी एकांश [:] ।। यास्को बाह्वृच्यो[52] दामदेवस्वामी अंश [:] ।। घोषदेवस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] ।। नन्ददे-

५८. वस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] ।। भारद्वाजच्छांन्दोगोर्कदत्तो गोत्रसहिताध्यर्द्धांश [:] ।। तुष्टिदत्तस्वामी अर्द्धां-

[Third Plate-second page]

५९. श [:] ।। काश्यपगोत्रवाजसनेयी ऋषिदामस्वामी अंश [:] ।। शुभदामस्वामी अंश [:] ।। कौत्सो वाजसने

६०. यी शनैश्चर[53] भूति [:] गोत्रांश [:] ।। वाह्वृच्यो गोरात्रेय[54] सङ्कर्षणस्वामी द्विरंश [:] ।। नरस्वामी अंश [:] ।। नारायण-

६१. स्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] ।। विष्णुस्वामी अंश [:] सुदर्शनस्वामी अंश [:] ।। गोपेन्द्रस्वामी अंश [:] ।। अर्कस्वामी अंशाच्चतुर्थो भागः ।।

६२. भानुस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] ।। भूयस्करस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] ।। कृष्णात्रेयो वाजसनेयी यशोभूति[55] स्वामी गोत्रांश [:] ।। भरद्वाज-

६३. श्छान्दोगो वरुणस्वामी अंश [:] ।। कौण्डिन्यो वाजसनेयी मधुसेनस्वामी अंश [:] ।। गौतमश्छान्दोगो

६४. ध्रुवसोमस्वामी अंश [:] ।। विष्णुसोमस्वामी अंश [:] ।। भारद्वाजो वाजसनेयी विष्णुपालित[56] स्वामी

६५. [अ] ध्यर्द्धांश [:] ।। शुचिपालितस्वामी अंश [:] ।। मित्रपालितार्थपालितयो [:] अर्द्धांश [:] ।।

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[48] .. अङ्श । This is uniformly adopted in the inscription.

[49] Only स्वा is invariably written in place of स्वामी of first case-ending singular.

[50] In the original त्त्रयेण is written. In many places, double त is used in place of single त ।

[51] .. the reading is छन्दोग ।

[52] .. .. बाह्वृच ।

[53] .. .. शनिश्चर ।

[54] .. .. बाह्वृचो गौरात्रय ।

[55] .. .. यशभूति ।

[56] .. .. विष्णुर्पालित ।

६६. प्रजापतिपालितस्वामी अंशाच्चतुर्थभाग [:]।। गौतमो वाजसनेयी मधुस्वामी अंश [:]।।

६७. चक्रदेवस्वामी अर्द्धांशः।। वात्सश्चारक्यः[57] कुष्माण्डपत्रस्वामी चतुर्थांशहीनपाद[58][:] ईश्वर-

६८. दत्तस्वामी द्विरंश [:]।। मौद्गल्यवाजसनेयि[59] सुदर्शनदिनकरस्वामिभ्याम्[60] अंशः।। शौनको

६९. वाजसनेयी यज्ञकुण्डस्वामी [अ] ध्यर्द्धांश [:]।। यश [:] कुण्डस्वामी पादाधिकोंश [:]।। अद्धकुण्डस्वामी अंश [:]।।

७०. नारायणकुण्डस्वामी अंश [:] ईश्वरकुण्डस्वामी अर्द्धपादाभ्यधिक [:] अंशः।। शक्तिकुण्डस्वामी।

७१. अंशाच्चतुर्थभाग [:]।। तोषकुण्डस्वामी अर्द्धपादाभ्यधिक [:] अंश [:]।। पाराशर्य-चारक-

[*Fourth Plate*[63]*-first page*[64]]

७२. साधुस्वामी अंश [:]।। आश्लायन[61] श्छान्दोगगङ्गस्वामी अंश [:]।। वाराहो वाह्वृच्यो नर[62] स्वामी अंश [:]।।

७३. प्रवरनाग[65] स्वामी चतुर्थभागहीनोंश [:]।। अपनागस्वामी अंश [:] तोषनाग-हम्पिनागस्वामिभ्या[म्]

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[57] .. *sandhi* is done making it क्यो।

[58] .. the reading is पद।

[59] .. मौद्गल्यो वाजसनेयी। This reading cannot be construed with सुदशनदिनकरस्वामिभ्याम्। Therefore it is, after the elision of the case-ending, combined in *samāsā*.

[60] In the original the reading is स्वामिभ्यां which when it is followed by a vowel is wrong.

[61] .. .. अश्लायण।

[62] The name is not distinct. The first letter of the name न can be read. There are two letters in the name. नर can, therefore, be safely assumed which name we have come across in line 60.

[63] It is not known for certainty whether this is the fourth plate; it may be the fifth plate, because another plate still remains undiscovered.

[64] From the very way in which this plate is strung with the other plates and the nature of the holes of the knot, it is inferred that this is the first page of the plate. But the second page of this plate contains no references in its first few words relevant to the last word of the first page. Therefore even if the other lost plate is discovered, the tangle will not be solved. The whole thing appears to be a mistake of the scribe.

७४. अंशाच्चतुर्थो भाग [:]।। काश्यपो वाजसनेयी मनघोषस्वामी अंश [:]।। वैष्ण-
वृद्धिश्छान्दोगो

७५. सर्प्पिणिस्वामी अंश [:] जनार्दनस्वामी अंश [:]।। कौशिको वाह्वृच्य [:] अर्क-
स्वामी [अ] ध्यर्द्धांश [:]।। श्रद्धदास–

७६. स्व[मी] अर्द्धांश[:]।। गौतमो वाजसनेयी सनातनस्वामी अंश [:]।। हर्ष-
प्रभा [:] गोत्रेण सह अर्द्धां-

७७. श[:]।। कौटिल्यो वाजसनेयी खण्डसोमस्वामी [अ]ध्यर्द्धांश[:]।। श्रेयस्करगति-
गौरिसोमेभ्यः

७८. अंश[:]।। वकुलसोमस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]।। धृतिसोर्मासिह[66] सोमस्वामिभ्यामर्द्धांश
[:]।। कृष्णा-

७९. त्रेयो वाजसनेयी भायश [:] स्वामी [अ] ध्यर्द्धांश [:]
यज्ञस्वामी पादाभ्यधिकोंश [:]।। दैव-

८०. स्वामी पादाभ्यधिकोंश [:]।। दर्द्दिस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] प्रद्युम्नस्वामी अध्यर्द्धांश
[:]।। वृद्धिस्वामी द्विरंश [:]।।

८१. दिवाकरहर्य्यंद्भुत[67] त्वष्टुतोषनागेभ्योंश [:]।। कवेस्तरो वाजसनेयी

८२. मेघस्वामी अंश [:]।। माण्डव्यो वाजसनेयी धृतिस्वामी[68] गोत्रेण सह अंशचतु–

८३. र्थभाग [:]।। कश्यपो वाजसनेयी[69] केशवस्वामी अंश [:]।।
भारद्वाजो वाजसनेयी गौरिस्वामी

८४. अंश [:]।। सुचरितस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]।। भारद्वाजो वाजसनेयी वप्पस्वामी
अंश [:]।। कौण्डिन्यो बाह्वृच्यः[70]

८५. कर्कदत्तस्वामी अंश [:]।। भारद्वाजो बाह्वृच्य[71] उदयनस्वामी अंश [:]।। वासिष्ठो
बाह्वृच्यमेरुदत्तस्वामी

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[65] In the original भाग is the reading.

[66] .. .. सिङह

[67] .. हरि and अद्भुत are not joined in *sandhi* which is a gross mistake. But the absence of सन्धि has implied two persons, otherwise the possibility of one person is not altogether left out.

[68] In this स्वामि is written instead of स्वा uniformly written in place of स्वामी।

[69] In the original वाजसुनयी।

[70] .. .. बह्वृच्यो with wrong *sandhi*.

[71] .. .. Vidyāvinoda has not elided the *visarga* after उ of उदयनस्वामी।

८६. अंश [:]।। अग्निवेश्यवाजसनेयि[72] नरेन्द्ररेणुभूतिस्वामि
भ्याम् अंश [:]।। मेघभूतिस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]।।
८७. साङ्कृत्यायनचारक्य:[73] चन्द्रपक्षस्वामी अंश: [:]।।
यास्को बाह्वृच्यकालिस्वामी अंश [:]

[*Fourth Plate-second page*]

८८. [74]स्वामी [अ] ध्यर्द्धांश [:] भट्टिमहेश्वरस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]।। पाराशर्य्यो बाह्वृच्यो
गोपालनन्दिस्वामी अंश:।। भार्ग्गवो[75]
८९. विश्वभूतिस्वामी अंश [:]।। सुरञ्जितसुचरिताभ्या [म्] अर्द्धांश [:]।। भारद्वाज-
स्तैत्तिरीय[76] शिवगण-
९०. स्वामी अंश [:]।। बाह्वृच्यकात्यायन: भ्रातृत्रयेण
वसुश्रीस्वामी अंश [:]।। कौशिको वाजसनेयी
९१. वीरभूतिस्वामी अंश [:]।। विष्णुभूतिस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]।।
प्रमोदभूतिस्वामी अंश [:]।। भारद्वाजो वाज-
९२. सनेयी विष्णुदत्तस्वामी अंश [:]।। कौण्डिन्यो वाजसनेयी
वृहस्पतिस्वामी अंश [:]।। यास्को
९३. बाह्वृच्यहर्षदेवस्वामी अंश [:]।। जातूकर्ण्णवाजसनेयी मेधस्वामी अंश [:]।।
कृष्णस्वामी अंश [:]।।
९४. माधवहरिभ्याम् अंश [:]।। भारद्वाजश्छान्दोगो जनार्दनदेवस्वामी अंश [:]।।
मौद्गल्यो
९५. वाजसनेयी विष्णुसोमस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]।। गार्ग्यश्चारक्यो धनसेनस्वामी अंश
[:]।। प्रमो-
९६. दसेनघोषसेनाभ्याम् अंश [:]।। सोमसेनस्वामी अंश [:]।। गौतमो बाह्वृच्य[77]
भास्कर-

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[72] अग्निवेश्योवाजसनेयी in the original carries no sense, because it cannot be properly connected with the next word.

[73] In the original च्यारक्यो

[74] Here the first word स्वा (मी) is not preceded by any name. The last line of the preceding page has a vacant space. The name might be an accidental omission therein of the scribe. Moreover there is doubt whether this is the second page.

[75] In the original भग्गवो

[76] .. all with short इ।

[77] .. बाह्वृच।

९७. मित्रस्वामी अंश [:]॥ मधुमित्रस्वामी अंश [:]॥ साधारणमित्रसाधुमित्राभ्याम्
अंश [:]॥ धृति-

९८. मित्रस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]॥ भारद्वाजो बाह्वृच्यशुक्रभवस्वामी अंश [:]॥ पौत्रि-
माष्य[78]– बाह्वृच्यसुदर्शन–

९९. धनेश्वरस्वामिभ्याम् अर्द्धांश [:]॥ शाण्डिल्यो वाजसनेयी रविस्वामी अंश [:]।
मधुस्वामी अंश [:]॥

१००. महीधरस्वामी अंश [:]॥ पौर्ण्णो[79] बाह्वृच्यभट्टिमहेश्वरस्वामी अंशः॥ भट्टिमातृ-
स्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]॥

१०१. रुद्रभट्टिस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]॥ कौशिकश्छान्दोगोद्रिविलेपनस्वामी[80] अंश [:]॥
सार्वर्ण्ण-

१०२. कसगोत्रो वाजसनेयी गोमिनागस्वामी अंश [:]

[*Last but one plate-first page*][81]

१०३. शालङ्कायनवाजसनेयी सूर्य्यस्वामी अंश [:]।[82] भारद्वाजो
वाजसनेयी भवदेवस्वामी अंश [:]।

१०४. शर्व्वदेवस्वामी अंश [:]॥ गोमिदेवस्वामी अर्द्धांश[83] [:]। सावित्रदेवस्वामी
द्विरंश [:]। अर्कदेवस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:]।

१०५. साधारणस्वामी अंशाच्चतुर्भाग [:]। गार्ग्यो[84] वाजसनेयी दामरातस्वामी अंश [:]।
भारद्वाजो

१०६. वाजसनेयी वसुदत्तस्वामी द्विरंश [:]। आलम्बायनो वाजसनेयी यागेश्वरस्वामी
अंश [:]।

१०७. विश्वेश्वरस्वामी अंश [:]। दिव्येश्वरस्वामी अंश [:]। गणेश्वरस्वामी अंशः।
बुधेश्वरस्वामी अंश [:]।

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[78] .. पौत्त्रिमाष्यो

[79] .. पौण्ण

[80] .. श्छान्दोगो अर्दि। Vidyāvinoda is not sure of the text. He says the reading may be आर्द्र also.

[81] This inscription is said to have seven plates; if this is a fact, then this will be the sixth plate.

[82] In this plate pairs of vertical lines denoting full stop are at many places replaced by single vertical strokes. These are retained as they are given in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*.

[83] In the original अर्धाङ्शः and सवित्त्र।

[84] The र-kāra overhead is absent.

१०८. जातेश्वराङ्गेश्वराभ्याम् अंश [:] ।। धौतेश्वर[85] स्वामी अंशाच्चतुर्भाग [:] ।[86]
मघेश्वरस्वामी अंशाच्चतुर्भाग [:] ।

१०९. जह्लुवीश्वर[87] स्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] ।। नन्देश्वरस्वामी अंश [:] । आङ्गिरसो वाज-
सनेयी दासभूति-

११०. स्वामी अंश [:] । काश्यपो बाह्वृच्य[88] प्रकाशवरस्वामी भ्रातृसहितोंशः । यास्को
वाजसनेयी

१११. गायत्रीपाल[89] स्वामी अंशः ।। पाराशर्य्यो बाह्वृच्यशान्तशर्म्मस्वामी अंश [:] ।।
कौशिको

११२. बाह्वृच्यः पद्मदासस्वामी गोत्रांशः ।। गोवर्द्धनयज्ञपालपणुसुदर्शनस्वामि-

११३. भ्याम् अर्द्धांशः ।। पाङ्क्ल्यश्छान्दोगो गोपालस्वामी अंशः ।। काश्यपस्तैत्तिरीय[90] उग्र-
दत्तस्वामी

११४. अंशः ।। वार्हस्पत्यो बाह्वृच्यो[91] भट्टिनन्द[92] स्वामी अंशः ।। देवकुलस्वामी अंशः ।।

११५. जनार्दनस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] ।। सुनयन[93] नारायणवृद्धिस्वामिभ्यः अर्द्धांशः ।। गौतमो
बाह्वृ-

[*Last but one plate-second page*]

११६. च्य ईश्वरभट्टस्वामी अंशः ।। भृगुस्वामी अर्द्धांशः ।। भारद्वाजबाह्वृच्यरुद्रघोषस्वामी
अंशः ।। कात्यायनश्चारकः कौशिसो[94]

११७. मस्वामी अंशः ।। गौतमो वाजसनेयी प्रभाकरकीर्त्तिस्वामी अंशः ।। शाण्डिल्यो वाज-
सनेयी अनन्त[95]स्वामी अंश [:] ।

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[85] In the original घोतेश्वर ।

[86] .. .. च्चतुर्भंग for च्चतुर्भाग; but चतुर्थो भागः is better; see line 61. The reading चतुर्भागः is seen in one or two previous lines.

[87] In the original जह्लेश्वर । This might be a proper name and changing it to जह्लुवीश्वर is unnecessary.

[88] In the original वाह्वृच ।

[89] .. .. the reading is गायात्रिपाल This can be defended by the sūtra ङयापोः सञ्ज्ञाच्छन्दसोर्बहुलम् (Pāṇini 6.3.63).

[90] In the original तैत्तरिय ।

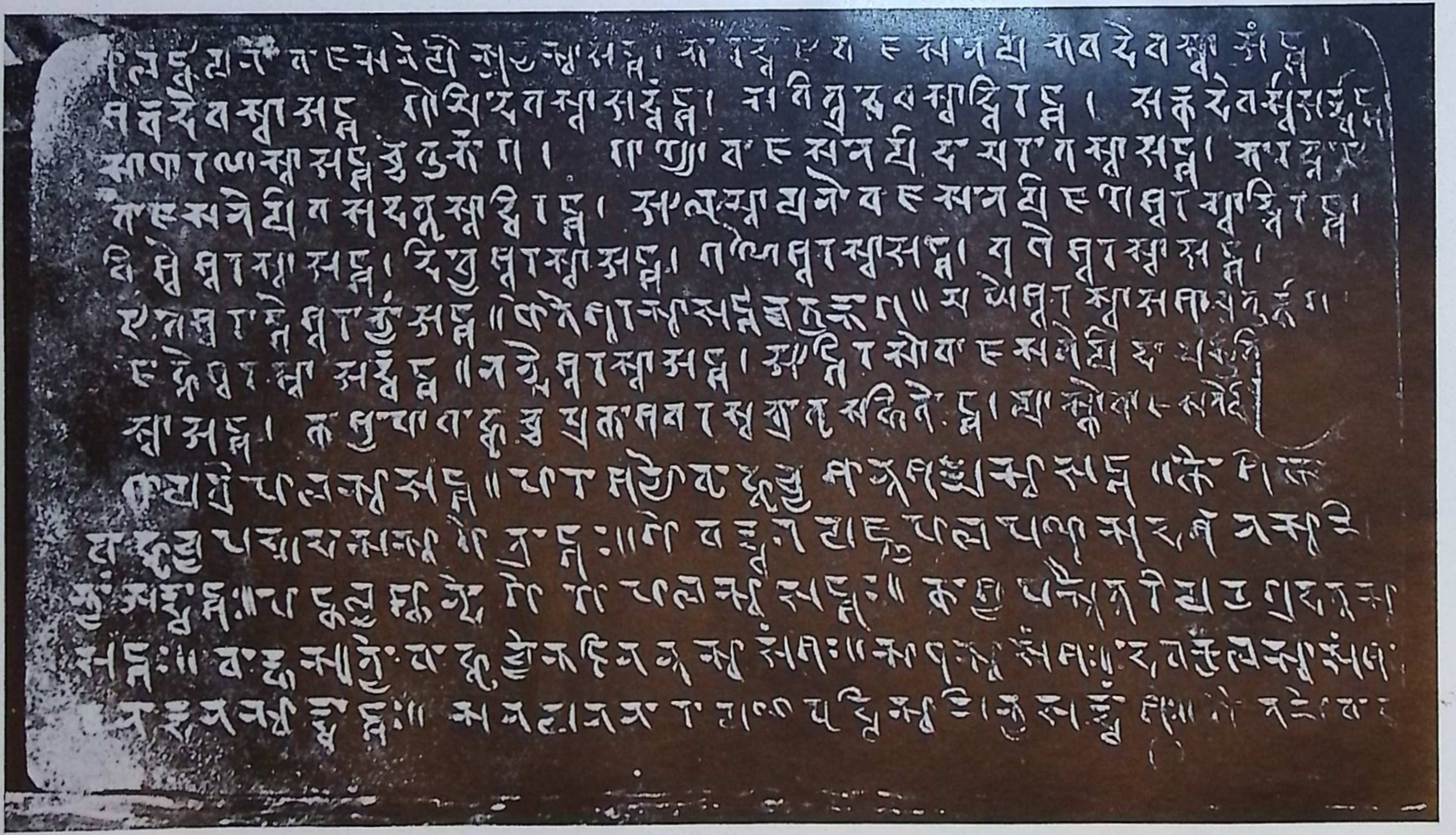
[91]. In the original वाहवृच ।

[92]. .. नन्त । Vidyāvinoda has surmised that it might be अनन्त also.

[93]. .. सनयन ।

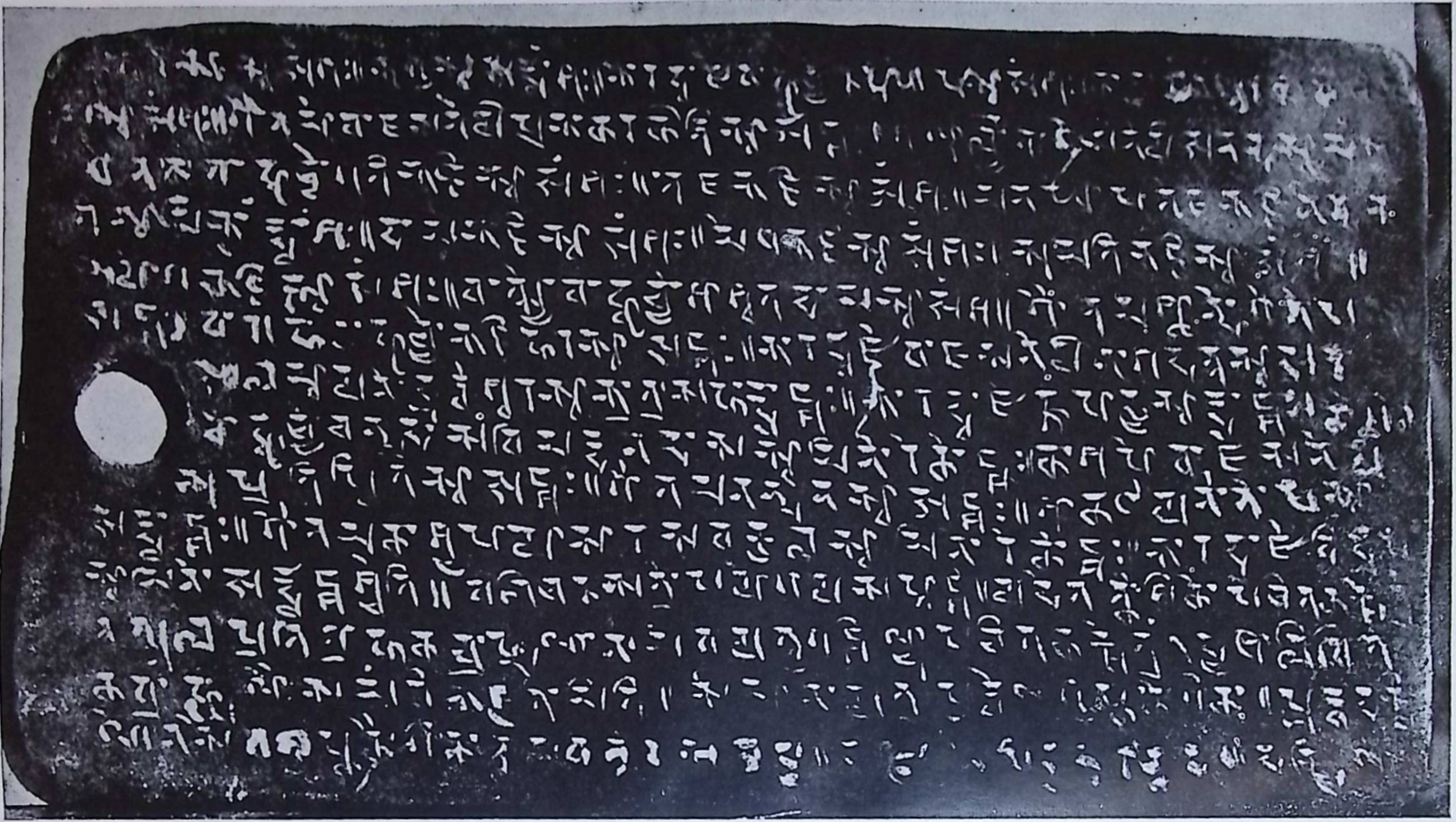
[94]. .. Last letter is indistinct.

[95]. In the original अनन्द is the reading. The name may be आनन्द also.



LAST BUT ONE PLATE a—NIDHĀNPUR PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ

LAST BUT ONE PLATE b—NIDHĀNPUR PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ



११८. शौनको बाह्वृच्यो गतिभट्टिस्वामी अंशः ।। तेजभट्टिस्वामी अंशः । मन्द्रघोष[96]तेजभट्टिनन्दभू-
११९. तिस्वामिभ्याम् अर्द्धांशः ।। दामभट्टिस्वामी अंशः ।। मेघभट्टिस्वामी अंशः ।। सुमतिभट्टिस्वामी अंशः ।।
१२०. सूयोगभट्टिस्वामी अंशः ।। वात्स्यो बाह्वृच्यः[97] शाश्वतदामस्वामी अंशः ।। गौतमश्छान्दोगः[97] तोषस्वामी
१२१. अंशः । वाराहो बाह्वृच्यो भट्टिहरस्वामी अंशः ।। भारद्वाजो वाजसनेयी नागदत्तस्वामी अर्द्धांश [:] ।।
१२२. आलम्बायनो दूर्वेश्वरस्वामी भ्रात्रा सहार्द्धांशः ।। भारद्वाजो रूपाढचस्वामी [अ]र्द्धांशः ।। कौशिक
१२३. बाह्वृच्य[98] चन्द्रदासविमर्दनदासस्वामिनोरेकोंशः ।। काश्यपो[99] वाजसनेयी
१२४. सुप्रतिष्ठितस्वामी अंशः ।। गौतमनन्दनस्वामी अंशः ।। शाकटायनः[100] तोषस्वामी
१२५. अर्द्धांशः ।। गोतमकाश्यपयोः[101] सारसवकुलस्वामिनोरेकांशः ।। भारद्वाज[102] विदूष-
१२६. स्वामिनः[102] अर्द्धांशश्चेति ।। बलिचरुसत्रोपयोगाय सप्तांशा [:] ।। यदेतत् कौशिको[103] पचितकक्षेत्रं
१२७. तत्फलं प्रतिग्राहकब्राह्मणानामेव [।] यत्तु गङ्गिण्युपचितकक्षेत्रं तद्यथालिखित-
१२८. कब्राह्मणै [:] समं विभज्यतामिति ।। सीमानो यत्र पूर्व्वेण शुष्ककौशिका ।। पूर्वदक्षि-
१२९. णेन सैव शुष्ककौशिका डुम्बरीच्छेदसंवेद्या ।। दक्षिणेनापि डुम्बरीच्छेद [:] ।। दक्षिण-
१३०. पश्चिमेन गङ्गिणिका[104] डुम्बरीच्छेदसंवेद्या ।। पश्चिमेनाधुना सीमगाङ्गिणिका [:] पश्चिमो

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[96] .. .. मनघोष .. .. मन्त्रघोष also.

[97] .. .. बाह्वृच्यो—a case of wrong sandhi; so also in छान्दोगः तोषस्वामी ।

[98] .. .. कौशिको बाह्वृव्यो ।

[99] .. .. काशपो ।

[100] .. .. शाकटायनो ।

[101] .. .. काश्यपय ।

[102] .. .. भारद्वाजो विदूषस्वामिनो ।

[103] .. .. कोशिको ।

[104] .. .. the reading is गङ्ङणिका; subsequently it is written as गङ्ङीणिक but there being short इ (f) in गङ्गिन्युपचितक, the form is written down as गङ्गिणिका ।

१३१. त्तरेण कुम्भकारगर्त्तस्सैव च गङ्गिणिका प्राग्भुज्यमाना [।।] उत्तरेण[105] वृहज्जाटली । उत्तरपू-
१३२. र्वेण व्यवहारिखासोकपुष्करिणी[106] सैव शुष्ककौशिका चेति ।। आज्ञाशतं प्रापयिता[107]
१३३. प्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीगोपाल [:] । सीमाप्रदाता चन्द्रपुरिनायकश्रीक्षिकुण्डः
१३४. न्यायकरणिकजनार्दनस्वामी व्यावहारिहरदत्तकायस्थदुन्धुनाथप्रभृतयः
१३५. शासयिता[108] लेखयिता च वसुवर्ण्ण [:] भाण्डागाराधिकृतमहासामन्तदिवाकरप्रभ [:]
१३६. उत्खेटयिता दत्तकारपूर्ण्णः[109] । सेक्यकार [:] कालिया ।।
षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति[110] भूमिदः [।]
१३७. आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।।२६।।
१३८. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।]
स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा [111] पितृभिः[112] सह पच्यते ।।२७।। [113]
१३९. शासनदाहादर्वागभिनवलिखितानि[114] भिन्नरूपाणि [।]
तेभ्योक्षराणि[115] यस्मा-
१४०. तस्मान्नैतानि[116] कूटानि ।।२८।।

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[105] In the original मानोत्तरेण

[106] .. .. पुष्किरिणी । The same reading for पुष्करिणी adopted in the inscriptions of Balavarmā and Indrapāla.

[107] In the original आज्ञाशताप्रापयित ।

[108] .. .. शास इता ।

[109] .. .. पुण्णो ।

[110] The form should have been मोदते; for the sake of the metre मोदति is used. But the root मुद् is अनुदात्तेत् आत्मनेपदि and therefore by applying the aphorism अनुदात्तेत्त्प्रयुक्त मात्मनेपदमनित्यम्, the form can be मोदति also.

[111] In the original the form is भुत्वा ।

[112] .. .. पितृभ ।

[113] These two *slokas* are quoted from the Bṛhaspati Saṁhitā and are written in अनुष्टुम् metre (पथ्यावक्त).

[114] The reading in the K. S. अर्वागमिनवलिखितानि is a mistake for अर्वागभिनव etc.

[115] In the original the reading is तेभ्यो अक्षरानि ।

[116] .. .. तस्मानैतानि

Copper-bell Inscription of Śrīkumāra

Two tribal boys, Śrī Sūryya Kānta Rābhā and Śri Rengthang Rābhā of Udālbakra village which was also known as *Narakāsurgaon*, discovered a number of icons along with a few other articles of antiquarian interest at the site of the *Narakāsur* hill lying at a distance of 5 miles from Gauhati. The finds consist of the following items—

21 bronze icons
1 stone image of *Manasā*
2 conchshells
4 *Koṣās*
1 *Kamaṇḍalu* of Copper (handle is broken)
4 Smaller broken copper bells
1 big copper bell
1 small earthen jar
1 icon of four-headed *Śiva* with four serpents

which is probably the *Śiva-liṅga*, phallic in shape. Dr. Pratap Chandra Choudhury, the Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies Assam, Gauhati, who visited the find spot and deciphered the inscription on the spot writes about the icons like this—"As I find, the icons are mostly of the *Devas*, the *Devi* ones being few in number. Of singular importance is the largest image of *Indra* seated majestically on an elephant, with two hands, one in *varada* and the other in *abhaya* attended on either side by two female attendants and with one kneeling figure at the base in front. Equally important is a beautiful icon of *Viṣṇu* with four hands, carrying his usual weapons, attended by *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī* and with an image kneeling in front at the base of the image. The small image of *Sūryya* with two female attendants, standing on a chariot, driven by seven horses also deserves our attention. Besides a few other images of *Viṣṇu* in different aspects and poses, there are those of *Jama* (*Caṇḍī*), *Agni*, *Śiva*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Durgā*, *Jagaddhātrī* or *Vasundharā*, *Manasā* and the like. Of peculiar interest is the headbust of a deity with *mukuṭa* on its head and *kuṇḍalas* and with a buffalohead with horns just below the chin of the figure. The deity is on a round plate. It was difficult for me to identify the same. But I have taken it to be that of *Mahiṣāsura* on the basis of the *pauranic* evidence...... As far as I know, such finds which are of great archaeological and cultural importance have, to my knowledge, not been discovered in one place anywhere in India, not to speak of Assam."[1]

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[1] *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XVI 1962 published in 1964 p. 57.

Śrīkumāradeva, mentioned in the inscription, has been identified with Śri Kumāra of Sālastambha dynasty who might have flourished during the first quarter of the 8th century A.D.[2] King Bhāskaravarmā was also known as Kumārarāja. The learned scholar does not want to identify Kumāradeva with Bhāskaravarmā on palaeographical grounds, as most letters have great similarities with those of the *Hāyuṅgthal grant* of the Kāmarūpa king Hārjaravarmadeva (829-30 A.D.) and the rest with those of his successors of the 10th-11th century A.D. and even of the *Kānaibaraśī Rock Inscription* (1206 A.D., 27th March). If the period of Bhāskarvarmā's reign is taken to be 594-650 A.D. and that of Pālaka, Kumāra and Vajradeva as 675-725 A.D[3]., it cannot be satisfactorilly explained for want of further evidences how a short gap of round-about seventy-five years can be manifest palaeographically in the inscription as the inscription is said to be.

The script seems to be a mixture of north Indian *Brāhmī*, and certain letters having affinities with *Devanāgarī* and even with old Assamese.

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[2] Ibid p. 59, Paṇḍit Vidyāvinoda also places the date of his reign in the 8th century, *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali*, see Introduction p. 20.

[3] *History of Civilisation of Assam* p. 197.

COPPER BELL INŚCRIPTION OF ŚRĪ-KUMĀRA

श्रीकुमार देवराजेव स-यात्मना देवासुरराज (देवयुवराज)
हस्त्यन्तक-दध्यकाभूत्तच्य पूजा इयं (इब) तेन (येन)
देवतकार्य्यादिकान्तैषा घण्टका दत्त . . .[1]

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[1] The text is not very clear and therefore the meaning can only be deduced. We have however discussed the text in a different section i.e., the section of its translation.

HĀYUṄTHAL COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF HARJARAVARMĀ

In the month of June of the year 1920, one educated gentleman, named Manicaran Barman (now dead), reported finding this copper plate inscription. He wrote to Paṇḍit Vidyāvinoda "one Mikir cleared grounds for worshipping his deity. He found three copperplates fastened together by means of a chain in the midst of a brick-structure. He kept one for himself, gave one to a Bengali or Hindusthani labourer and gave the remaining plate to one Varman, a resident of *Laṅkā*". Manicaran Varman got the copper plate inscription from this resident of *Laṅkā* and demonstrated it to a few educated gentlemen; but none of them were successful in deciphering the script. At last the late Babu Jagannath, the then Assistant Superintendent of Silchar Narmal School was givent this inscription; from him, the inscription went to Vidyāvinoda in 1925.

After receiving the afore-said letter from Manicaran Babu, Paṇḍit Vidyāvinoda wrote to him requesting him to make endeavours for the recovery of the remaining two plates. Manicaran Babu tried hard during his life to recover them, but with no success.

Vidyāvinoda wrote an article on the basis of his own reading in the '*Pratibhā*' (18th year, 1st and 2nd issue), a journal of the *Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat*. After that, he wrote an article for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* and the then government epigraphist Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Arya gave his own comment for correction of the readings.

The copper plate under discussion is the middle one. Owing to loss of the first and the third plates, nothing can be known regarding the aim of the grant and the name of the receiver. The size of the plate is 8″×5″, each page of the plate containing 14 lines.

THE HĀYUṄTHAL PLATE OF HARJARAVARMĀ

(*The middle plate only*)

[*First Page*]

१. ×××× ता बलवन्तो महौजस [:]।
र कि ××××× ॥१॥[1]

[महाब-]
२. ल।
अतो म्लेच्छाभिधानास्तु भविष्यास्तव पार्थिव ॥२॥
प (?) श्चाद्वगो (?) ××× स्वा (?)
३. भगदत्तस्य भूपते [:]।
सालस्तम्भोरिहा[2] तस्माद्बभूव क्षितिपाल [कः ॥]३ ॥
४. स्वर्गते नृपशार्दूले तस्य सूनुर्महाबलः।
विजयो निर्जितो (रातिर्ब)
५. भूवोर्व्वीपतिर्महान् ॥४॥
तस्मिन्मृते महाबाहौ पालकः पालको[3] [त्तमः ।]
६. कुमारो वज्रदेवश्च क्रमेनान्तर्हिता नृपा [:] ॥५॥
यः श्रुतो हर्षवर्म्मेति [गुण]
७. वान् धार्म्मिको नृप [:]।
पुत्रदृष्टया जनो येन पालितो च न पी[ड़ितः ॥]६॥
ना
८. कपृष्ठ [ं] गते राज्ञि[4] तस्यैव तनयो भुवि[5]
बल [वर्म्मा] ल [ं] नृपति [:] सोपि[6]
९. मृत्युवशं गतः ॥७॥
तस्मिन् कुले कुमुदचन्द्रपयःप्रकाशो[7]
चक्रारथी जगति हो--

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[1] This is really not the first page or the first *śloka* of the charter, because there must have been at least fourteen lines with a few verses.
In this inscription the metre is अनुष्टुभ् in all verses except in the verses 8, 11 and 12.

[2] In the original, रह seems to be the reading.

[3] These three letters are indistinct, but they appear to be पालको। Some other words denoting the name of a king is also possible.

[4] In the original, राज्ञ:ा

[5] .. .. भुवः।

[6] .. .. लनृम्पति।

[7] .. .. प्रकाशः।

१०. द्धतराजपुत्रौ ।
राज्यम्बभार[8] तनयो हि कनीयसस्त[9]
द्भूतौ तु तौ गुरुगिरा[10] [मव]
११. हानदक्षौ[11] ।।८।।
जगत्येकैव सा धन्या भाग्यानां सा निकेतन [ं]
यया श(?)
१२. ×××××× शासनः ।।९।।
इति यस्या यशः शुभ्रमिदानीं गीयते भु-
१३. वि ।
×××× तया (?) जीवदेवी स्वजन्मनः ।।१०।।
तस्या [ं] पृथायामिव धर्म--
१४. [पुत्रः सुतः सुभद्रात] इवाभिमन्यु[ः][12] ।
जातो धरित्र्यामधिपो भविष्यन् श्रीह(र्जरो)
१५. [हर्य्यंवदानहृद्यः]।।११।।[13]
राज्यार्थं विजिगीषवो गिरिदरि[14] प्रान्तेषु यस्तास्थि--
१६. ता[ः]
[सन्ध्यर्थं शरण]ङ्गता नृपसुता [ः] स्थाने यमध्यासते[15]
देवे[16] यत्र गु--
१७. [णा वसन्ति च समं] सर्व्वात्मना श्रेयसि पर्यालोचनगोचरादवि
१८. रसो यस्य क्षणो लभ्यते ।।१२।।[17]
सर्व्वतीर्थाम्भिः सम्पूर्णै राजतै [ः] कलसै [ः] शुभै [ः] ।

---

[8] .. .. राज्यम्बभूव ।

[9] .. .. कनीयसत्वा ।

[10] .. .. गिरम् ।

[11] The metre is वसन्ततिलक ।

[12] In the original, the reading appears to be मान्य; ; it may be मान्यु also. The readngs adopted by Vidyāvinoda are speculative in character: by taking the latter word as अभिमन्युः he has adopted the former reading as पुत्रः सुतः सुभद्रा ।

[13] The metre is उपजाति ।

[14] In the original दरिः ।

[15] .. .. यमध्यासितम् ।

[16] .. .. दैवे ।

[17] The metre is शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित ।

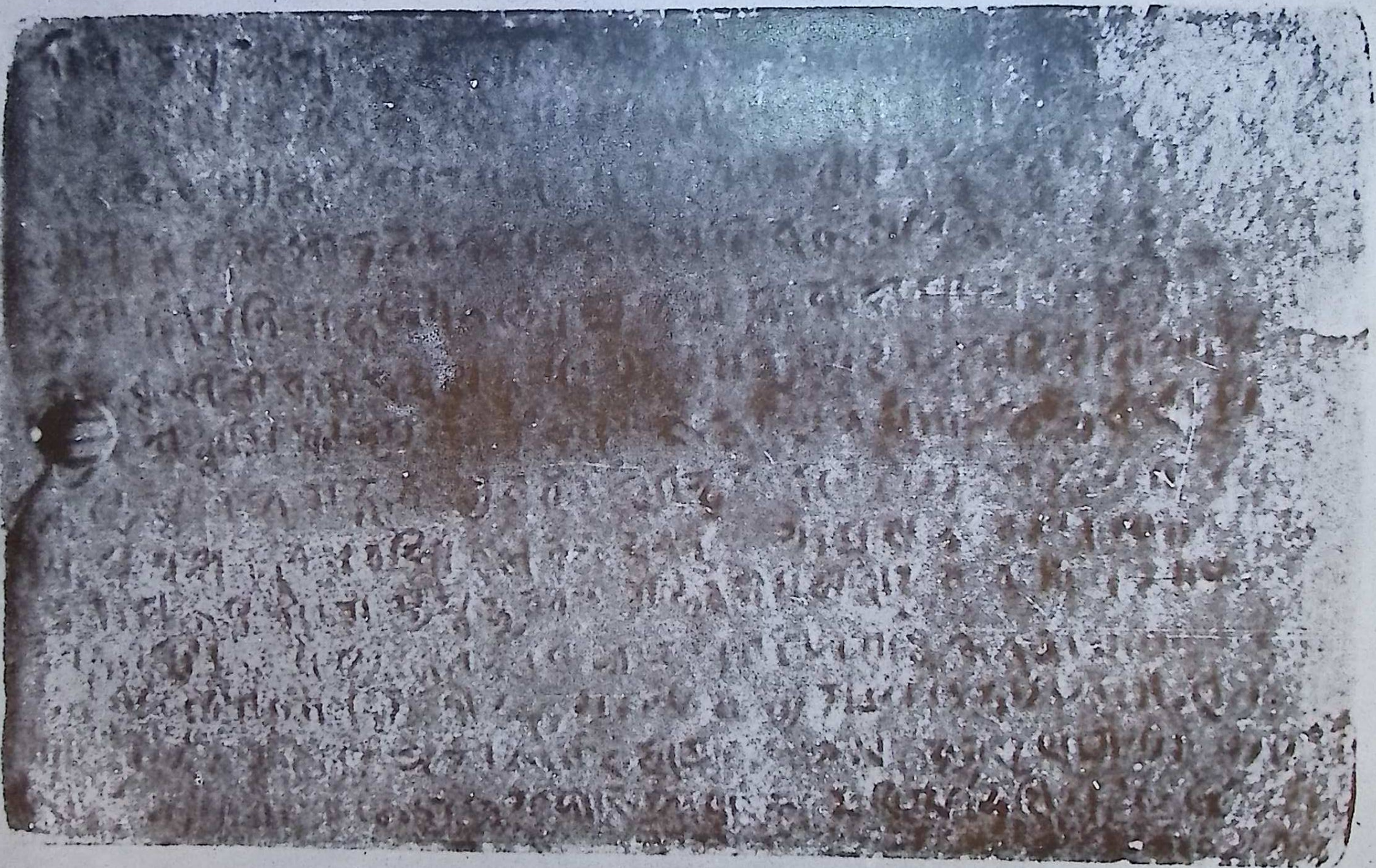
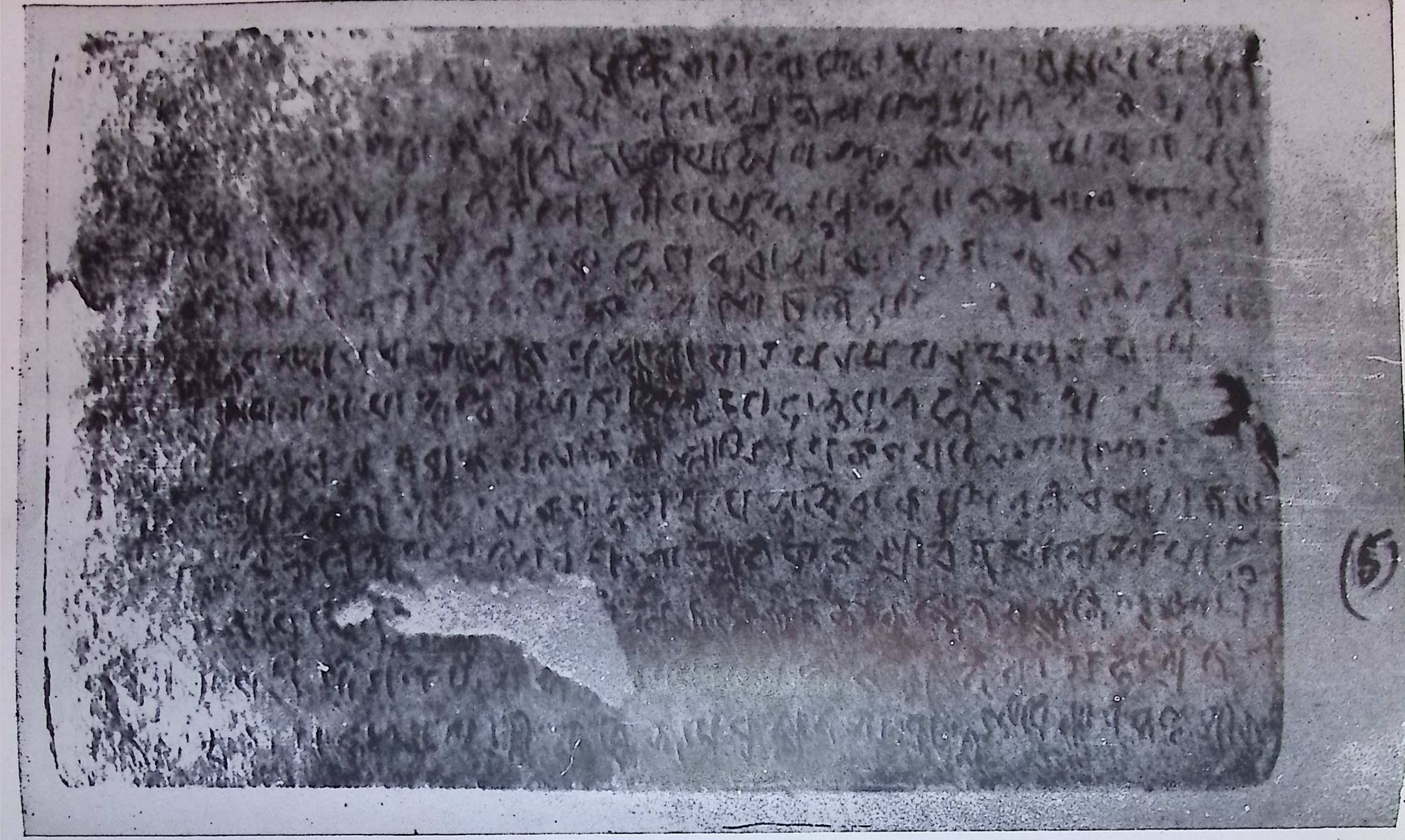


PLATE II a—HĀYUṄTHAL PLATE OF HARJARAVARMADEVA

PLATE II b—HĀYUṄTHAL PLATE OF HARJARAVARMADEVA



१९. सिंहासनसमारुढ़ो मरुद्भिरिव वासवः[18] ।।१३।।
श्रीमान् हर्जरवर्म्मासौ
२०. राजभि [:] प्रणतैर्वृत [:] ।
अभिषिक्तो वणिक्पूर्व्वैं राजपुत्रै [:] कुलोद्गतैः ।।१४।।[19]
२१. श्रीमान् हारूप्पेश्वरावासि[20] जयस्कन्धावारपरमपरमेश्वरपरम--
२२. भट्टारकपरममाहेश्वरमातापितृपादानुध्यातहर्जरवर्म्मदेव[:]
२३. [कुश] ली ।। तत्र च देवी कमलनिवासिनीव[21] प्रकटयति रूपगुणान्[22]
२४. महादेवी[23] मङ्गलश्री [:] । तत्र च[24] गर्भसमुत्पन्ना दिवाकरस्येव किरणकलि[25]
२५. ताकलङ्काविकलेन्द्व[26] गणितगुणा युवराज श्रीवनमाला [:] समाज्ञा--
२६. पयन्त्येवं[27] विदितमस्तु भवतां सकलभुवनानन्दितचक्रमण्डन[28] म--
२७. हासैन्यपतिश्रीगण[29] । महाद्वाराधिपत्यश्रीजयदेव । महाप्रतिहा--
२८. रजनार्दन । महामात्यश्रीगोविन्द । मधुसूदन । ब्राह्मणाधिकारभट्टश्रीक[ण्ठ ?]

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[18] The reading in the original is वासवैः ।

[19] Ślokas 13 and 14 constitute one unit of meaning; therefore a case of *yugmaka*. (युग्मक) ।

[20] The original reading is as determined by Vidyāvinoda हृटप्पेश्वरावासी । Why he has adopted the reading हरूप्पेश्वरावासि is not intelligible. On this point see General Introduction.

[21] देव्या कमलनिवासीमिव is the reading of the plate.

[22] रूपगुणाः is the original reading.

[23] देव्या is in place of देवी ।

[24] तस्याश्च would have been better.

[25] In the original the reading is दिवाकरमिवकिरणकलित । When there is the word इव, the word दिवाकर cannot enter into the *Bahuvrihi* compound.

[26] In the original the reading is विकलेन्दुम ।

[27] .. .. .. पयन्तिव ।

[28] .. .. .. निण्डण्य which carries no sense.

[29] .. .. .. श्रीगणा ।

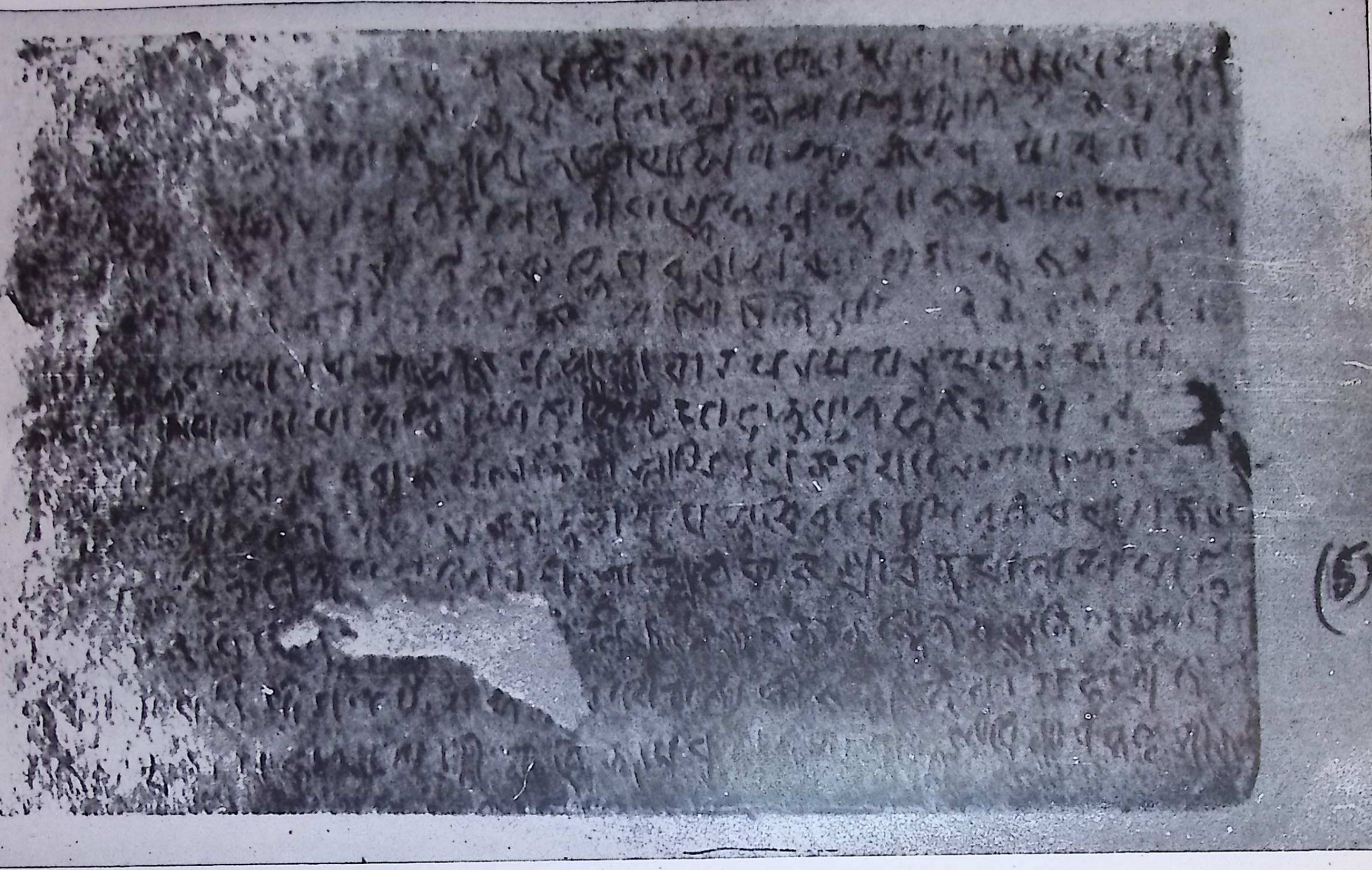

PLATE II b—HĀYUNTHAL PLATE OF HARJARAVARMADEVA

१९. सिंहासनसमारुढ़ो मरुद्भिरिव वासवः[18] ।।१३।।
श्रीमान् हर्जरवर्म्मासौ
२०. राजभि [ः] प्रणतैर्वृत [ः] ।
अभिषिक्तो वणिक्पूर्व्वैं राजपुत्रै [ः] कुलोद्गतैः ।।१४।।[19]
२१. श्रीमान् हारूप्पेश्वरावासि[20] जयस्कन्धावारपरमपरमेश्वरपरम--
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२३. [कुश] ली ।। तत्र च देवी कमलनिवासिनीव[21] प्रकटयति रूपगुणान्[22]
२४. महादेवी[23] मङ्गलश्री [ः] । तत्र च[24] गर्भसमुत्पन्ना दिवाकरस्येव किरणकलि[25]
२५. ताकलङ्कविकलेन्द्व[26] गणितगुणा युवराज श्रीवनमाला [ः] समाज्ञा--
२६. पयन्त्येवं[27] विदितमस्तु भवतां सकलभुवनानन्दितचक्रमण्डन[28] म--
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[28] .. .. .. निण्डण्य which carries no sense.

[29] .. .. .. श्रीगणा ।

TEZPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF HARJARAVARMĀ

There is a stone inscription on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra river a bit west to the present Tezpur town. The stone which bears the inscription is washed by the water of the river. Sir Edward Gait who was then Director of Ethnography, Assam, was informed in 1893 about the inscription. He took photograph of the inscription, but failed to have the inscription read by local persons. Therefore he sent the photograph to the well-known Dr. Hoernle. Possibly Dr. Hoernle failed to decipher the script.

After 5-7 years, Indian antiquarian Dr. Block took an impression of the inscription; but he succeeded only to read the name of Harjaravarmā and the date of the inscription as 'Gupta 510'. Possibly that impression was sent to the famous antiquarian Dr. Kielhorn who could read only the first 2-3 lines and confirmed the date as 'Gupta 510'. In 1905, he wrote an epigraphic note on it in a German magazine. Sir Edward Gait mentioned this rock inscription in the first edition of his *History of Assam* only giving the name of Harjaravarmā and the date of the inscription. Thereafter the impression of the inscription was sent to the then Government Epigraphist Rao Saheb Krishna Shastri. He could just decipher the whole script and wrote that the inscription referred to a grant of land which was given to some arbiters in a particular dispute. In 1915, Sri Nagendra Nath Basu *Prācyavidyāmahārṇava* went to Tezpur himself to take an impression of the inscription. This he did on request by Col. Gurdon, the then Director of Ethnography who was again pressed to do so by the *Kāmarūpa Anusandhàn Samiti*. In 1922 Sri Nagendra Nath Basu published the inscription with the text and the photograph in his "*Social History of Assam*" (Vol. I pp 159a-159b).

Possibly at the same time when Sri N. N. Basu was engaged in taking impression of the inscription, Dr. Spooner of Antiquarian department took its impression. In 1917, Honourable *Mahāmahopādhyaya* Dr. Hara Prasad Shastri C.I.E. succeeded in deciphering the whole script on the basis of the impressions taken by Dr. Spooner and Rao Saheb Nagendra Babu and published it with his own comment and English translation in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December* 1917 (pp. 508-514). He wrote—"I am conscious of my shortcomings and I hope some future epigraphist more favourably situated perhaps at Tezpur, may do it better by constantly referring to the original stone." *Paṇḍit* Padmanāth Vidyāvinoda praised Dr. Shastri for trying hard to decipher the almost unintelligible inscription, though he thought that there might be some mistakes here and there in his reading. So he visited the site of the inscription himself in the month of September of 1926. It was then monsoon and the inscription was in a state of ruin and erosion. His visit was nothing but a measure of satisfying his extreme historical inquisitiveness. At the site of the inscription the bank of the Brahmaputra is full of small stony hills. Because of the strong current and frequent earthquakes, huge rocks roll down the hills and are thrown into the depth of the river where they remain hidden in sand. The side of a similar stone facing towards the stream contains ten lines of writing, the tenth one only mentioning the date "Gupta 510" which has been inscribed on the stone within a two-lined rectangle. The size of the rock inscription is about 92″×48″, that of each letter is on the average 3″ approximately. *Paṇḍit* Vibyāvinoda read a paper in the yearly session of the *Kāmarupa Anusandhān Samiti.* This was published in the *Pratibhā*—17th year 3rd and 4th issues, a journal of *Dacca Sahitya Pariṣat.*

The inscription possibly records the solution of a problem relating to navy and river-fishing which arose out of plying of fishing boats in the area meant for naval forces with war vessels.

TEZPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF HARJARAVARMĀ

१. ॐ। स्वस्ति हारूप्पेश्वरपुरावस्थितस्वभुजबल [मद][1]

२. दर्प्पगर्व्वित मह [ा] राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टा [र]क पर [ममा] हेश्वर[2]

३. श्रीहर्जरवर्मदेवस्य वर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये महासामन्तसे [ना] ध्यक्ष

४. श्रीसुचित्तस्य अधिकारदिने कैवर्त्तनौ [कु] क्षि स्वभक्षसाधनी[3]***[4]

५. नौरज्ज तस्य नाक्कजोसी शुद्ध[5] व्यावहारश्चोद्भुत तत्र नौरज्जक नहि[6] तत् प्रविस्तः[7]***

६. [8]सावर्णी श्रीचित्तधरदक्ष भट्टजीउ दिनजी लाहिली ज्ञा दक्ष[ि]दग्व [ा] सी दलाकववा ***

७. इत्येते बलध्यक्षा सामन्त शिलाकुट्टकवलेया[9] पंच कुलशंकर[10] भट्टपुत्रसोमदेवादयः। भूच [तु][11]

८. र्द्दिक् सीमाकृत प्राक्सलिलक्षारभक्षभूभृद्भाग[12] पश्चिम्यां नाक्कजोसयाम्यां प्रवरभूमित्यवरप–[13]

९. [र्वत उत्तरा] द्वहिर्वाहकात्[14] यः च्यवनं करोति तस्य पञ्चवुट्टिकां[15] गृहीतव्यमितिः[16] ।।

१०. गुप्त ५१०

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[1] The contents inṣide the mddle bracket are imaginative insertions of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī.

[2] N. N. Bose has read श्रीवाराह in place of परममाहेश्वर; but the word परममाहेश्वर found in the middle plate of Harjaravarmā should also be taken into account in the determination of the reading for this word.

[3] N. N. Bose has read अध्यक्षसाधनी।

[4] The letters of the place marked by *** are to be understood as lost.

[5] N. N. Bose has read मुख्य in place of शुद्ध।

[6] .. .. नौरज्जकः हि for नौरज्जक न हि।

[7] Probably प्रविस्तः is for प्रविष्टः।

[8] N. N. Bose has not been able to read this line at all.

[9] .. has read शिलाकुटक वलेया for शिलाकुट्टकवलेया।

[10] The correct form is पञ्चकुलशङ्कर।

[11] N. N. Bose has read only चतु for भूचतु।

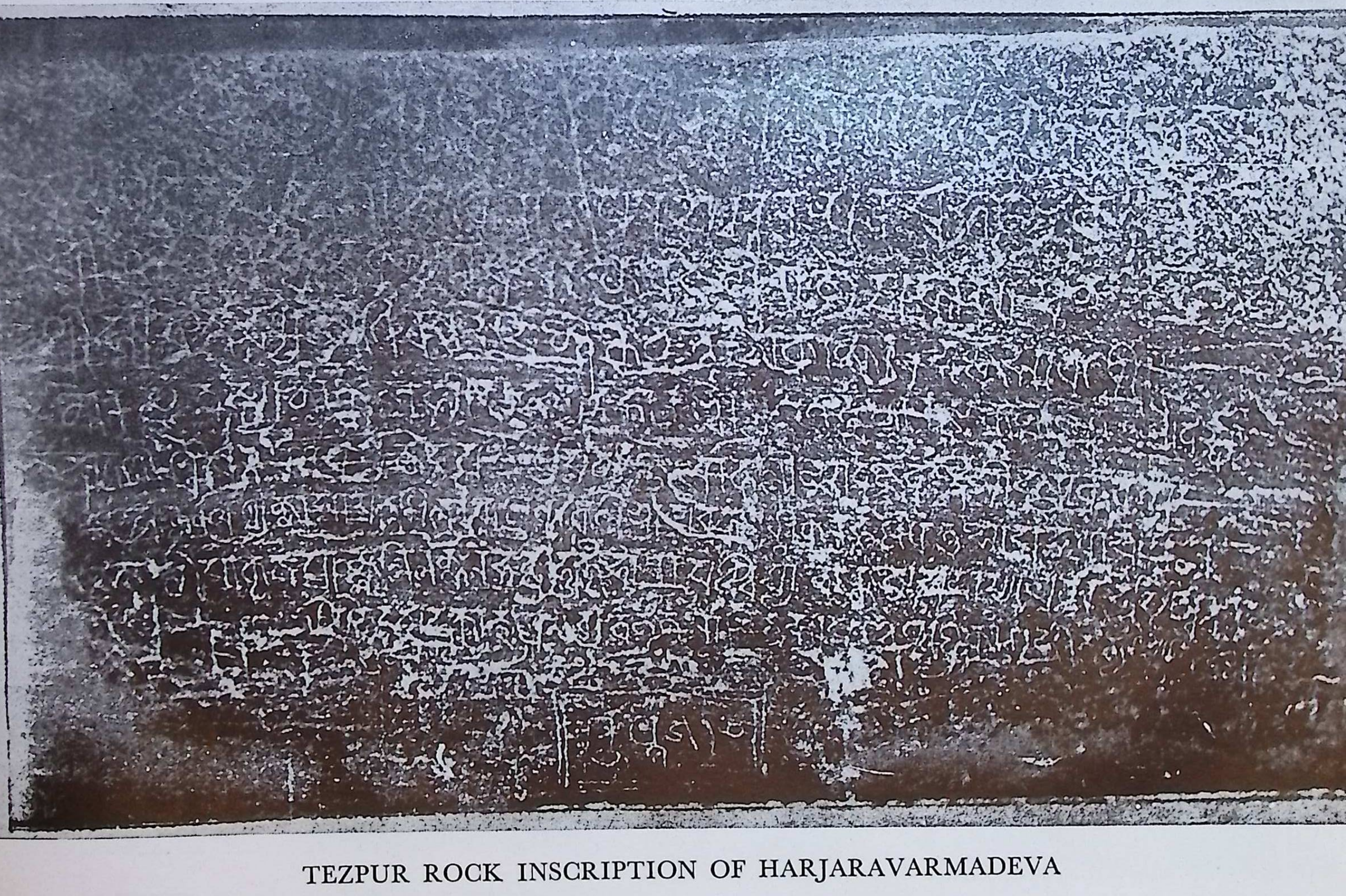
[12] .. .. क्षारभद्रभूमि भोग।

[13] .. .. भूमि अवरपर्व्वतात्।

[14] .. has left out this line up to this portion.

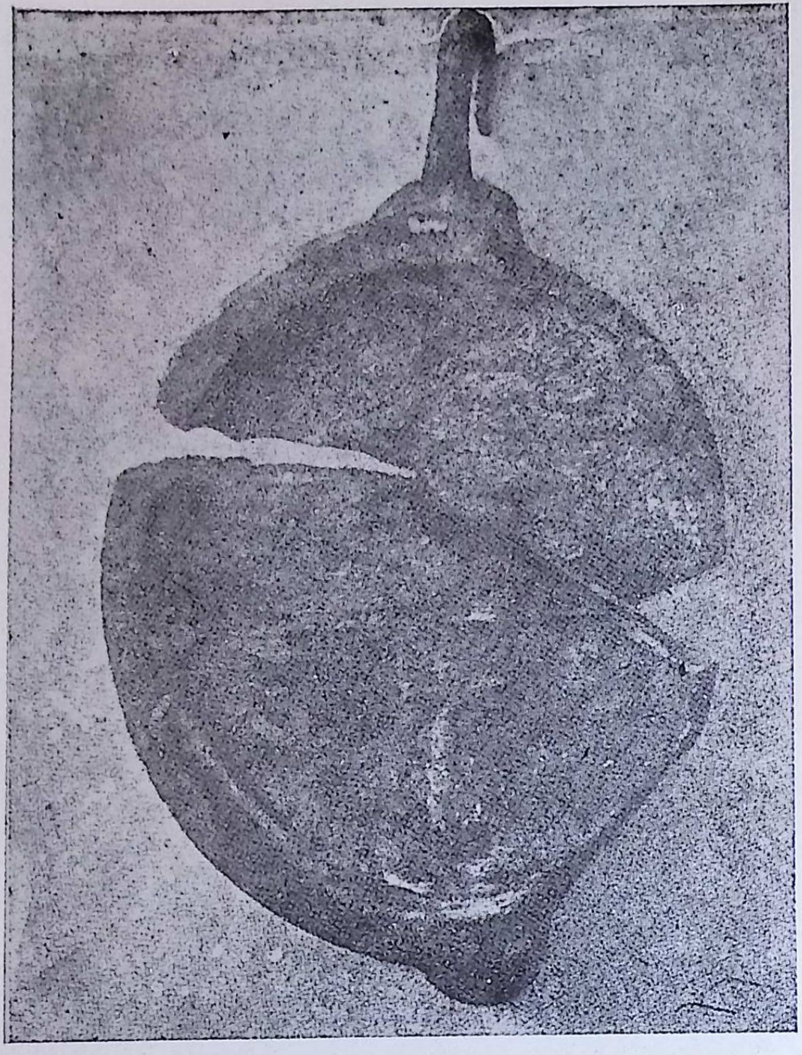
[15] .. has read वुटिका for वुटिकां।

[16] for ग्रहीतव्यमिति।

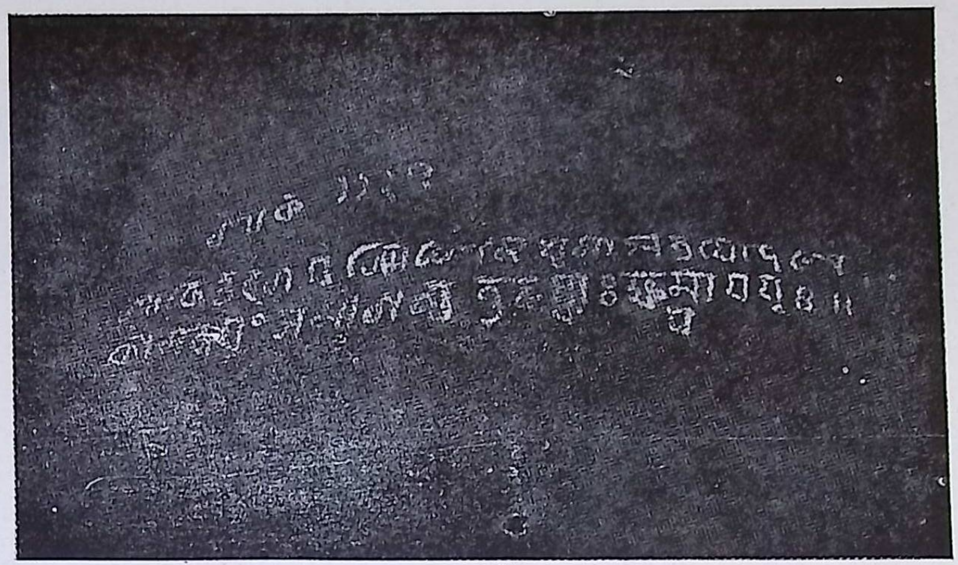


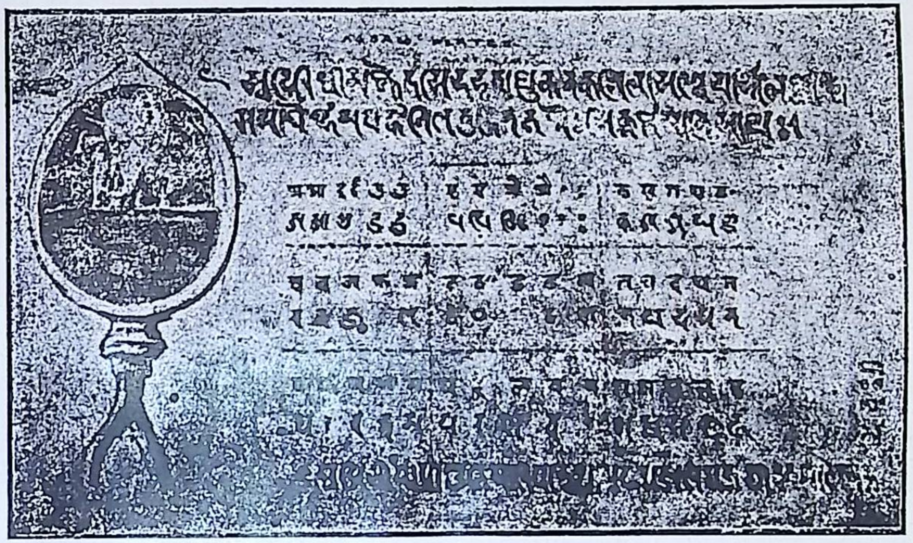
TEZPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF HARJARAVARMADEVA

THE SEAL OF THE NIDHĀNPUR PLATES OF BHĀSKARAVARMĀ



KĀNĀI BARASĪ ROCK INSCRIPTION





A Pen Picture Of—(1) The Elephant Seal (2) The first verse (3) The Characters (4) The line in the lower portion of the Seal in the Tezpur Plates of Vanamala from the Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī.

TEZPUR COPPER-PLATES INSCRIPTION OF VANAMĀLAVARMADEVA

This inscription was discovered near Tezpur, the present headquarters of Darrang District. The set consisted of three copper-plates strung together by means of a ring which was firmly fit on the other end to a seal having an elephant figure which was then mistaken for the deity *Gaṇeśa*. The then administrator of Assam, General Jenkins, sent a copy of the inscription to Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was therefore inferred that he had the inscription read by some local *paṇḍits*. The society then had one *paṇḍit* named Kamalākānta deemed as being capable of suggesting modifications to the readings with comments and it engaged one scholar named Sāradāprasad to translate the inscription into English Language. The copper-plates were discussed and the text was published in *the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. IX, 1840 p. 766 with corrections and comments of *Paṇḍit* Kamalākānta as well as translation of Sāradā Prasad, but without any photographs of the plates. The text did not contain any demarcation of lines as occurring in the plates nor the reading was done correctly. *Paṇḍit* Vidyāvinoda discussed the reading of the inscription in the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (Bengali year 1321, 1st issue) and the facts were reprinted with some corrections in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī* p. 54.

We have given in the body of the text the readings of Vidyāvinoda as adopted in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, but shown out the corresponding readings of the *Parvatīyā* plates in the foot-notes in the portions where the two inscriptions of the same King are deemed to have tallied. The readings found in the *Parvatīyā* plates are more reliable, because they are clear and the plates are still available.

THE TEZPUR PLATES OF VANAMĀLAVARMADEVA

ऽ[1] स्वस्ति श्रीमान् प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्रीवनमालवर्म्मदेवः ।[2]

ऽ[1] स्वस्ति । श्रीमत्कैलासमूभृत्पृथुकनकशिलासञ्चयास्फालनोत्थै[3]
रासारैर्हैमपङ्काविल[4] तुहिनकरैः[5] सिक्तवैमानि[6] सार्थः ।

अम्भः क्रीड़त् [सुभूष][7] प्रवरसुरवधूकेशहस्तच्युतैर्व्वो
नाकेशद्रुप्रसूनैररुणितसलिलोऽव्यात् स लौहित्यसिन्धुः ।।१।।[8]

स पुनातु पिनाकी वो यच्छीर्षे[9] स्वर्धुनीजलं
कीर्ण्णं रेचकवातेन तारकाप्रकरायितं[10] ।।२।।[11]

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[1] This *āñji* sign is not given in the text published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. But in the photostat copy, it is clearly seen.

[2] This is clearly the text of the elephant Seal which is given at the end of the inscription in other plates, and which is given at the commencement of the text published by the society.

[3] ASJ reading is सङ्गमान्दोलनत्थै ।

[4] ASJ reading is पंकाविल, but in the picture of the seal and the first half of the first śloka the reading is पङ्काविल distinctly. In the major portions of the readings in the ASJ, म् is used in place of the fifth letter of a varga with conjunct letters. Vidyāvinoda is of the opinion that there is the large measure of possibility that this was not the case in the original plate, because in almost all the kāmarupa plates ङ् is used in place of म् ।

[5] In the pp तुहिनजड़ै: is the reading.

[6] ASJ reading is वैशारि; in the picture म and नं are distinctly read in places of श and र; तै can be read in place of वै but तैमानि carries no sense. It is very difficult to understand the sense of वैमानि derived as विमान स्वार्थ अन् तत इन् प्रत्ययः ।

[7] ASJ reading is क्रीरत्: the next word is entirely absent restored as सुभूष in that journal. But the whole reading, it seems, is fanciful, because in the pp it is seen as क्रीड़ाप्रसक्त ।

[8] The metre is स्रग्धरा । Such divisions into distinct lines showing out the verse pieces were absent in the ASJ. The serial numbers of verses were misleading specially from verse no 8ff.

[9] यन्नाटचे is the reading in the pp.

[10] उपमानादाचारे कर्त्तुः क्यङ (पाणिनि 3.1.10-11) with the suffix क्त । Similar instances are many in the inscription.

[11] The metre is अनुष्टुभ् पथ्यावक्त्र । The same metre is used in verses 18, 26, and 31. In verse no. 33 अनुष्टुभ् विपुला ।

नरक इति सूनुरासी[12] दादिवराहस्य भुवि तदुद्धारे ।
अदितेः कुण्डलहरणे प्रतापमपि यो हरेरहरत् ।।३।।[13]
कृष्णेन तं निहत्य च सृष्टौ भगदत्तवज्रदत्ताख्यौ[14] ।
तस्य सुतौ तद्वनिताकरुणविलापहत[15] हृदयेन ।।४।।
संप्राप्तो भगदत्तः[16] श्रीमत्प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिनाथत्वं ।
विनयभरेण[17] तदेत्य प्राराधयदीश्वरं तपसा ।।५।।
तुष्टेन तेन तस्मै दत्तमु[18]परिपत्तनाधिनाथत्वं ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिराज्यं कालेन तदन्वय[19]स्यापि ।।६।।
तस्यान्वये भूत्क्षितिपालमौलिमाणिक्यरोचिः स्फुरिताङ्घ्रिपीठः ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषेशः क्षतवैरिवीरः प्रालम्भ[20] इत्यद्भुतनामधेयः ।।७।।[21]
स हि पूर्व्वैर्नरपतिगुणसमूह[22] रागानूरञ्जितदिगन्तः ।
सालस्तम्भ[23] प्रमुखैः श्रीहरिषा[24]न्तैर्महिपालैः ।।८।।
दिवसारूढ़ो ह्यस्य च भूमिभुजोथैकवैरिवीरोभूत् ।
भ्राता शौर्य्यत्यागैरसमानादारथोतिनृपः ।।९।।[25]
श्रीजीवदेतिसंज्ञा राज्ञी[26] हृदयानुगाभवत्तस्य ।
बहुजनवन्द्या महतः प्रभातसन्ध्येव तेजसो जननी ।।१०।।

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[12] ASJ reads वासी ।

[13] The metre is आर्या जाति । The same metre is used in verses 4-6, 8-11, 15, 17, 19, 21-23, and 27. The 10th *sloka* is in आर्या गीति ।

[14] ASJ reading सृष्टोभगदत्तवज्रदत्ताख्यो ।

[15] ASJ .. हत हत which implies no sense.

[16] Vidyāvinoda states in the foot-note that संम्प्राप्ते भगदत्ते is the reading in the original. This is the reading in the PP.

[17] वनमितरोऽपि is the reading of the PP.
ASJ reading विनयभरोपि is not acceptable on the face of it.

[18] ASJ reading दत्तेसु ।

[19] .. नदन्वय ।

[20] PP. . . . सालम्भ इत्युद्धत ।

[21] In verses 7, 12, 13, and 32 metre is इन्द्रवज्रा ।

[22] PP. reading is—सत्पूर्व्वनृपतिगुणसम्पदौघरागानुरञ्जित ।।

[23] ASJ reads सालस्तम्व ।

[24] PP. reading श्रीहर्ष ।

[25] The verse reads as follows in the PP.

दिवमारूढैराद्यस्य भूभुजोऽनेकवैरिवीरोऽभूत् ।
भ्राता शौर्यत्यागैरसमो नाम्नारथीति नृपः ।

[26] PP. reading श्रीजीवदेवीसंज्ञा राज्ञी ।

तस्यान्तस्य तु राज्ञः सुतो भवन्नृपशिरोर्च्चिताङ्घ्रियुगः ।
श्रीहर्जरो नृपेन्द्रः श्रिया स्वयं यः समुपगूढ़ः ।।११।।

धर्म्मप्रवादेषु युधिष्ठिरो यो भीमोरिवर्गे समरेषु जिष्णुः ।
एकोप्यनेकैरिति सङ्गतो यो निःशेषकन्नीतनयत्वमेतः[27] ।।१२।।

गोपीजनानन्दितमानसस्य द्वेष्येव[28] वक्षः परिहृत्य विष्णोः ।
निःशेषरामाजनदेहसंस्थमादाय सौन्दर्य्यमिहाजगाम ।।१३।।

वर्णाद्यशेषगुणजातमयम्बभार पत्युर्ममातुलबलस्थ रथाङ्गपाणेः ।
तेनाहमग्र्यमहिषी जगतीभुजोस्य भूत्वा जने न खलु लाघवमभ्युपैमि ।।१४।।[29]

इति यस्य महादेवी विलोच्य मनसोनुगा[30] भवल्लक्ष्मीः ।
श्रीमत्तरा[31]भिधाना प्रमदारत्नोत्तमा नृपतेः ।।१५।।

तस्याशेषक्षितिपमुकुटोद्धृष्टपादाब्जपीठ-
स्याभूत् सूनुर्नृपगुणमहारत्नमालाविभूषः ।
तस्यां देव्यामखिलभुवनानन्दको यः शशीव
श्रीमान् ख्यातो जगति वनमालाभिधानः क्षितीशः ।।१६।।[32]

जलनिधितटवनमालासीमावधिमेदिनीपतित्वस्य ।
योग्य इति नाम धाता चक्रे वनमाल इति यस्य ।।१७।।

प्रबलारातिमत्तेभघटाध्वान्तोरुसंहर्ति
दिवाकरायितं येन विदार्य्य रणभूमिगां[33] ।।१८।।

क्षितितनयनृपतिवंशप्रभवनरेन्द्रामलाम्बरे येन ।
स्फुटमेव मृगाङ्कायितमत्याय्याराति[34]तिमिरौघं ।।१९।।

भूरिदृप्तरिपुवीरवाहिनीशैलवज्रमुरुविक्रमासिना ।
येन राजकमशेषमस्यता श्रीरकारि चिरमेकभर्त्तृका ।।२०।।[35]

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[27] PP reading सद्गुणौघैःर्निशेष कुन्ती-तनयत्वमेतः-

[28] ...श्रारञ्जितमानसस्य सेर्ष्येव ।

[29] वसन्ततिलकवृत्तम् ।

[30] PP read like this: विगणय्य मनोनुगा;
ASJ reading विलोक्य ।

[31] PP adopt the name as श्रीमङ्गला; and ASJ reading is श्रीमत्तरा...प्रमदारत्नत्तनोमन्नृपःतेः ।

[32] The metre in this *śloka* as well as in *śloka* 25 is मन्दाक्रान्ता ।

[33] PP read रणभूमिषु ।

[34] ...उत्सार्यारति etc.

[35] The metre is रथोद्धता ।

यस्य प्रतापभीत्या बहुरिपुजयिनोपि मेदिनीपालाः ।
केचिद्दिशो विजगृहुः प्रसभं ययुरम्बरा[36]ण्यन्ये ।।२१।।
राज्ञामन्येषां ये निशितानाजाविषून्नृपा मुमुचुः ।
यस्मात्ततो विभीत्या भूमिं दूरं निजां विजहुः[37] ।।२२।।
यैरभिमुखं रिपूणामाघटितं मत्तकरिघटाटोपैः ।
विक्रमकृतिहेतोस्तैर्यस्याञ्जलयः कृताः क्षितिपैः[38] ।।२३।।

[39]

धूरूहे नहुषस्य येन पतितं कालान्तरादालयं
सौधं भक्तिनताखिलामरवरव्रातार्च्चिताङ्घ्रेः पुनः ।
प्रालेयाचलशृङ्गतुङ्गमतुलग्रामेभवेश्याजनै-
र्युक्तं हाटक[40]शूलिनः क्षितिभुजा भक्त्या नवंचक्रुषा ।।२४।।[41]
यस्यानन्तद्युतिमतिसिता नागलोके हसन्ती
दिङनागानां श्वसितजनितां शीकरालीं च दिक्षु ।
सम्पूर्णेन्दोर्वियति विमलामंशुमालां विचित्रां
राज्ञोनल्पां विचरतितरां कीर्त्तिरद्याप्यजस्रं ।।२५।।[42]
सत्यगाम्भीर्य्यतुङ्गत्वप्रतापत्यागविक्रमैः ।
योजयद्धर्म्म[43]जाब्ध्यद्रिभानुकर्णमरुत्सुतान् ।।२६।।
यस्य यशःशशिनेदं भुवनं धवलीकृतं विलोक्य दृशा
सव्रीड़[44]इवोदेति प्रालेयमरीचिरद्यापि ।।२७।।

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[36] ASJ reading is प्रसभमालयाम्बर which militates against the metre. PP read प्रसभमलं चामराण्यन्ये ।

[37] PP read the second line of this verse as follows :
यस्य त एव विभीत्या भूमिर्दूरान्निजा विजहुः ।

[38] PP read . . .आघटिता मत्तकरिघटाबन्धाः for the last portion of the first half, and तैर्विक्रमैकहेतोर्यस्याञ्जलयः etc. for the first portion of the second line of this verse.

[39] The two letters का and हा introduced here in the *Kāmarupaśāsanavalī* (कामरूपशासनावली) by Vidyāvinoda are not capable of being construed with any line as admitted by himself. We have therefore omitted them.

[40] हेतुकशूलिनः is the reading in ASJ and PP.

[41] The metre is शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित ।

[42] Only the first half of this verse is seen in PP. and all the following verses up to verse no 29 including the second half of verse 25 are absent in the PP.

[43] ASJ reading is योजयन्धर्म ।

[44] ASJ reading is सव्रीर ।

देवागारं वाद्यगीतप्रणादैर्नानारामाः[45] सत्रिणां व्याहृतैश्च ।
गायन्त्यद्याप्यब्जरस्याः सुवाप्यो देशे देशे शालिनीं यस्य कीर्त्तिं ।।२८।।
बहुहेमरौप्यगजवाजिमहीप्रमदादिरत्ननिचयं बहुशः ।
प्रददाववार[46]मनिशं निगदन्[47] प्रमिताक्षरोपि बहुवागभवत् ।।२९।।[48]

प्रपीतसमस्तवर्णाश्रमादपरिमितसुभग[49] साधुविद्वज्जनाधिष्ठानाद्विचित्रगजतुरगशिविकाधिरूढ़ै[50]र्महानरपतिभिरवनिपतिसेवार्थं गच्छद्भिः प्रत्यागच्छद्भिश्च सङ्कुलमहाराजमार्गा[51]दसंख्यगजतुरगपदातिसाधननिरन्तरनिरुद्धसकलदिगन्तरादु[52]दय[53] वेलाचलोत्थितोत्तुङ्गतरुशरण[54] विश्रान्तमत्तवर्हि-णकेकारवोद्भ्रान्तभुजगव्रातमुक्तफुत्कारप्रकम्पिता[55]नेकतरु[56] विगलितकुसुमनिकरपरिमल[57] सुरभिसलिलेन तदुपवनलग्नदावानलदह्यमानकालागुरु[58] धूमसम्भवाम्बुधरवृन्दसुगन्धिजलौघप्रवाहिणा[59]। उदयतटमहीधरोपवनगन्धि[60] पर्णाङ्कुरभुजां क्वचित् स्वयंभृता[61] नामन्यत्र प्रणयवद्धकुलयूथाना[62]मपरत्र वृकसङ्घ[63] विनिहतादभ्रभक्षित[64] मांसोज्झितानां कस्तूरिकामृगाणां मदगन्धेनामोदितसकलतीरोपकण्ठनिवासिजनपदेन। सकलसुरासुरमुकुटमणिमयूखमञ्जरीरञ्जितचरणपीठाभ्यां श्रीकामेश्वरमहागौरीभट्टारिकाभ्यामधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः सततनितम्बक्षालनादधिकतरपवित्रपयः-

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[45] . . .नानारामान् ।

[46] . . .प्रददवार ।

[47] . . .निगदम् ।

[48] In sloka 28, the metre is शालिनी and in 29 प्रमिताक्षरा which words are very ingeniously inserted in the verses concerned.

[49] PP reading सुभट ।

[50] In the PP it is आरूढ़ः ।

[51] ASJ reading is सद्वलम् महाराजमार्गा ।

[52] The words ending in 5th case-ending singular are adjectives to हारूप्पेश्वरात् towards the end of the prose portion.

[53] PP read उभय ।

[54] . . .गहन; ASJ reads शकुन ।

[55] . . .पवनप्रकम्पिता etc.

[56] . . .लत ।

[57] ASJ reading परिमत्त ।

[58] PP reading कृष्णगरु ।

[59] These words ending in 3rd case singular are adjectives to श्रीलौहित्यभट्टारकेण ।

[60] This portion beginning from उदयतटमहीधरो up to उपकण्ठनिवासिजनपदेन comes in the PP. after the line सकलसुरासुर. . .पयः सम्पूर्णस्रोतसा ।
PP read उभयतट and also ग्रन्थिपर्ण्णा etc.

[61] PP have the reading स्वयम्मृतानाम ।

[62] PP have पुण्डरीकैर्हतयूथानाम् ।

[63] . . .वृकसङ्घैः ।

[64] . . .अर्द्धभक्षित ।

सम्पूर्णस्त्रोतसा । मज्जद्विलासिनी[65] कुचकलसतटाश्लिष्टमदपङ्काविलसुगन्धाम्भसा[66] । वेश्याङ्गनाभिरिव नानाभरणशोभितप्रकटावयवाभिर्वालकुमारिकाभिरिव क्वनत् किङ्किणीभिः[67] कार्णाटीभिरिव कठिनाभिघातसंवर्द्धितवेगाभिर्व्वारस्त्रीभिरिव चामरधारिणीभिर्दशवदनान्तःपुरिकाभिरिव रुंषित[68] सन्ततदशनाभिः पवनकामिनीभिरिवात्यन्तवेगवतीभिः रमणीयदलुहाङ्गनाभिरिव सकलजनमनोहारिणीभिः नटीभिरिव नर्त्तकपुरुषाक्रमणसंवर्द्धितोत्कम्पाभिर्दुर्गतदेवपालिभिरिव सततोत्तानस्थानकामिनीभिर्नौभिरलङ्कृतोभयतीरोपान्तदेशेन श्रीलौहित्यभट्टारकेण सनाथ[69] श्रीहारूप्पेश्वरात्[70] स परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरायणचित्तको[71] महाराजाधिराज श्रीवनमालवर्म्मदेवः कुशली ।।[72]

वभूव शाण्डिल्यकुलप्रदीपो वेदार्थविद्विज्जतनामधेयः ।
साङ्गं यजुर्व्वेदमधीतवान् यस्त्यागी शुचिर्देवगुणोपपन्नः ।।३०।।[73]
शौचविप्रगुणोपेता पत्नी सभ्नायिकाभिधा ।
ब्राह्म्येण विधिना सम्यक् परिणीता कुलोद्भवा ।।३१।।
सूनुस्तयोर्वेदविदग्रजन्मा इन्दोकनामा गुणवान् वरिष्ठः ।
तस्मै ददौ श्रीवनमालदेवो ग्रामं स मातापितृपुण्यहेतोः ।।३२।।
त्रिस्त्रोतायाः पश्चिमतः सजलस्थलसंयुतं ।
अभिशूरवाटकाख्यमष्टसीमापरिच्छदं ।।३३।।[74]

पूर्व्वेण दशलाङ्गलसहसीमा पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन चन्द्रपुरि[75]ससीमा दक्षिणेन अवारि-ससीमा । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन नौकुवासहसीमा ।[76] उत्तरपूर्व्वेण दशलाङ्गलसहसीमा अष्टौ सीमा परिच्छदाः[77] । संवत् १९ छभिकाकछि[78] ।। (९ एवं चिह्नं तत्र) ।[79]

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[65] . . .मज्जत्तोय ।
[66] . . .सुगन्ध्यम्भसा ।
[67] . . .किङ्किणीमालाधारिणिभिः ।
[68] ASJ reading is रुषित which means to decorate. This meaning can somehow be suitable.
[69] The portion beginning from दशवदनान्तः पुरिकाभिरिव and ending in सनाथ just before the word दारूप्पेश्वरात् is absent in PP.
[70] PP reading is श्री-हड़पेश्वरात् ।
[71] PP reading is परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक ।
[72] From श्री-हारूप्पेश्वरात् to कुशली—this portion is in PP. Hereafter the two charters differ completely.
[73] उपजातिवृत्त (इन्द्रवज्रा and उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ।
[74] The metre is अनुष्टुभ् ।
[75] चन्द्रपुरि is referred to in the Nidhānpur plates of Bhāṣkaravarmā. दशलङ्गल etc. appear to be the names of certain villages.
[76] Hereafter North-West and West should have been mentioned to complete the boundary delimited on eight sides. Otherwise the अष्टसीमापरिच्छद referred to becomes meaningless.
[77] Vidyāvinoda states that परिच्छदः would have been better replaced by परिच्छेदः ।
[78] This is entirely unintelligible.
[79] This statement appears to be of the editor in the ASJ.

PARVATĪYĀ PLATES OF VANAMĀLAVARMADEVA

A cultivator while tilling his field in the village of Parvatīyā which lies about 3 miles from the town of Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam, discovered a set of three plates. It was secured by Mr. Biswadev Sarma who was then a student of the Law College, Gauhati. He handed over the plates to the then Principal of the Law College. Ultimately they were presented to the Assam State Museum, Gauhati.

The size of the plates is 10″×6·2″. They are held together by a ring to which a seal is attached which is oval in shape. Its two diameters are lengthwise 4·7″ and breadthwise 4·3″. It has a conical projection at the top and contains, on countersunk surface, the emblem of an elephant facing front below which is the legend of 3 lines separated by a cross-bar. The legend reads—

1. स्वस्ति श्रीमान्-प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपान्व—
2. यो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीवनम(ा)
3. लवर्म्मदेव(:।।)

The plates together with the seal weigh 258 *tolas*, while the seal alone weighs 127 tolas. The first and the third plates have writing on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether 59 lines of writing, the first plate having 15 lines, the second 16 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse, and the third only 13. The borders of the plate are raised.

The inscription records a grant of village named Haposagrāma to the northern bank of the Brahmaputra to a Brahmin named Cūḍāmaṇi. The inscription is assigned to a date about the middle of the 9th century A.D. It was jointly edited by Dr. D. C. Sarkar and Sri P. D. Chaudhury in *the Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX., No. 20.

PARVATĪYĀ PLATES OF VANAMĀLAVARMADEVA

First Plate

१. ऽ स्वस्ति । श्रीमत्कैलासभूभृत्पृथुकनकशिलासञ्चयास्फालनोत्थैरासारैर्हैमपङ्काविलतु

२. हिनजड़ैः सिक्तवैमानिसार्थः । अम्भःक्रीड़ाप्रसक्तप्रवरसुरवधूकेशहस्तच्युतैर्व्वो नाके-

३. शद्रुप्रसूनैररुणितसलिलो व्यात् स लौहित्यसिन्धुः[1] ।।१।। स पुनातु पिनाकी वो यन्नाटचे स्वर्धु-

४. नी-जलम् । कीर्ण्णं रेचकवातेन तारकाप्रकरायितम्[2] ।।२।। नरक इति सूनुरासीदादिव-राहस्य भु-

५. वि तदुद्धारे । अदितेः कुण्डलहरणे प्रतापमपि यो हरेरहरत् ।।३।। कृष्णेण तन्निहत्य च सृ-

६. ष्टौ भगदत्तवज्रदत्ताख्यौ । तस्य सुतौ तद्वनिताकरुणविलापहृतहृदयेन ।।४।। संप्राप्ते भगदत्ते

७. श्रीमत्प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिनाथत्वम् । वनमितरोऽपि तदेत्य प्राराधयदीश्वरन्तपसा ।।५।। तुष्टेन

८. तेन तस्मै दत्तमुपरिपत्तनाधिनाथत्वम् । प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिराज्यं कालेन त[द]न्वयस्यापि ।।६।।

९. तस्यान्वयेऽभूत् क्षितिपालमौलिमाणिक्यरोचिस्फुरिताङ्घ्रिपीठः । प्राग्ज्योतिषे-

१०. शः क्षतवैरिवीरः सालम्भ इत्युद्धतनामधेयः[4] ।।७।। सत्पूर्व्वनृपतिगुणसम्पदौघरागानु-

११. रञ्जितदिगन्तः । सालस्तम्भप्रमुखै [:] श्रीहर्षान्तैर्म्महीपालैः[5] ।।८।। दिवसारूढ़ै-राद्यस्य भूभुजोऽन्ने

१२. कवैरिवीरोऽभूत् । भ्राता शौर्यत्यागैरसमो नाम्नारथीति नृपः ।।९।। श्रीजीवदेवी-संज्ञा राज्ञी

१३. हृदयानुगाभवत्तस्य । बहुजनवन्द्या महतः प्रभातसन्ध्येव तेजसो जननी[6] ।।१०।। तस्या-न्तस्य तु

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[1] स्रग्धरा metre.

[2] अनुष्टुभ् metre in verses 2, 18, 29, 30.

[3] आर्या metre in verses 3-6, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21-23.

[4] इन्द्रवज्रा metre in verses 7, 12, 13.

[5] The metre of verses 8 & 9 is आर्या but not perfect.

[6] गीति in verse no. 10.

१४. राज्ञः सुतोऽभवन्नृपशिरोर्च्चितांघ्रियुगः[7] श्रीहर्जरो नृपेन्द्रः श्रिया स्वयं यः समुपगूढ़ः ।। ११।।

१५. [धर्मप्रवादेषु] [युधिष्टिरो यो भी] मोरिवर्गे स [मरे] च जिष् [णुः] । एकोऽप्यनेकैरिति सद्गुणौ–

Second Plate [first page]

१६. घैर्निःशेषकुन्तीतनयत्वमेतः[8] ।।१२।। गोपीजनारञ्जितमानसस्य सेर्ष्येव वक्षः परिहृत्य विष्णोः । निः–

१७. शेषरामाजनदेहसंस्थमादाय सौन्दर्यमिहाजगाम ।।१३।। वर्ण्णाद्यशेषगुणजातमयम्बभार पत्यु–

१८. र्ममातुलबलस्य रथाङ्गपाणेः । तेनाहमग्रमहिषी जगतीभुजोऽस्य भूता जने न खलु लाघवमभ्यु–

१९. पैमि[8] ।।१४।। इति यस्य महादेवी विगणय्य मनोऽनुगाभवल्लक्ष्मीः । श्रीमङ्गलाभिधाना प्रमदारत्नोत्तमा नृ–

२०. पतेः ।।१५।। तस्याशेषक्षितिपमुकुटोद्घृष्टपादाब्जपीठस्याभूत् सुनुर्न्नृपगुणमहारत्नमालाविभूषः । तस्यान्देव्यामखिलभुवनानन्द–

२१. को यः शशीव श्रीमान् ख्यातो जगति वनमालाभिधानः क्षिती–

२२. शः[9] ।।१६।। जलनिधितटवनमालासीमावधिमेदिनीपतित्वस्य । योग्य इति नाम धाता च–

२३. क्रे वनमाल इति यस्य ।।१७।। प्रचण्डारातिमत्तेभघटाध्वान्तोरुसंहतिम् । दिवाकरायितं

२४. येन विदार्य रणभूमिषु ।।१८।। क्षितितनयनृपवंशप्रभवनरेन्द्रामलाम्बरे येन । स्फु–

२५. टमेव मृगाङ्कायितमुत्सार्यारातितिमिरौघम् ।।१९।। भूरिदृप्तरिपुवीरवाहिनीशैल-व–

२६. ज्रमुरुविक्रमासिना । येन गजकमशेषमस्यता श्रीरकारि चिरमेकभर्त्तृका[10] ।।२०।। यस्य प्रतापभीत्या

२७. बहुरिपुजयिनोऽपि मेदिनीपालः । केचिद्दिशो विजगृहुः प्रसभमलं चामराण्यन्ये ।।२१।। राज्ञामन्येषां

२८. ये निशितानाजाविषून्नृपा मुमुचुः । यस्य त एव विभीत्या भूमीर्दूरन्निजा विजहुः ।।२२।। यैरभिमुखं रिपू–

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[7] In lines 9 and 14 the actual reading is अंह्रि for अंघ्रि ।

[8] वसन्ततिलक metre.

[9] Verses 16 and 25 are of मन्दाक्रान्ता metre.

[10] रथोद्धता metre.

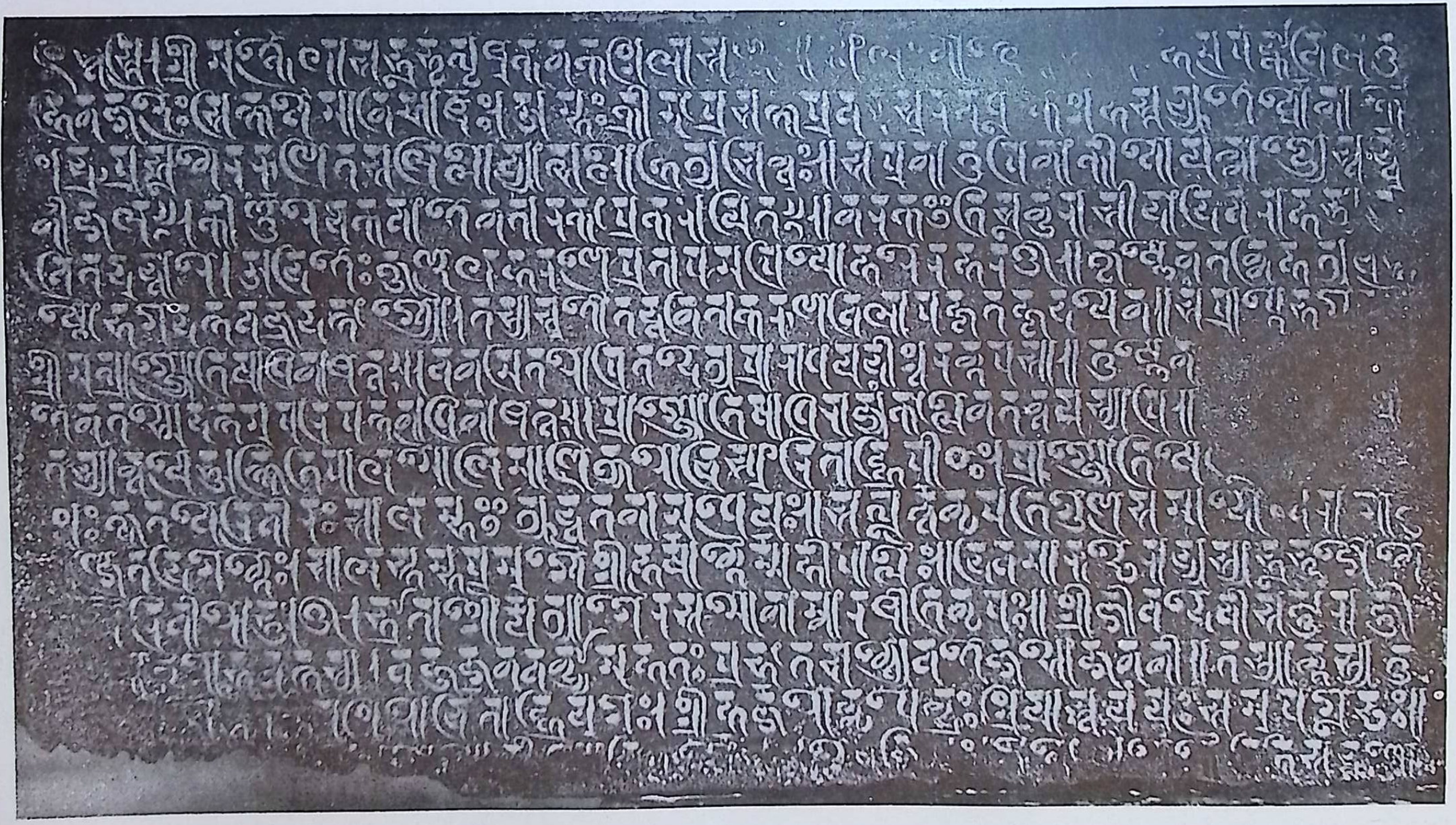
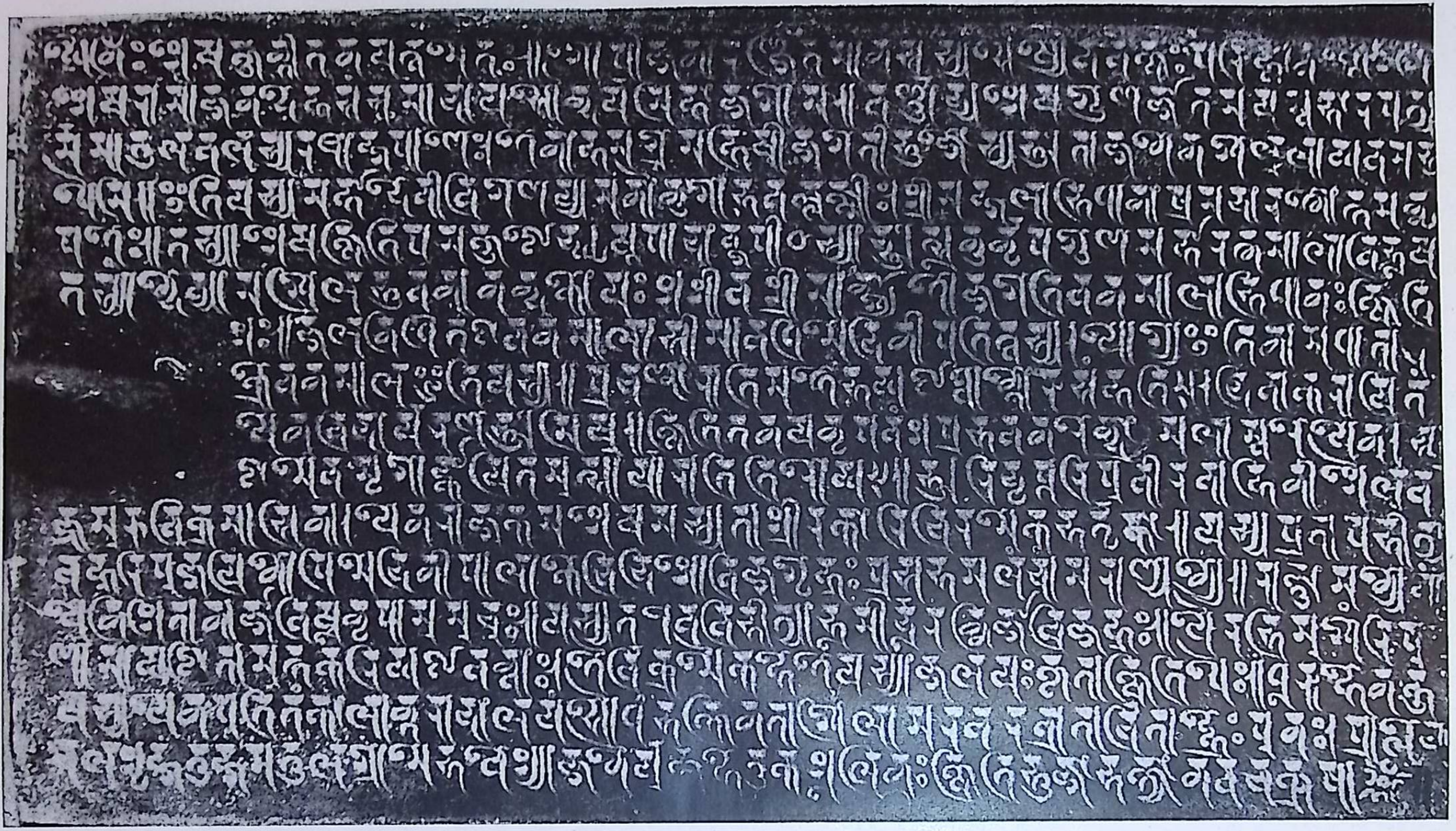


PLATE I—PARVATĪYĀ PLATES OF VANAMĀLA

PLATE II a—PARVATĪYĀ PLATES OF VANAMĀLA



२९. णामाघटिता मत्तकरिघटाबन्धाः । तैर्विक्रमैकहेतोर्यस्याञ्जलयः कृता[ः] क्षितिपैः ।।२३।। धूरूहे नहु–

३०. षस्य येन पतितं कालान्तरादालयं सौधं भक्तिनताखिलामरवरव्रातार्चिताङ्घ्रेः पुनः । प्रालेया–

३१. चलशृङ्गतुङ्गमतुलग्रामेभवेश्याजनैर्युक्त[ं] हेतुकशूलिनः क्षितिभुजा भक्त्या नवं चक्रुषा [11]।।२४।।

Second Plate [second page]

३२. यस्यानन्तद्युतिमतिसिता नागलोके हसन्ती । दिङ्नागानां श्वसितजनितां शीकरालीञ्च दिक्षु–

३३. ।।२५।।[12] प्रप्रीतसमस्तवर्णाश्रमादपरिमितसुभटसाधुविद्वज्जनाधिष्ठानाद् विचित्रगजतुरगशिवि–

३४. कारूढैर्म्महानरपतिभिरवनिपतिसेवार्थं गच्छद्भिः प्रत्यागाच्छद्भिश्च सङ्कुलमहाराजमा–

३५. र्गादसंख्यगजतुरगपदातिसाधननिरन्तरनिरुद्धसकलदिगन्तरादुभयवेलाचलो–

३६. स्थितोत्तुङ्गतरुगहनविश्रान्तमत्तवर्हिणा केकारवोद्भ्रान्तभुजगव्रातमुक्तफूत्कारपवनप्र–

३७. कम्पितानेकलताविगलितकुसुमनिकरपरिमलसुरभिसलिलेन तदुपवनलग्न-दा–

३८. वानलदह्यमानकृष्णागरुधूमसम्भवाम्बुधरवृष्टसुगन्धिजलौघप्रवाहिणा ।

३९. सकलसुरासुरमुकुटमणिमयूखमञ्जरीरञ्जितचरणपीठाभ्यां श्रीकामेश्व–

४०. रमहागौरीभट्टारिकाभ्यामधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः सततनितम्ब –

४१. क्षालनादधिकतरपवित्रपयः सम्पूर्णस्त्रोतसा । उभयतटमहीधरोपवनग्रन्थिपर्णा–

४२. ङ्कुरभुजां क्वचित्स्वय[ं] मृतानामन्यत्र[13] पुण्डरिकैर्हतयूथानामपरत्र वृकसङ्घैर्विनिहतार्द्धभ––

४३. क्षितमांसोज्झितानां कस्तुरिकामृगाणां मदगन्धेनामोदितसकलतीरोपकण्ठनिवासिजन–

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[11] In verses 24, 26-27 शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित metre.

[12] This is not a complete verse and is merely the first half of a stanza in the मन्दाक्रान्ता metre, the latter half of it running as follows in the Tezpur Plates:

सम्पूर्णेन्दोर्वियति विमलामंशुमालां विचित्रां
राज्ञोऽनल्पा विचरतितरां कीर्त्तिरद्याप्यजस्रं ।।

This verse is followed by four more verses which are not found in the present inscription. For these verses, see the Tezpur Plates of Vanamālavarmadeva.

[13] In the original, reading is नामाम्यत्र ।।

४४. पदेन[14]। मज्ज[15]त्तोयविलासिनीकुचकलशतटाश्लिष्टम[15]दपङ्काविलसुगन्ध्यम्भसा।
वेश्याङ्गना
४५. भिरिव नानाभरणशोभितप्रकटावयवाभिः। बालकुमारिकाभिरिव क्वणत्किङ्किणि-
मालाधा
४६. रिणिभिः। कर्ण्णाटीभिरिव कठिनाभिघातसंवर्द्धि[त]वेगाभिः। वारस्त्रीभिरिव
चामरधारिणिभि[:][16]
४७. श्रीहड़पेश्वरात् स परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारको महा-
राजाधिराजा–
४८. श्रीवनमालवर्म्मदेवः कुशली। उत्तरकूले स्वल्पमङ्गोकमण्डलप्रतिबद्धं पूर्व्वे ऋक्षि-
दाहिका। दक्षिणपू–
४९. र्व्वे चण्डिकापुष्करिणी। दक्षिणे दीर्घाङ्गः। दक्षिणपश्चिमे वटवृक्षः। पश्चिमे वेणु-
विटपः। पश्चिमोत्तरे शा–
५०. ल्मली। उत्तरे वृहदालि। उत्तरपूर्व्वे धवलपुष्करिणी। एवमष्टसीमापर्यन्तमचाट-भट
प्रवेशं ह–
५१. पोसग्रामं मुक्तोपरिकरं कत्वा। त्यागी सत्यधनः परोपकृतिमान् साधुः सतां सम्मतः
शास्त्रा–
५२. र्थामृततृप्तधीः कलियुगे त्त्रर्याः[17] स एकगृहो। वेदाभ्यासरतश्च सामचरणः शाण्डिल्य-
गोत्रो महा–
५३. न् भट्टो जेज्जट इत्यभूद्गुणनिधिः सम्मानितो राजभिः ॥२६॥ तस्यैते[18]गुणशालिनो
नि–

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[14] The passage सकल. . .स्रोतसा [II. 39-41] is found in the Tezpur Plates after उभय. . . जनपदेन [II. 41-44].

[15] In the original, reading is मज्जन्नोतोय and मद्द for मज्जतोय and मद।

[16] The following passage

> दशवदनान्तःपुरिकाभिरिव रुंषित सन्ततदशनाभिः पवनकामिनी-
> भिरिवात्यन्तवेगवतीभिः रमणीयदलुहाङ्गनाभिरिव सकलजनमनो-
> हारिणीभिः नटीभिरिव नर्त्तकपुरुषाक्रमणसंवर्द्धितोत्कम्पाभि दुर्गत-
> देवपालिमिरिव सततोत्तानस्थानकामिनीभिर्नाभिरलङ्कृतोभयती-
> रोपान्तदेशेन श्रीलौहित्यभट्टारकेण सनाथ. . .

(See Tezpur Plates of this edition) is not found in this charter.

[17] The reading should have been त्रय्याः। The word एकगृह should not have been joined in *sandhi* (संधि) as the first half of the stanza ends here. But in the original there being no sign showing the end of the first half of the verse, the संधि is retained.

[18] In the original, the reading is तस्मैते।

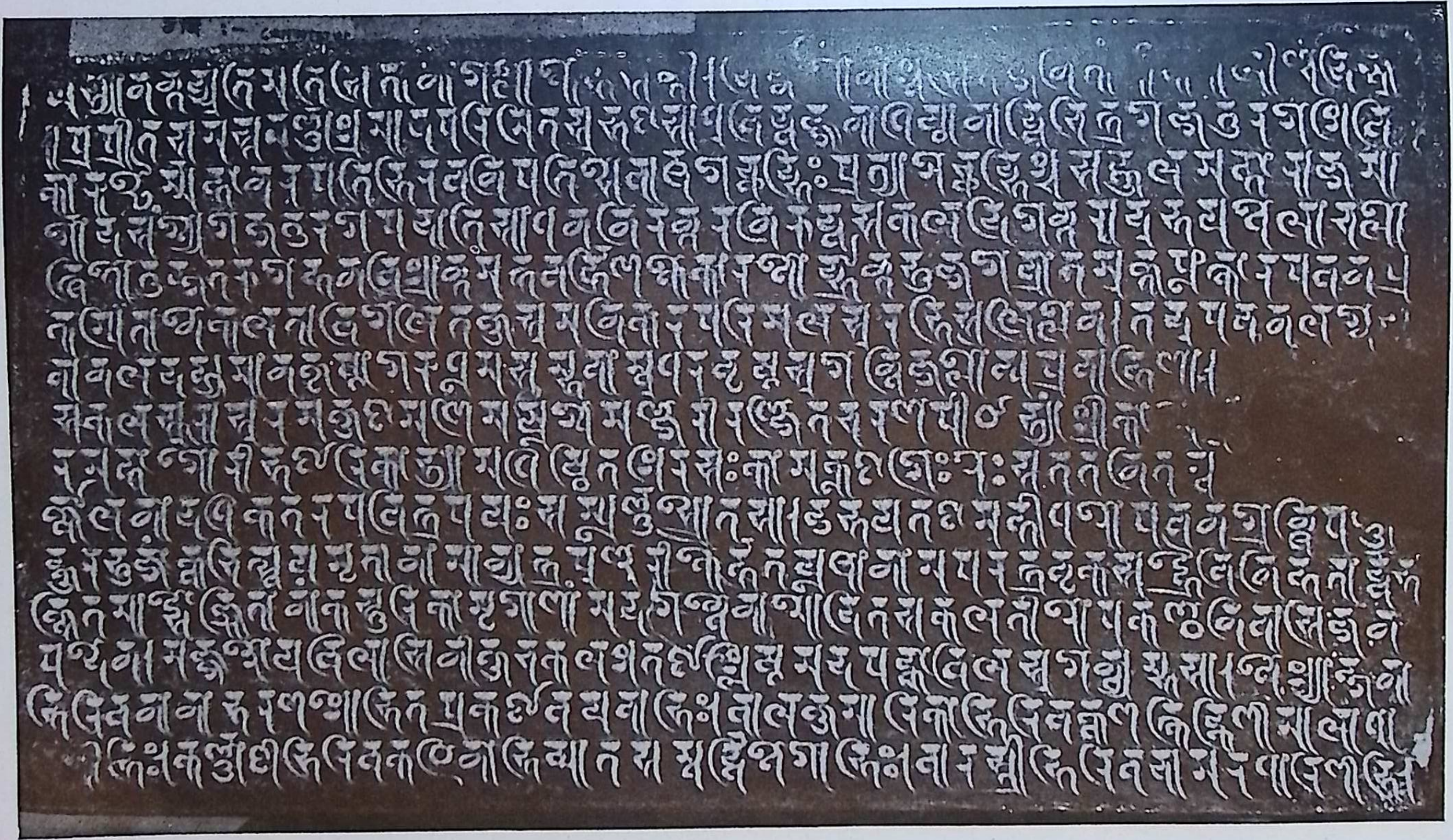
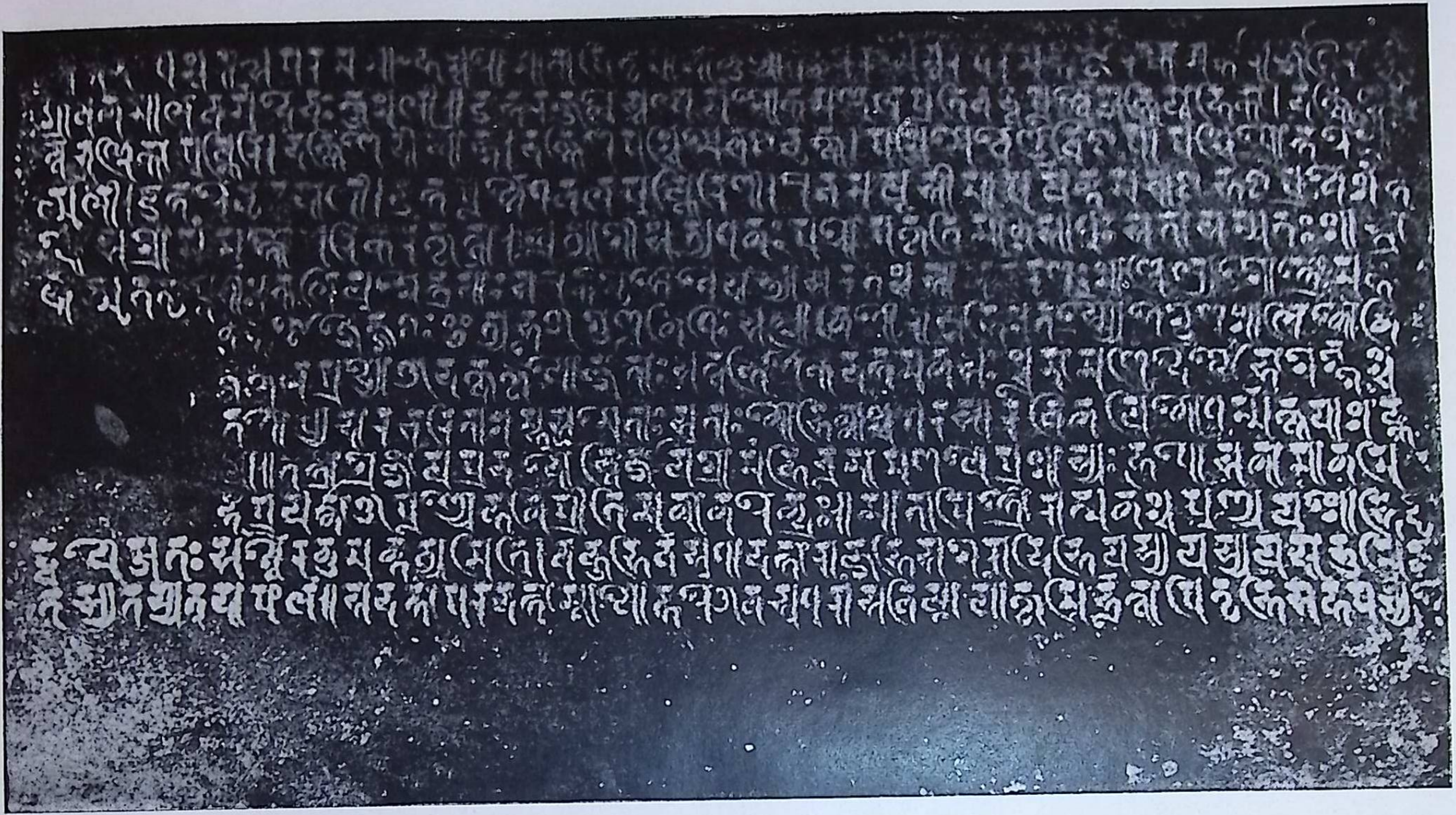


PLATE II b—PARVATĪYĀ PLATES OF VANAMĀLA

PLATE III—PARVATĪYĀ PLATES OF VANAMĀLA



५४. जकुलप्रद्योतदक्षक्रिया जाताः सत्त्वहितैकदत्तमनसश्चूड़ामणिर्देटोभा । गर्ग्गश्च[19]

५५. ततोऽप्युदारचरितः शम्भुः समेताः सुताः नोभिन्नाश्च परस्परं विनयिनो धर्म्मक्षयाशङ्क-

५६. या ।।२७।। तत्राग्रजाय प्रददौ द्विजाय ग्रामं हि चूड़ामणये प्रशस्य[20] । हापोसानामानमि-

५७. ह प्रयत्नात् पुण्येऽहनि प्रीतिमना नरेन्द्रः[21] ।।२८।। मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवृ-

५८. द्धये अतः सर्व्वैरनुमन्तव्यमिति । वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि[:] सगरादिभि[:] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्-

५९. तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।।२९।। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धराम् । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ।।३०।।

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[19] The metre requires a shorts yllable in तो of देतोभा । Dr. Sarkar has suggested देभट । Also for the sake of the metre 'गर्ग्गश्च' should be 'र्गश्चैव' ।।

[20] The word could have been प्रशस्यम् to go with ग्रामम्, or प्रशस्यः to go with नरेन्द्रः ।

[21] उपजाति metre.

Inscribed image of Sūrya from Kāki

By Śrī P. D. Chaudhury

This miniature image was found at Kāki, Nowgong, Assam. There is an inscription in prose on the back of the image. The inscribed image was very kindly sent to the State museum by the S.D.O. (P.W.D.), Hojai, on 12/3/65.

The use of the surname "*Varma*" by this King may also be explained in the same way as the following stone inscriptions of *Harihara* (1).

On palaeographical grounds the inscription which bears no date, may, however, be placed to the ninth century A.D.

The inscription was deciphered by Sri P. D. Chaudhury, then Director of Archaeology and State Meseum, Assam, Gauhati.

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[1] When Vanamālavarmadeva's name is directly mentioned, the analogy with the rule of *Śrī* Jivara referred to in the *Harihara Image Inscription* from Deopani (No. 1) is inappropriate, because Vanamāladeva is a known figure in history having extended his sway over a considerable part of Bengal, as we have shown in the Introduction.—editor

INSCRIPTION ON THE SŪRYA IMAGE FROM KĀKI

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ॐ स्वस्ति । श्रीवनमालवर्मदेवराज्ये वशिष्ठस्य पौत्र[1] भट्टरवि[2] आदित्य प्रत्मैतिह्[3] ।

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[1] पौत्र should be पौत्रः ।

[2] भट्टरवि . . . भट्टरविः ।

[3] आदित्यं प्रत्मेतिह्—This reading is doubtful.

The Viṣṇu Image Inscription from Deopānī

This image of *Viṣṇu* found at Deopānī bears four lines consisting of three verses in Sanskrit. The late K. N. Dīkṣit published an article on this inscribed image of *Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa* in the *Epigraphica Inica* Vol. XVIII No. 37.

The inscription has been attributed to the ninth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. It refers to the installation of a statue of *Nārāyaṇa*. The opening benedictory verse refers to Lord *Śiva*. It does not seem to throw any new light of historical interest. It is now preserved in the State Museum at Gauhati.

The inscription is full of grammatical mistakes and entirely of irregular composition. It is also not known how far correctly we have been able to decipher it. At the same time we could not secure Dīkṣita's version of the text for a verification with ours. As we do not stand on a sure ground we have not attempted to give a English rendering of an apparently unintelligible text. Those who are curious about it may refer to Dīkṣita's above article on it.

THE VIṢṆU IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM DEOPĀNĪ

ॐ हुवन्तु[1] तुष्यं[2] उरगेन्द्रसूत्रं[3] वृषध्वजं सोमजगत्प्रकाशं[4] । म[5]. . . भगवतिस्तु शूर्य्यं[6] ॥
सत्त्वासुदेवि[7] भुवि मार्त्तिलोके (सुनर्के)[8] सूद्रो द्विजवर्णं नारिसेव्यस्तु देवि भगवतिस्तु शूर्य्यं[9] ॥
पि. . . . . । भगवतो नारायणस्य शैलीप्रतिमा भक्त्यन्ता:[10] ॥

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[1] हुवन्तु—Evidently influence of Prākṛta is perceptible. It is most likely that the word is derived from the root हु=to offer oblations to. The translation of the line may therefore be "Let people offer oblations" etc. The *Prākṛta Sūtra* भुवो होहूवौ (*Prakṛta Prakāśa* VIII. 1) and other sūtras following it are not applicable here.

[2] तुष्यं—has a reference it is likely to the word ग्राशुतोष, another designation of *Śiva*.

[3] उरगेन्द्रसूत्रं—Lord *Śiva* puts on a sacred thread of serpents.

[4] सोमजगत्प्रकाशं—This has a reference to the moon on the forehead of *Śiva*.

[5] One म is visible here, the rest is effaced.

[6] भगवतिस्तु etc.—Nothing can be made out of these readings. शूर्य्यं evidently stands for सूर्यं। The full stop after it makes things worse.

[7] सत्त्वासुदेवि—not at all intelligible.

[8] मार्त्तिलोके—Evidently it may be the मर्त्त्यंलोक ; but भूलोक itself is मर्त्त्यंलोक । Therefore it appears to be a mere repetition. Even then सुनर्क that appears to be the next word is completely beside the mark. मृत्युलोक may be possible.

[9] सूद्रो is a wrong spelling of शूद्र ।
नारि. . . . . .नारी ।
Nothing can be made out of the समानाधिकरण words—शूद्रो द्विजवर्णनारीसेव्यस्तु ।
शूर्य्यं again is सूर्य्यं ।
Here it appears that the effulgent power of the sun is identified with some deity which again is *Vinṣu* as in the *Ṛgveda*.

[10] So an image of *Bhagavāna Viṣṇu* or *Narāyaṇa* is installed with veneration.

Inscription on a Harihara image from Deopānī (No. 1)

By ŚrīP. D. Chaudhury

A stone image of *Harihara* (*Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa*) has been acquired for the State Museum at Gauhati through the generosity of Śrī S. N. Roy, Managing Director, Bogidhola Tea Trading Co. Thanks are also due to Sri D. Datta, advocate and Dr. C. D. Chaudhury of Golaghat through whose help this valuable acquisition was made for the Museum.

This stone image of *Harihara* was found at Deopānī, Golaghat Sub-Division. The god is four-armed. The right forearm holds rosary and the right back arm holds the trident, left forearm holds the *Śaṅkha* (Conch) while the left back one holds *Cakra* (discus partly broken). The Bull (Vehicle of *Śiva*) on the right and *Garuḍa* (Vehicle of *Viṣṇu*) on the left are depicted below. Thus the image may safely be identified as that of *Harihara*,—right half forming the *Śiva* portion while the left half the *Vaiṣṇava* one.

The inner significance of sculpturing an image of *Harihara* and its worship is really interesting and educative. It has been pointed out by Gopinath Rao in his monumental work of Hindu Iconography that the worship of *Harihara* came into existence after the conflicts between the partisans of the cults of *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu* had abated and a compromise was arrived at, namely that *Śiva* is *Viṣṇu* and *Viṣṇu* is conversely *Śiva* and that they are essential for the creation, protection and destruction of the Universe.

The most interesting and essential element of this image is the inscription on the left border of the stone wherein the image has been carved.

The inscription is full of orthographical mistakes and as it appears, was written rather carelessly. The inscription engraved on the left side of the image is in corrupt sanskrit prose.

Now the principal question is—who was Maharājādhirāja Śrī Jīvara? He is unknown in the history of Assam. It may however be pointed out that the position of Deopānī is somewhat intermediate between Dimapur and Kachamari Pathār where exist remains of Culture associated with the Kacharis. In short, it may be said that Jīvara was possibly a king of a *Mlechha* (Mech) dynasty. His title of '*Mahārājādhirāja*' signifies that he was an independent ruler. It may be that he exercised his rule over an area comprising places like Kachamari Pathār, Deopānī, Dimapur etc. during the suzerainty of someone of the ninth century Kāmarūpa Kings of the dynasty of *Sālastambha* whose reign is tentatively fixed from 655-675 A.D.

On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be attributed to the ninth century A.D. The characters are similar to those of the Rock inscription of Harjaravarmā (deciphered and edited by Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri) and also akin to the inscription on a *Viṣṇu* image from Deopanī edited in Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XVIII No. 37) by the late K. N. Dīkṣit (formerly Director General of Archaeology in India).

INSCRIPTION ON HARIHARA IMAGE FROM DEOPĀNĪ

(No. 1.)

ॐ नमः। महाराजाधिराज श्रीजीवररायेः सूंजः कठोदवती संपन्नविपन्नशिव्यतपस्विनियाः सुतः गड़ौनाथ-शंकरनारायणकीर्त्तनः वलभिदिनामेकं शैलान्दे लिखिदः।

The above inscription when rendered into correct Sanskrit stands as follows:

> ॐ नमः महाराजाधिराजश्रीजीवरराज्यें सूर्यकठोरब्रतिसम्पन्नविपन्नशैवतपःस्विन्याः सुतः
> गौरीनाथशंकरनारायणकीर्त्तनः बलभिन्नामकः शैलान्ते लिखितवान्।

The above reading is as determined by Śrī P. D. Chaudhury, late Director of State Archaeology in Assam. Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, Director of Historical and Antiquarian studies in Assam has published a text of this inscription in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLVIII, Part I, April, 1970, serial No. 142. The differences of Dr. Chowdhury's reading from the above are as follows:

1. ॐ is absent.
2. He reads गुरुः in place of सूर्यं।
3. . . .कुमारावधिस्वधर्माविपन्नसिद्धच in place of कठोरव्रतिसम्पन्नविपन्नशैव।
4. He reads ग्रादौनाम in place of गौरीनाथ·।
5. . . . वलाहीतिनामकं in place of वलभिन्नामकः।
6. . . . शैलान्तेन in place of शैलान्ते
7. . . . in the original.

Inscribed image of Harihara (No. 2) from Deopānī

(*by* Śrī P. D. Chaudhury)

This stone image of *Harihara* bearing writing was also found at Deopānī, Golaghat, through the courtesy of Shri D. Dutta advocate, and Dr. C. D. Choudhury. The inscribed image was acquired for the State Museum. The inscription is in Sanskrit prose and inscribed on the back of the image. No date is given but on palaeographical ground this may be placed to the ninth Century A.D. The inscription does not seem to throw any new light of historical importance.

The use of the title "*Mahārājādhirāja*" may be explained in the same way as has been done in the inscribed image of Harihara No. 1. The Surname "*Varman*" might have been used by them as it is so popular with quite a few celebrated dynasties of ancient India such as Pallavas, Chandellas, Chalukyas and so on.

INSCRIPTION ON HARIHARA IMAGE FROM DEOPĀNĪ

(No- 2.)

The following is the text of the inscription as determined by Śrī P D Chaudhury:

ॐ नमः। स्वस्ति महाराधिराजः श्रीदिग्लेखवर्मराज्ये काख्यापुत्रेण हरिणा रमेशः हरिहरः। प्रतिमा दत्तेति।

Dr. P. C. Chowdhury's text as published in *the Journal of Indian History*, vol. XLVIII, part I, April 1970, is as follows:

नमः स्वस्ति महाराजाधिराजः[1] श्रीदिग्लेखवर्मराज्ये।
काख्यापुत्राय[2] शतहरेर्नाम्ना[3] हरिहरप्रतिमा दत्तेति[4]।

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[1] महाराजाधिराजन् in the original.

[2] काख्यापुत्रे .. ..

[3] शतहरिर्न्मिन .. ..

[4] दत्तेती .. ..

Howraghat Plates of Balavarmā III. Year 5

Mr. Prakash Chandra Acarya of *Uttar Barbil Howraghat*, Mikir Hills, was originally the possessor of the inscription. Mr. Ganesh Chandra Phukan, the then Deputy Commissioner, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills, secured the plates through a gentleman named M. M. Chakravarti. The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Government of Assam obtained the plates through the courtesy of Mr. Rupnath Brahma, one of the Ministers of the Assam Cabinet. Dr. D. C. Sarkar edited the inscription from the photographs of the inscribed faces of the plates kindly supplied by Dr. Pratap Chandra Chowdhury, the then Deputy Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII. No. 33. The photographs were taken after having rubbed chalk over the letters of the writing on the plates. Dr. Chowdhury earlier published a text of the inscription in the Assam *Sāhitya Sabhā Patrikā*, 15th year, No. 3 pp. 187-94.

The set consists of 3 copper plates. The size of each plate is 10″ × 6½″. They are strung on a copper ring, the ends of which are soldered beneath a bronze seal. The countersunk surface of the seal is divided into two parts by a thick demarcating line. The upper part bears the figure of an elephant to front while the lower part is occupied by a three-lined legend beneath the line of demarcation.

1. स्वस्ति श्रीमान्-प्रागज्योतिषाधिपा (न्व)-
2. यो महाराजाधिराज श्रीव (ब)
3. (ल) वर्मंदेव: (॥)

Of the three plates of the set, the second bears writing on both the obverse and reverse, the other two plates being inscribed only on the inner side. The first three inscribed faces contain 14 lines of writing each, while the fourth contains only 12 lines.

The present inscription is assigned to a date about the end of the 9th century A.D. The king made the grant for the merit of his parents *in the 5th year of his reign*. The charter records the grant of a piece of land yielding two thousand measures (probably called *Droṇa*) of paddy to the *Brāhmaṇa* Syāmadeva-bhaṭṭa by *Parameśvara Paramabhattārka Mahārājādhirāja* Balavarmadeva on the occasion of *Abda-pūjā* performed in connection with the *Śakr-otthāna* festival when the latter was staying at Haḍappeśvara.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the texts of the Nowgong and Howraghat plates of Balavarmā almost wholly agree upto महाराजाधिराज: श्रीबलवर्मंदेव: कुशली in line 36 of the Howraghat and line 33 of the Nowgong charters. Therefore the decipherment has become very easy. However the following differences are only noted.

1. The 1st plate of the Nowgong charter being broken in the right-hand top corner, the reading towards the end of the 1st line could not be deciphered and are restored from the Howraghat plates. It is कल्पान्तनिशावसाने यत् ।

2. In verse 3, the last word is धृतः in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*. Dr. Chowdhury also reads धृतः । Dr. Sarkar reads भृतः ।

3. In line 6, Dr. Sarkar कपोलदोलायिते but Dr. Chowdhury कपोलायितं which affects the metre by three मात्राs.

4. In line 14 of Howraghat the reading adopted by Dr. Sarkar is संसदि पादनखप्रभाप्रतानैः । In line 13 the same is read as यदरुणपादनख by Vidyāvinoda in the Nowgong plates. This militates against the metre and is not acceptable. Dr. Chowdhury reads here संसदि यस्यपादनख etc. which is good.

5. In line 16, Dr. Sarkar reads मध्याः । Dr. Chowdhury reads मध्यः which appears to be the correct reading.

6. In line 18, Dr. Chowdhury has left out the word पंक्तिः without which the meaning is not clear.

7. In line 32, Dr. Chowdhury reads हरपेश्वर but Dr. Sarkar reads हड़पेश्वर ।

8. In line 37, Dr. Sarkar reads बप्पदेवपातकाद but Dr. Chowdhury has read वपादेवपाटकाद ।

9. In line 50, Dr. Sarkar reads भट्टाय but Dr. Chowdhury भद्राय ।

10. In line 52, Dr. Chowdhury reads अस्यास्सीमा whereas Dr. Sarkar reads सीमा alone.

11. In line 53, Dr. Chowdhury reads बिटि but Dr. Sarkar निशि

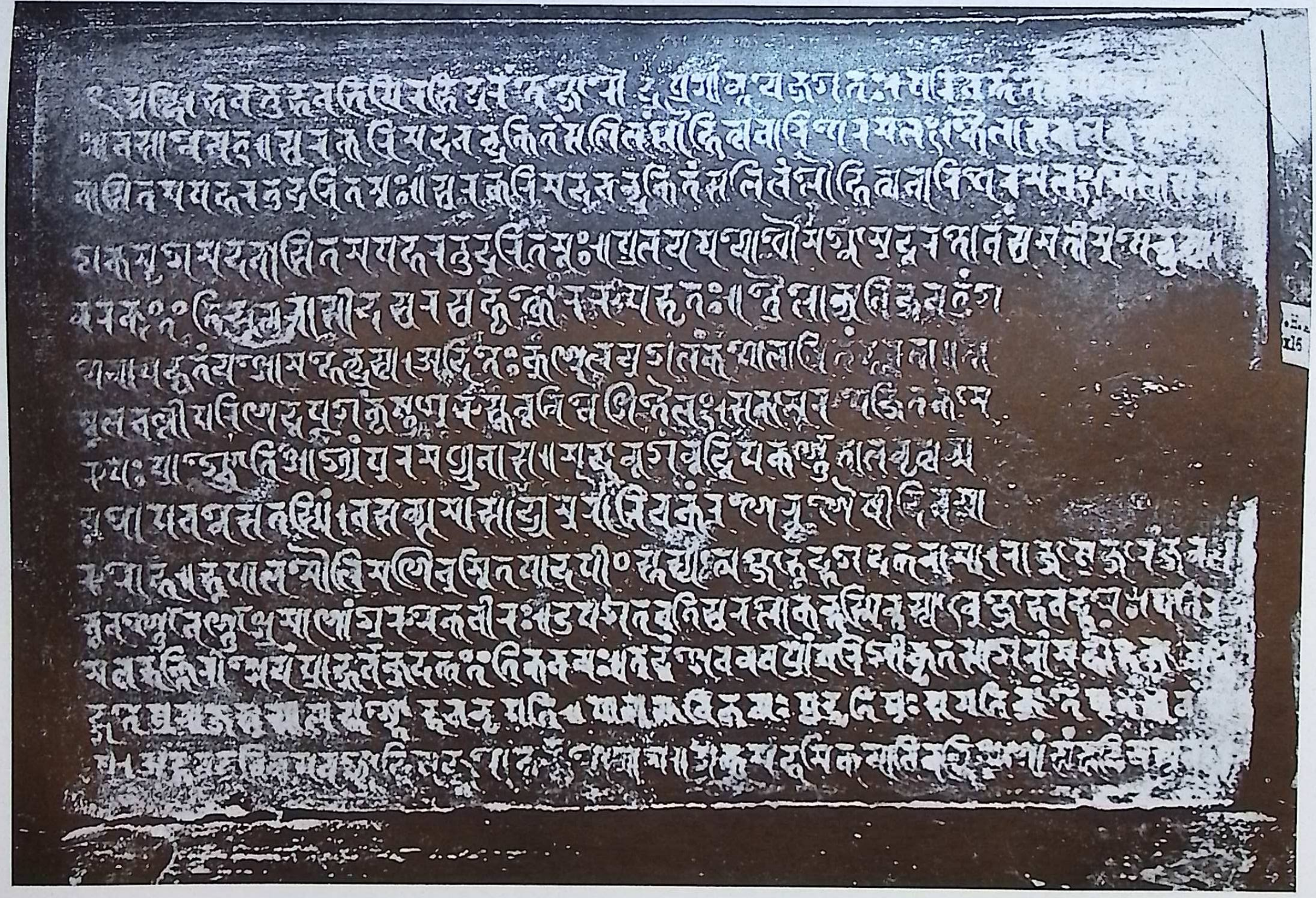
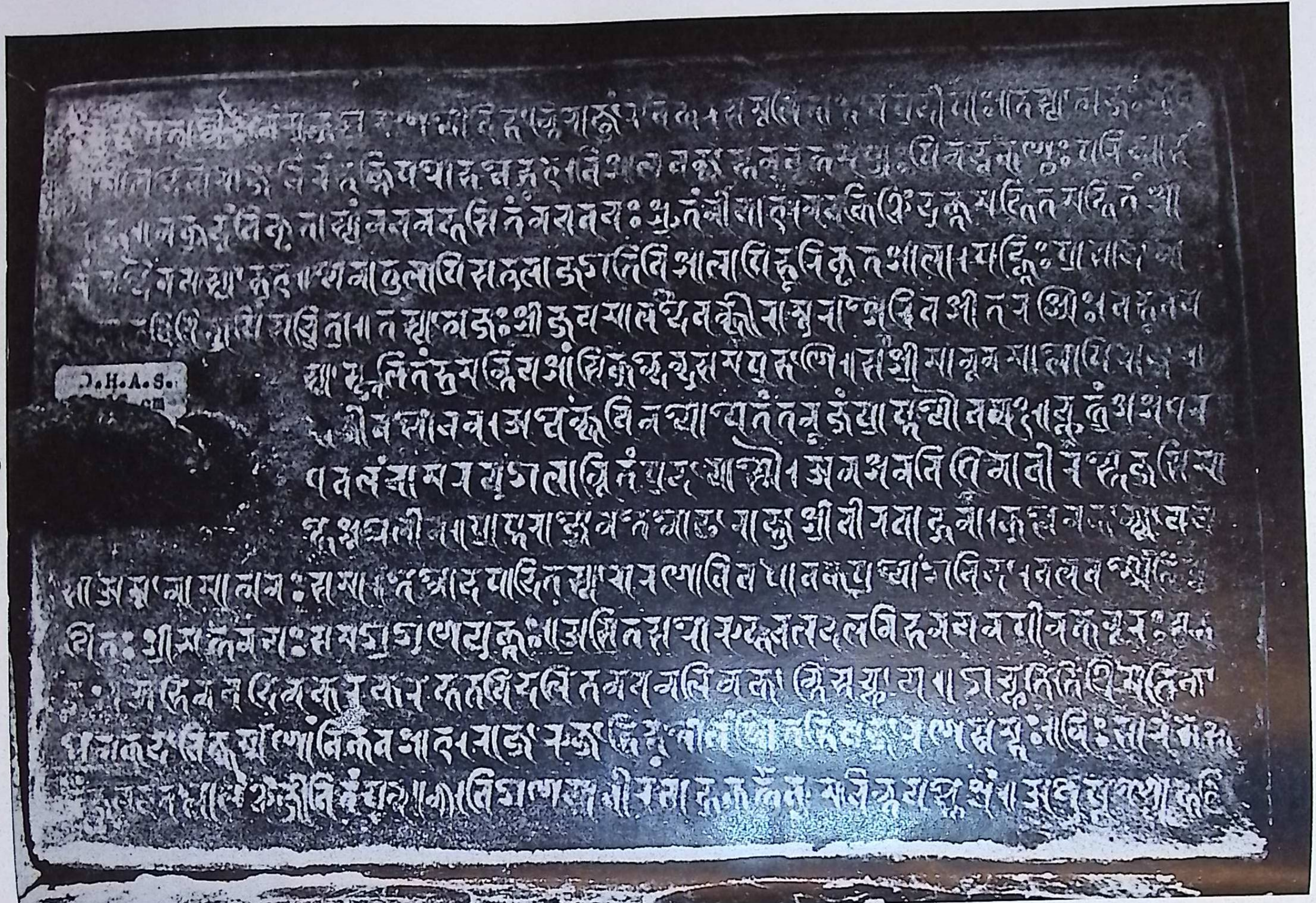


PLATE I—HOWRĀGHĀṬ PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ

PLATE II a—HOWRĀGHĀṬ PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ



HOWRAGHAT PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ III

१. ऽ स्वस्ति । भवतु भवतिमिरभिदुरं तेजो रोद्र[ं] प्रशान्तये जगतः परिवर्तते समग्रं [क]ल्पान्तनि–

२. शावसाने यत्[1] ।।१।। सुरकरिमदचन्द्रकितं सलिलं लौहित्यवारिधेरमलम् । कैलाशकटकमृगमद–

३. वासितमपहरतु दुरितम्वः ।।२।। सुरकरिमदचन्द्रकितं सलिलं लौहित्यवारिधेरमलम् । कैलाशक–

४. टकमृगमदवासितमपहरतु दुरितम्वः[2] ।। प्रलयपयोधौ मग्नामुद्धरतो वसुमतीमुपेन्द्रस्य ।

५. नरक इति सूनुरासीदसुरसुहृत्क्रोड़रूपभृतः ।।३।। त्रैलोक्यविजयतुङ्ग[ं]

६. येनापहृतं यशो महेन्द्रस्य । अदितेः कुण्डलयुगलं कपो [ल दो] लायितं हरता ।।४।। ता–

७. म्बुलवल्लीपरिनद्धपूगं कृष्णागुरुस्कन्धनिवेशितैलं । स कामरूपे जितकाम–

८. रूपः प्राग्ज्योतिषाख्य पुरमध्युवास[3] ।।५।। मदान्धगन्धद्विपकर्ण्णतालनृत्यन्म–

९. यूरोपवने स तस्मिन् । वसन् समासाद्य मुरारिचक्रं रणे रणैषी दिवमा–

१०. रुरोह ।।६।। भूपालमौलिमणिचुम्बितपादपीठस्तस्यात्मजोऽभूद्भगदत्तनामा । राजाप्रजारञ्जन-ल–

११. ब्धवर्ण्णो वर्ण्णाश्रमाणां गुरुरेकवीरः[4] ।।७।। उपगतवति सुरलोकन्तस्मिन्तस्यानुजो भवभद्भूमेः ।[पतिर]

१२. मलभक्तिरीशे यं प्रभुर्वज्रदत्त इति कवयः ।।८।। तद्वंशे वनवप्रां परिखीकृतसागरां महीम्भुक्त्वा । अस्त–

१३. ङ्गतेषु राजसु सालस्तम्भोऽभवन्नृपतिः ।।९।। पालकविजयप्रभृतिषु समतिक्रान्तेषु तस्य वंश्ये[5]–

१४. षु ।[6] [अभवद्भुवि नृपचन्द्रो द्विषज्जरो हर्ज्जरो नाम] ।।१०।। अहमहमिक [या वि] व–[न्दिषू]णां संसदि [पादनख]

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[1] Verses 1-4, 8-10, 14, 17, 21-25 are in आर्या metre.

[2] This is a mere repetition of the previous verse. This may be through the mistake of the scribe.

[3] This, and the verse nos. 6, 12 and 15 are of उपजाति metre (इन्द्रवज्रा and उपेन्द्रवज्रा metres).

[4] इन्द्रवज्रा metre.

[5] In the original the reading is (पालहविजयःप्रमृतिषुः समतिक्रान्तेषु वं) which is corrected as in the text in accordance with Nowgong plate.

[6] The following half of the verse is restored from the Nowgong plate in which the word समतिक्रान्तेषु could not be fully read.

Second Plate [*first page*]

१५. प्रभाप्रतानैः। न मुकु [टम] णयो विभान्ति राज्ञा [ं] रविकरसंव [लिते]व प्रदीपाः ।।११।।[7] तस्यात्मजः श्रीव–
१६. [न] मालदेवो राजा चिरं भक्तिपरो भवेभूत्। विशालवक्षास्तनुवृ [त्] त-[म]ध्याः[8] पि [नद्ध] कण्ठः परि [घा] भ–
१७. बाहुः।।१२।। न क्रुद्धं विकृतास्यं न च न हसितं न च वचः श्रुतं नीचात्। न च किञ्चि-दुक्तमहित[ं]महितं शी–
१८. लं सदैव यस्याभूत् ।।१३।।[9] येनातुलापि सतुला जगति विशलापि भूरिकृतशाला। पंक्तिः प्रासादाना–
१९. सकृतविचित्रापि सच्चित्रा ।।१४।। तस्यात्मजः श्रीजयमालदेव [ः] क्षीराम्बुराशेरिव शीतरश्मिः। बभूव य–
२०. स्यास्खलितं भ्रमन्ति यशांसि कुन्देन्दुसमप्रभाणि ।।१५।। स श्रीमान् वनमालोपि राजा
२१. राजीवलोचन[ः]। अवेक्ष्य विनयोपेतं तनुजं प्राप्तयौवनं ।।१६।।[10] छत्रं शशधर–
२२. धवलं चामरयुगलान्वितं[11] प्रदायास्मै। अनशनविधिना वीरस्तेजसि मा–
२३. हेश्वरे लीन[ः] ।।१७।। प्राप्तराज्येन तेनोढ़ा राज्ञा श्रीवीरबाहुना। कुलेन कान्त्या[12] वयसा अम्बानामात्मनः
२४. समा ।।१८।। तेनोदपादि तस्यामरणाविव पावक[ः] प्रयोगविदा। बलवर्मेति प्र–
२५. थितः श्रीमत्तनयः समग्रगुणयुक्तः ।।१९।। असितसरोरुहचलदलनिभनयन[ः] पीन-कन्धरस्सुभु–
२६. जः। अभिनवदिनकरकरहतविदलितनवनलिनकान्तिसच्छाय[ः] ।।२०।। गच्छति तिथिमति का–
२७. ले स कदाचित् कर्म्मणां विपाकवशात्। राजा रुजाभि [भू] तो लङ्घितभिषजा रण स्तम्भः ।।२१।। निस्सारं संसा––

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[7] The metre is पुष्पिताग्रा। Read सपदिच for संसदि for the sake of the metre.

[8] मध्य: is the correct reading.

[9] Verses 13, 19-20, 30 गीति।

[10] Verses 16 and 18 are of अनुष्टुभ् metre.

[11] Cf. Ragh III. 16.

अदेयमासीत्त्रयमेव भूपतेः शशिप्रभं छत्रमुभे च चामरे।

[12] A similar *śloka* in the *Raghu* VI. 79:

कुलेन कान्त्या वयसा नवेन
गुणैश्च तैस्तैर्विनयप्रधानैः।

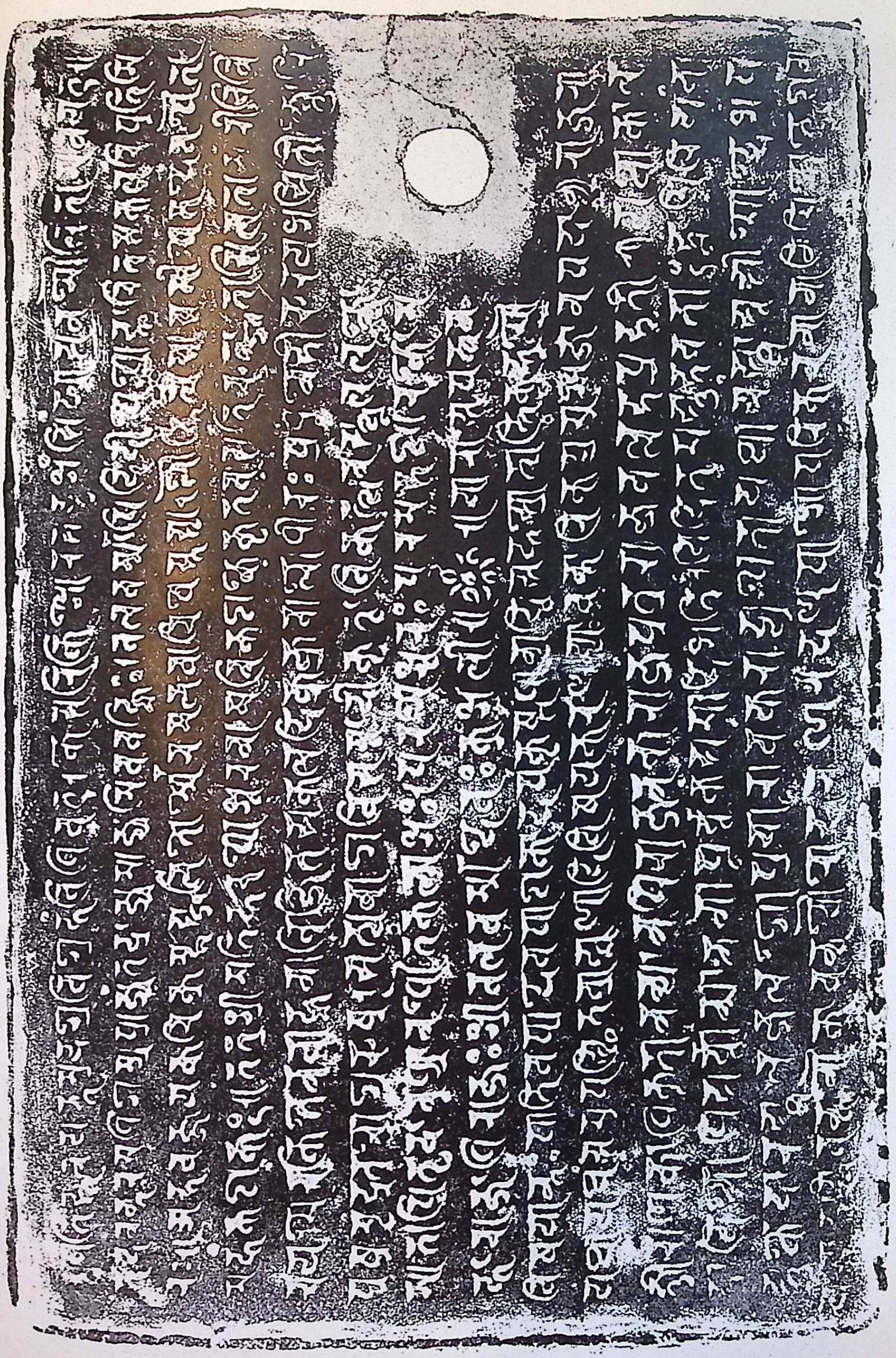
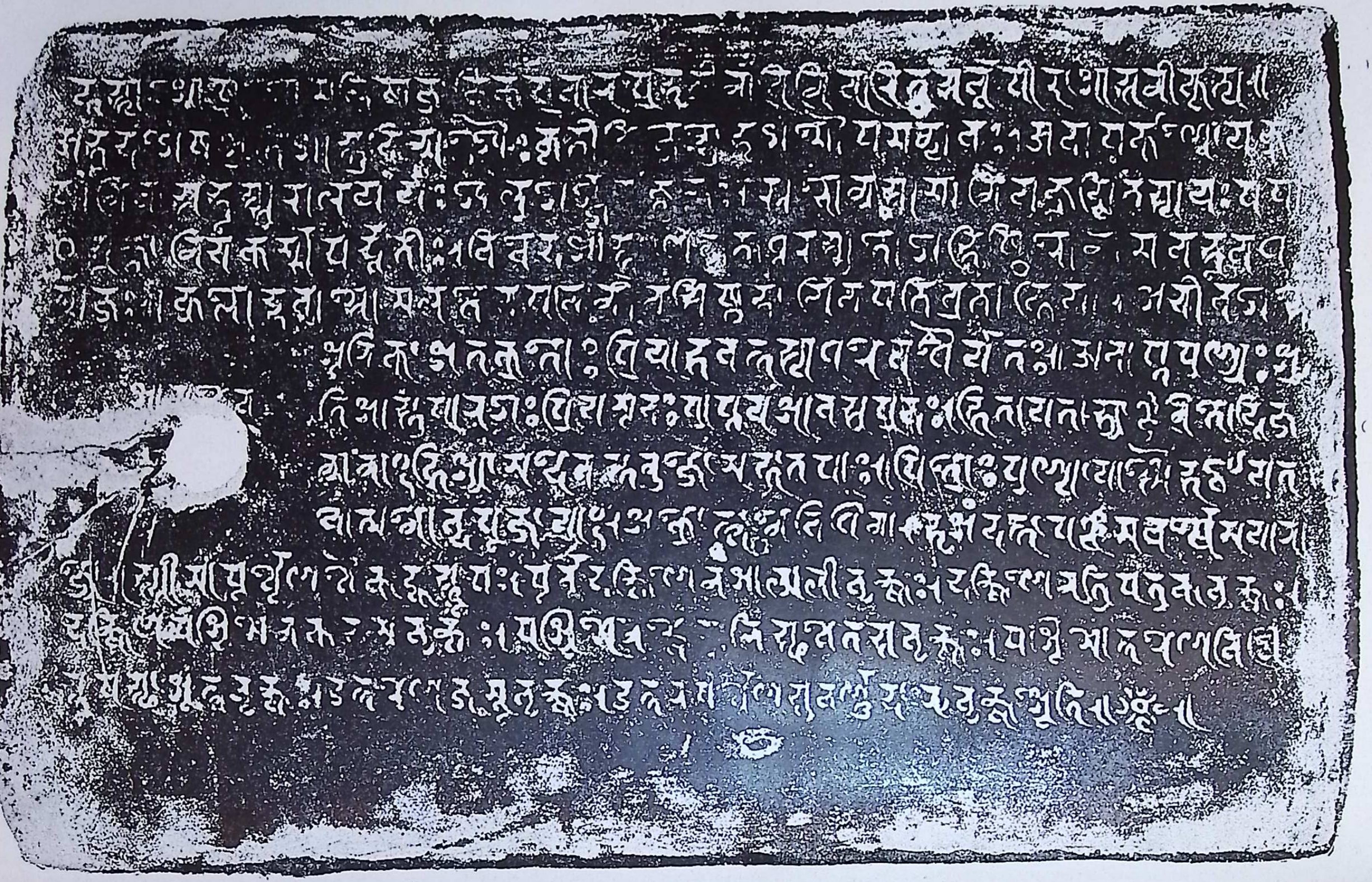


PLATE II b—HOWRĀGHĀṬ PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ

PLATE III—HOWRĀGHĀṬ PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ



२८. [रं] जललवलोलञ्च जीवितं पुंसां। विगणय्य वीरबाहु[ः] कर्त्तव्यमचिन्तयच्छेषं ।।२२।। अथ पुण्येऽहनि

Second Plate [second page]

२९. नृ[प] तिस्तनयन्तमुदग्रविग्रहं विधिवत्। केसरिकिशोरसदृशं सिंहासनमौलितामनयत् ।।
२३।।

३०. त[दन]न्तरमधिगम्य प्राज्यं तद्राज्यमाज्यमिव वह्निः। बलवर्म्मापि दिदीपे प्रोत्सारित-
सकलरिपुतिमि-

३१. रः ।।२४।। अभवज्जयकरिकुम्भस्खलितोर्म्मेरमलवारिधेस्तस्य। लौहित्यस्य समीपे
तदे[व] पैता-

३२. महं कटकम् ।।२५।। तत्र श्रीमति हड़प्पेश्वरनाम्नि कटके कृतवसतिरुतखातासिल-
तामरीचि-नि-

३३. चयमेचकितेन बाहुना ।[13] विजितसकलदिक्चक्रवालो धीरः प्रधने भीरुरयशसि तीक्ष्णो
रि-

३४. पुषु मृदुतरो गुरुषु। सत्यवागविसंवादी कृत्वाविकत्थनस्स्थूललक्षो[14]

३५. मातापितृ [पा] दानूध्यानधौतकल्मषः[15]। परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको म-

३६. हाराजाधिराजः श्रीबलवर्म्मदेवः कुशली। वारासे-पत्तन-

३७. विषयान्तःपातिबप्पदेवपाटकादपकृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ

३८. यथायथं समुपस्थितब्राह्मनादिविषयकरणव्यावहारिकप्रमुखजानपदान् राजा-रा-

३९. ज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि राजनकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकाल-

४०. भाविनोपि सर्व्वान् माननापूर्व्वकं समादिशति। विदितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वा-

४१. [स्तु]-केदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावकराद्युपेता यथासंस्था स्वसीमोद्देश-[प]

४२. [र्यन्ता] हस् [त्] इबन् [ध]-नौक [ा बन्ध] चौरोद् [ध] रण [ा]। दण्डपाशो-
परिकरनानानिमित्तोत् [ख] `ट [न]

Third Plate

४३. हस्त्य [श्वोष्ट्र] गोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारप्रभृतीनां विनिवारितसर्व्वपीड़ा शासनीकृत्य[16]।

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[13] This punctuation mark is unnecessary, though this is a characteristic of Kāmarūpa inscriptions. This is possibly used to denote a stop in long prose constructions. See other plates also for such usages of punctuation marks.

[14] In the original, कृत्वविकत्थन-स्थूल etc.

[15] धत्तकल्मशः in the original.

[16] Here is an ornamental design to indicate the end of the prose part.

४४. अभूदशेषश्रुतिशास्त्रविन्मखैः कृती द्विजेन्द्रो भृशमौपमन्यवः। अवाप काण्वोयजु-
४५. षां निवासभूस्सुरालयं यः खलु गर्ग्गसंज्ञकः[17] ।।२६।। ऋचो नु सामानि यजूंषि तस्य
य[ः] पपा-
४६. ठ सूक्तानि च कर्म्मपद्धतिः विवेद शास्त्राणि कृताध्वरस्सुतो गभिष्ठिरो नाम बभूव ध-
४७. र्म्मजः ।।२७।। कुलोद्भवा सोमलतेव पावनी वसिष्ठभार्येव पतिव्रता हि या। सची-
व गर्भे-
४८. श्वरिका शतक्रतोः प्रियाभवत्तस्य धरेव धैर्यतः ।।२८।। अवाप्तपुण्यः श्रू-
४९. तिशास्त्रपारगः प्रियम्वदः प्राप्तयशा वसुप्रदः। हिताय ताभ्याञ्जनितोद्विज-
५०. न्मनां हि श्यामदेवस्तनुजो महातपाः[18] ।।२९।। पित्रोः पुण्यायास्मै भट्टाय त-
५१. थात्मनोब्दपूजायां। शक्रोत्थाने विधिना भृशं दत्ता पञ्चमवर्षे मया रा-
५२. ज्ये[19] ।।३०।। सीमा। पूर्व्वेण वैकङ्कःस्तुपः। पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन शाल्मलीवृक्षः। दक्षिणेन
त्रिपत्रकवृक्षः।
५३. दक्षिणपश्चिमेन कदम्बवृक्षः। पश्चिमेन क्षेत्रालिस्थवेतसवृक्षः। पश्चिमोत्तरेण निशि-
५४. स्तुपस्थाश्वत्थवृक्षः। उत्तरेण जम्बुवृक्षः। उत्तरपूर्व्वेण सुवर्ण्णदारुवृक्षश्चेति ।[20]

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[17] The metre in the verses 26-28 is वंशस्थ।

[18] Verse 29 उपजाति metre (वंशस्थ and इन्द्रवंशा)।

[19] Omit राज्ये to suit the metre.

[20] There is an ornamental design to mark the end of the writing.

Nowgong Plates of Balavarmā III, year 8

A peasant found a set of copper plates in a village named Sutargaon situated on the bank of the river Kalang near the Paraṇigudam town in the Nowgong district of Assam. The village falls under the *mauza* Khatowalgaon. One police inspector recovered the plates from the peasant and handed them over to *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Dhīreswar Bhattāchāryya.

This charter was first published in an Assamese journal called '*Asam*' by Mm. Dhīreswar Bhattāchārya, *Kaviratna*. Mr. Edward Gait, the then Director of the Antiquarian Department, Assam, sent the plates to *the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1895. Wellknown Dr. Hoernle discussed about the plate in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, 1st part, pp. 285 with photographs of the seal and the plates. At last *paṇḍit* Padmanath Vidyāvinoda discussed the inscription with a Bengali translation in the *Gauhati Vaṅgasāhityānusīlanī Sabhā* in the year 1316 B.S. and an article was published in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (1317 B.S. 2nd issue). Finally it was included in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī* p. 70 by *Paṇḍit Vidyāvinoda*. The set consists of three plates. The size of each plate is 12″×7″. The middle plate is inscribed on both faces, while the first and the third one only on one face. Thus the inscription contains 4 pages, each of the first three pages containing twelve lines and the last page thirteen lines. The three plates were held together by means of a ring which was again attached to a seal containing an elephant emblem the head of which is facing front, below which is present a legend which runs as follows:

ऽ स्वस्ति श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्रीबलवर्मदेवः ।

NOWGONG PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ III

First Plate

१. ६ स्वस्ति। भवतु भवतिमिरभिदुरन्तेजो रौद्रं प्रशान्तये जगतः।
परिवर्त्तते समग्रं × × ×
२. नयत्[1] ।।१।।[2]
सुरकरिमदचन्द्रकितं सलिलं लौहित्यवारिधेरमलम्।
कैलासकटकमृगमदवासितम [प]
३. हरतु दुरितं वः।।२।।
प्रलयपयोधौ मग्नामुद्धरतो वसुमतीमुपेन्द्रस्य।
नरक इति सूनुरासीदसुरसु–
४. हृत्क्रोड़रूपधृतः [3]।।३।।
त्रैलोक्यविजयतुङ्गं येनापहृतं यशो महेन्द्रस्य।
अदितेः कुण्डलयुगलं कपोलदो–
५. लायितं[4] हरता।।४।।
ताम्बूलवल्लीपरिणद्धपूगं कृष्णागुरुस्कन्धनिवेशितैलं।[5]
स
६. कामरूपे जितकामरूपो[6] प्राग्ज्योतिषाख्यं पुरमध्युवास।।५।।[7]
मदान्धगन्धद्विप–
७. कर्णतालनृत्यन्मयूरोपवने स तस्मिन्।
वसन् समासाद्य मुरारिचक्रं रणे

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[1] After समग्रम्, the following portion is found in the HP: कल्पान्त निशावसाने यत्। Dr. Hoernle could decipher only the last three letters of this verse as given above in the text. Evidently this is a mistaken association of ने from the previous word निशावसाने with the following word यत्। Vidyāvinoda has been able to spot out the ए in ने saying that something like a 'र'-कार sign above is visible (For this see *Kāmarūpa śāsanāvalī*, p. 73 footnote 2).

[2] The metre is आर्या जाति। The following verses have the same metre: 2-4, 8-10, 13, 14, 17, 19-25, 30-32. *Ślokas* 20 and 31 have आर्या गीति।

[3] In the HP, भृतः is the reading.

[4] In the original दोला इतम्।

[5] A similar verse in the रघु VI. 64:

ताम्वूलवल्लीपरिणद्धपूगास्वेलालतालिङ्गितचन्दनासु।

[6] In the HP, the reading is कामरूपः। Evidently the सन्धि in this plate is wrong.

[7] The metre is उपजाति being the fusion of इन्द्रवज्रा and उपेन्द्रवज्रा। In the verses 6, 12, 15, 26 and 29 the same metre is worked out.

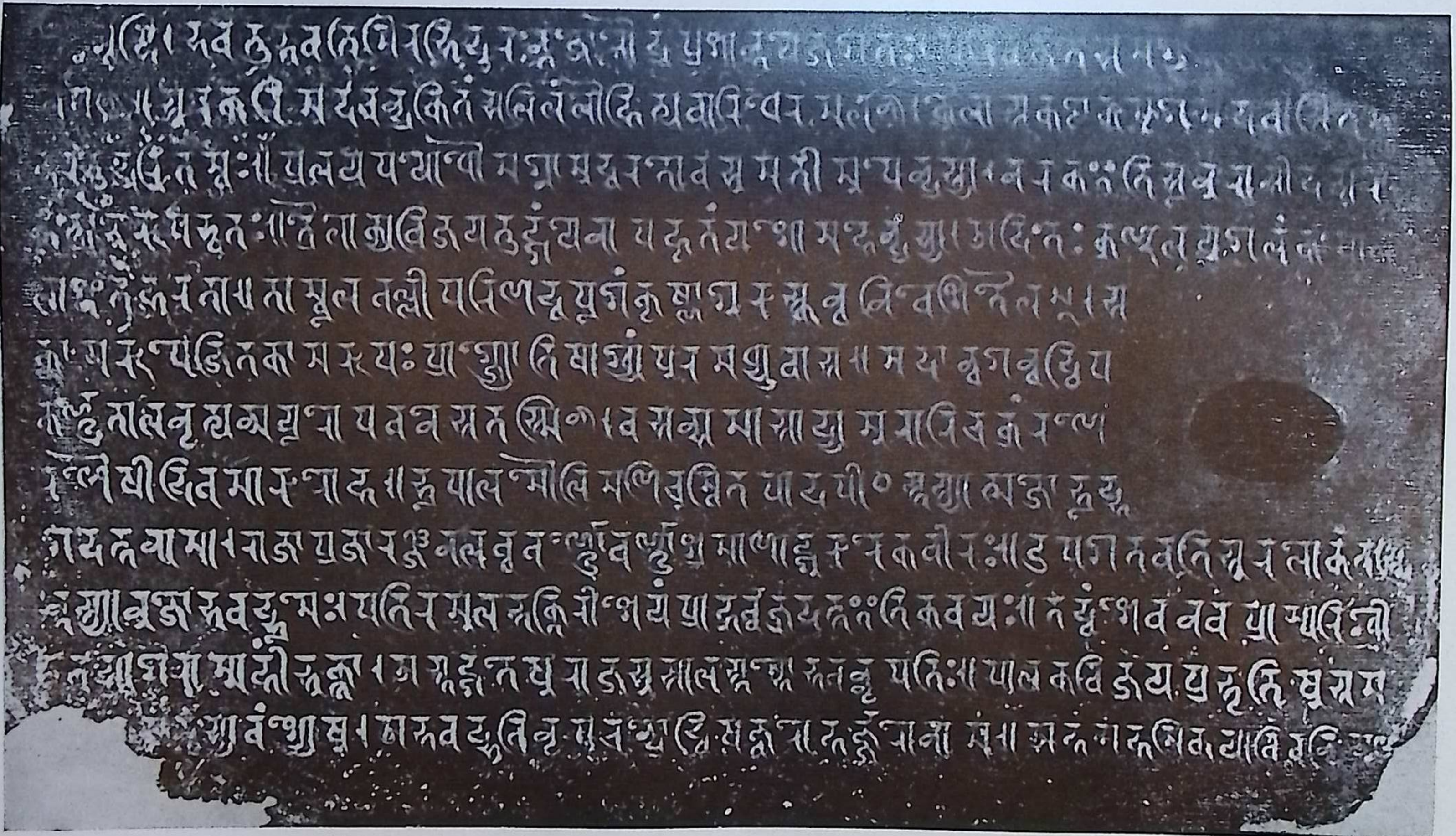
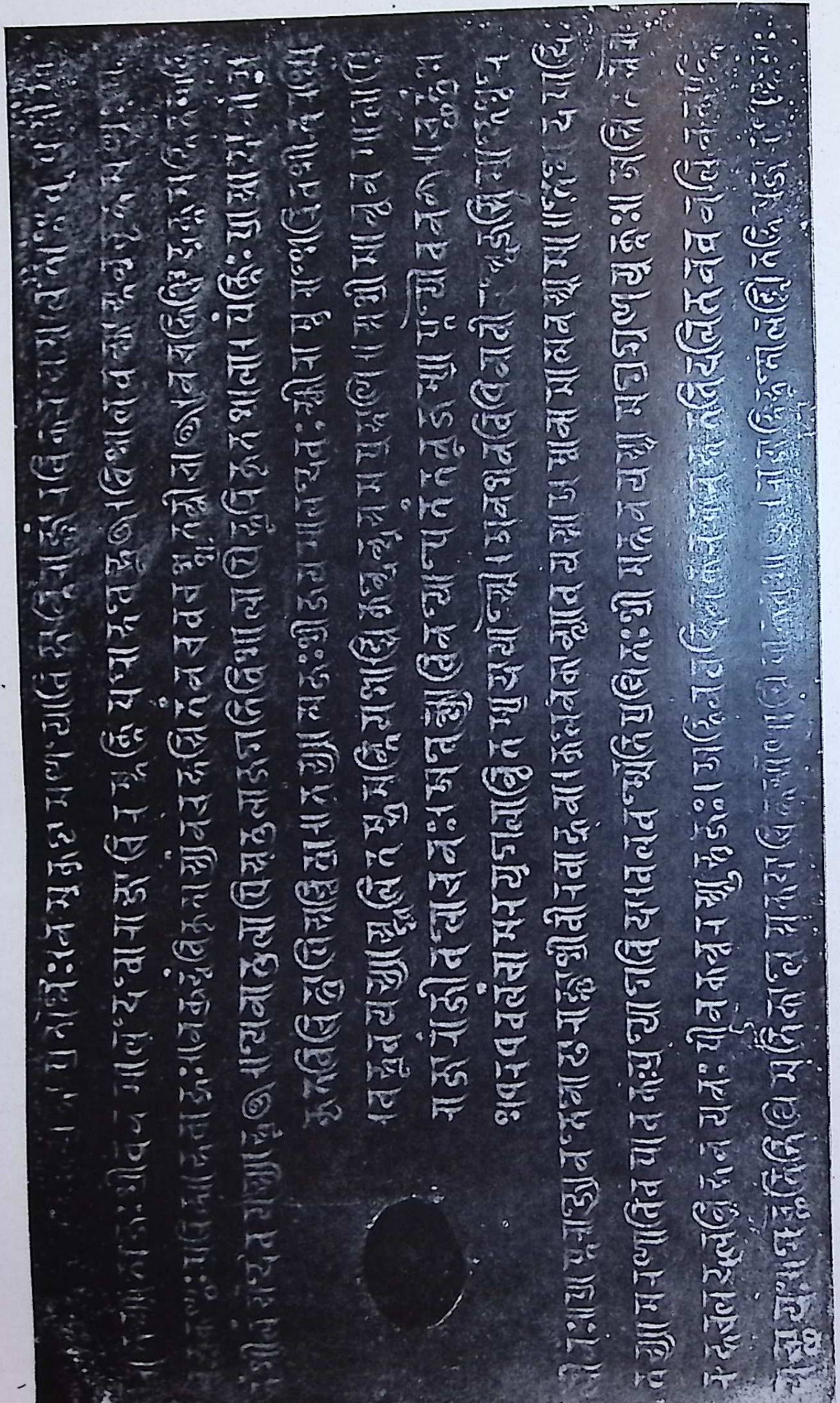


PLATE I—NOWGONG PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ

PLATE II a—NOWGONG PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ



८. रणैषी दिवमारुरोह ।।६।।
भूपालमौलिमणिचुम्बितपादपीठ[8] स्तस्यात्मजोभूद्भ–
९. गदत्तनामा ।
राजा-प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्ण्णो[9] वर्ण्णाश्रमाणां गुरु[10] रेकवीरः ।।७।।
उपगतवति सुरलोकं तस्मि [ं]
१०. तस्यानुजो भवद्भूमेः ।
पतिरमलभक्तिरीशे यं प्राहुर्वज्रदत्त इति कवयः ।।८।।
तद्वंशे वनवप्राम्परिखी–
११. कृतसागरा[11] म्महीम्भुक्त्वा ।
अस्तङ्गतेषु राजसु सालस्तम्भो भवन्नृपतिः ।।९।।
पालकविजयप्रमृतिषु सम–
१२. [तिक्रान्ते] षु तस्य वंश्येषु ।
अभवद्भूवि नृपचन्द्रो द्विषज्जरो हर्ज्जरोनाम ।।१०।।
अहमहमिकया विवन्दिषूणां

Second Plate [first page]

१३. [यदरुणपादनख][12] प्रभाप्रतानैः ।
न मुकुटमणयो विभान्ति राज्ञां रविकरसम्बलिता इव प्रदीपाः ।।११।।

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[8] This portion seems to be an oft-repeated statement and may be a quotation from some other source. This pāda therefore constitutes वसन्ततिलक वृत्त । In the other three pādas इन्द्रवज्रा वृत्त । Vidyāvinoda suggests that by the elision of the portion मनिचुम्वित and replacement of it by श्रित the metre can in this verse be made wholly इन्द्रवज्रा ।

[9] A similar sentence in the रघु VI. 21:

राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा ।

[10] Ibid V. 19:

वर्णाश्रमाणां गुरवे स वर्णी विचक्षणः प्रस्तुतमाचचक्षे ।

[11] Cf. I. 30:

स वेलावप्रवलयां परिखीकृतसागराम् ।
अनन्यशासनामुर्व्वीं शशासैकपुरीमिव ।

[12] These eight letters are completely effaced. Dr. Hoernle imaginatively inserted "नख" and was not able to determine the previous letters. Vidyāvinoda inserts "यदरुणपाद" before "नख" । But in the HP there is the clear reading संसदि । This can be inserted here in place of यदरुण; but then the metre suffers. Dr. Sarkar has suggested therefore that संसदि should be replaced by सपदि च for the sake of the metre which is पुष्पिताग्रा ।

१४. तस्यात्मजः श्रीवनमालदेवो राजा चिरम्भक्तिपरो भवेभूत्।
विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः[13] पि–
१५. नद्धकण्ठः परिघाभबाहुः ।।१२।।
न क्रुद्धं विकृतास्यं न च हसितं न च वचश्श्रुतं[14] नीचात्।
न च किञ्चिदुक्तमहितम्महि–
१६. तं शीलं सदैव यस्याभूत् ।।१३।।
येनातुलापि सतुला जगति विशालापि भूरिकृतशाला।
पंङ्क्तिः प्रासादानाम–
१७. कृतविचित्रापि[15] सच्चित्रा ।।१४।।
तस्यात्मजः श्रीजयमालदेवः क्षीराम्बुराशेरिव शीतरश्मिः।
१८. बभूव यस्यास्खलितम्भ्रमन्ति यशांसि कुन्देन्दुसमप्रभाणि ।।१५।।
स श्रीमान् वनमालोपि
१९. राजा राजीवलोचनः
अवेक्ष्य विनयोपेतं तनुजम्प्राप्तयौवनम् ।।१६।।[16]
छत्रं श–
२०. शधरधवलं चामरयुगलान्वित[17]म्प्रदायास्मै।
अनशनविधिना वीरस्तेजसि माहेश्वरे
२१. लीनः ।।१७।।
प्राप्तराज्येन तेनोढ़ा राज्ञा श्रीवीरबाहुना।
कुलेन कान्त्या वयसा[18] अम्बानामात्मनस्समा ।।१८।।
तेनोदपादि

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[13] A similar verse in रघु VI. 32:

अवन्तिनाथोऽयमुदग्रबाहुर्विशालवक्षास्तनुवृत्तमध्यः

[14] The HP reads: न च न हसितम् न च। But we have dropped one न for the sake of the metre. In the original plate this portion is not seen.

[15] See for the reading चित्त्र adopted in the original foot-note no. 35 of the Nidhānpur Plates of Bhāskaravarmā.

[16] अनुष्टुभ् पथ्यावक्त्र metre.

[17] For a similar *śloka* see रघु III. 16:

अदेयमासीत्त्रयमेव भूपतेः
शशिप्रभं छत्रमुभे च चामरे।

[18] Not joined in सन्धि, thereby keeping the अनुष्टुभ् metre.

२२. तस्यामरणाविव पावकः प्रयोगविदा ।
बलवर्म्मेति प्रथितः श्रीमत्तनयस्समग्रगुणयुक्तः ॥१९॥
असितसरो–
२३. रुहचलदलनिभनयनः पीनकन्धरस्सुभुजः ।
अभिनवदिनकर[19] करहतविदलितनवनलिनकान्ति–
२४. सच्छायः ॥२०॥
गच्छति तिथिमतिकाले स कदाचित् कर्म्मणां विपाकवशात् ।
राजा रुजाभिभूतो लङ्घितभिषजा रणस्तम्भः ॥२१॥

Second Plate [second page]

२५. निस्सारं संसारं जललवलोलञ्च जीवितम्पुंसां ।
विगणय्य वीरबाहुः कर्त्तव्यमचिन्तयच्छेषं ॥२२॥
अथ पुण्ये–
२६. हनि नृपतिस्तनयन्तमुदग्रविग्रहं विधिवत् ।
केशरिकिशोरसदृशं सिंहासनमौलितामनयत् ॥२३॥
तदनन्त–
२७. रमधिगम्य प्राज्यं तद्राज्यमाज्यमिव वह्निः ।
बलवर्म्मापि दिदीपे प्रोत्सारितसकलरिपुतिमिरः ॥२४॥
अभ–
२८. वज्जयकरिकुम्भस्खलितोर्म्मेरमलवारिधेस्तस्य ।
लौहित्यस्य समीपे तदेव पैतामहं कटकम् ॥२५॥
तत्र श्री–
२९. मति हारूप्पेश्वर[20] नामनि कटके कृतवसतिरुत्खातासिलतामरीचिनिचयमेचकितेन
३०. बाहुना ।[21] विजितसकलदिक्चक्रवालो धीर [:] प्रधने भीरुरयशसि तीक्ष्णो रिपुषु
मृदुत–
३१. रो गुरुषु । सत्यवागविसंवादी कृत्वाविकत्थनः स्थूललक्षो मातापितृपादानु–
३२. ध्यानधौतकल्मषः परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीबलवर्म्म–

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[19] Dr. Hoernle reads दिवाकर which militates against the metre.

[20] In the HP the city is named as हड़प्पेश्वर ।

[21] This sign of a complete sentence is meaningless, because the sentence is not complete here. Anyway this has indicated a pause here in a proposed long sentence. Such indications for a pause are common in the Kāmarūpa Plates.

३३. देवः कुशली ।। ।।[22] दक्षिणकुले दिज्जिन्नाविषयान्तःपातिनी धान्यचतुस्सहस्रोत्पत्ति-
मती हेङ्गसिवाभिधा–

३४. ना भूमिः। अस्यास्सन्निकृष्टवर्त्तिनो[22] यथायथं समुपस्थितब्राह्मणादिविषयकरणव्या-
वहारिकप्रमुख जानपदान्।

३५. राजराज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यांश्च[23] यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्व्वान् सम्माननापूर्व्वम्मानयति
वोधयति समादि[24]

३६. शति च। इति विदितमस्तु भवताम्भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदारस्थलगोप्रचारावकाराद्युपेता
यथासंस्था स्वसी–

Third Plate

३७. मोद्देशपर्य्यन्ता।[25] राज्ञीराजपुत्रराणकराजवल्लभमहल्लकप्रौढ़िकाहास्तिबन्धिकनौका-
बन्धिक चौरो–

३८. द्धरणिकदाण्डिकदाण्डपाशिक - औपरिकरिक - औत्खेतिकच्छत्रवासाद्युपद्रवकारिणाम -
प्रवेशा। का–

३९. ण्वः कृती कापिलगोत्रदीपो मालाधरो नाम बभूव भट्टः।
विद्यातपस्सम्पदुपात्तसम्यग्विवेकविध्वस्तसम–

४०. स्तदोषः ।।२६।।
देवप्रियो देवधरस्सुजन्मा तस्यापि सूनुः सुकृतात्मनोभूत्।
अध्वर्य्युणा येन कृत [ं] विभज्य

४१. वैतानिकं कर्म्मनिराकुलेन ।।२७।।
गृहीतविद्यस्सुगृहीतनामा गृहाश्रमावाप्तिप–

४२. रो गृहिण्या।
अयुज्यतासौ प्रभयेव भानुरुषःसु शामायिकया[26] मनस्वी ।।२८।।[27]
अहस्त्रि–

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[22] The portion within no. 22 is not found in the HP.

[23] यथायथम् is the reading in the HP.

[23] अन्यानपि .. .. .. HP; after this there is inserted a word
राजनकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन्
in the HP which is absent here.

[21] HP has only सर्व्वान् माननापूर्व्वकं समादिशति ।

[25] Herefrom the two plates—the Nowgong Plate and the HP differ widely though there are similar words inserted in the construction.

[26] The name is probably श्यामायिका; for the sake of the metre it is written like this: in the first copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla we come across the name as the name of the mother of the Brahmin donee.

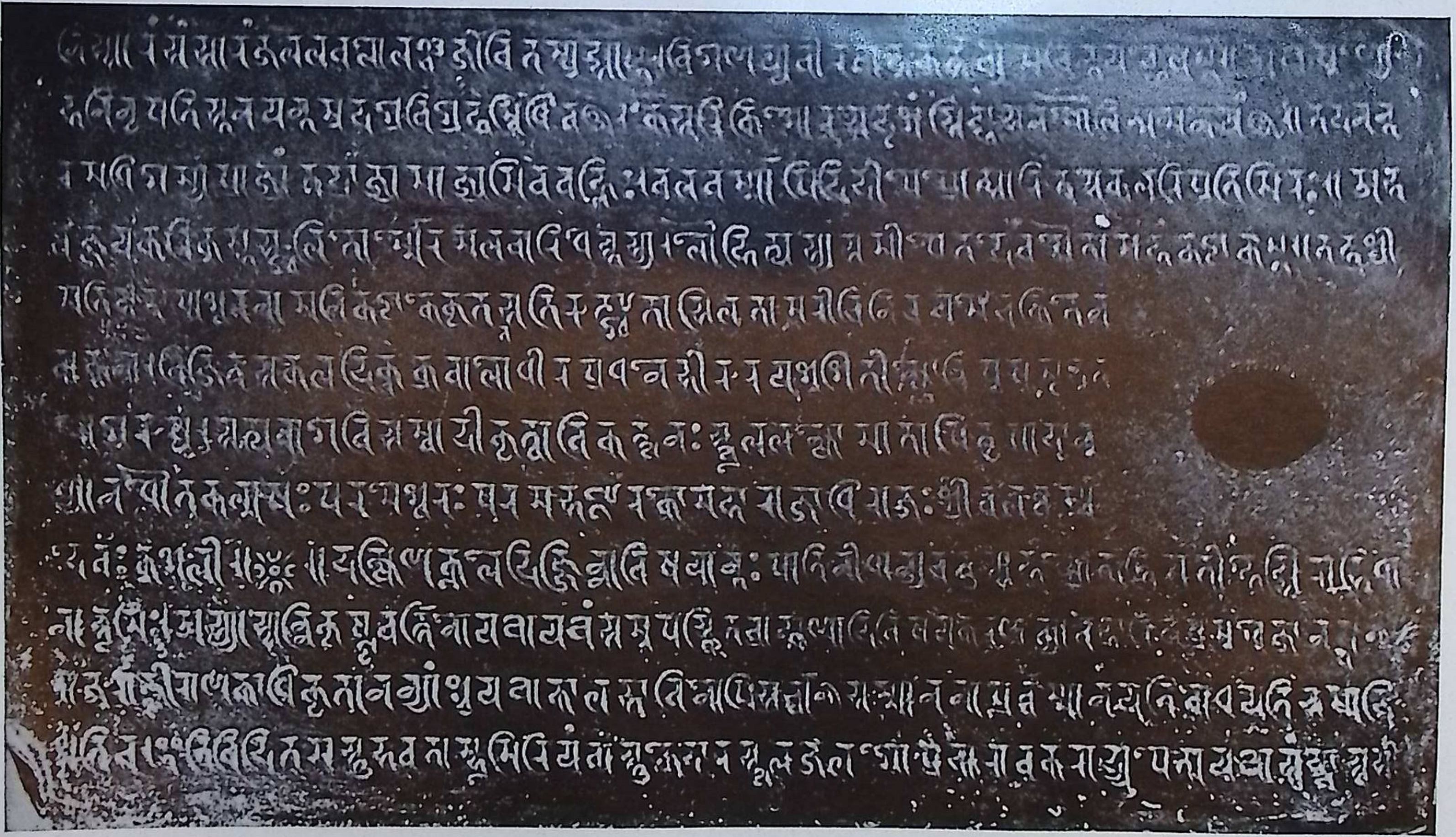
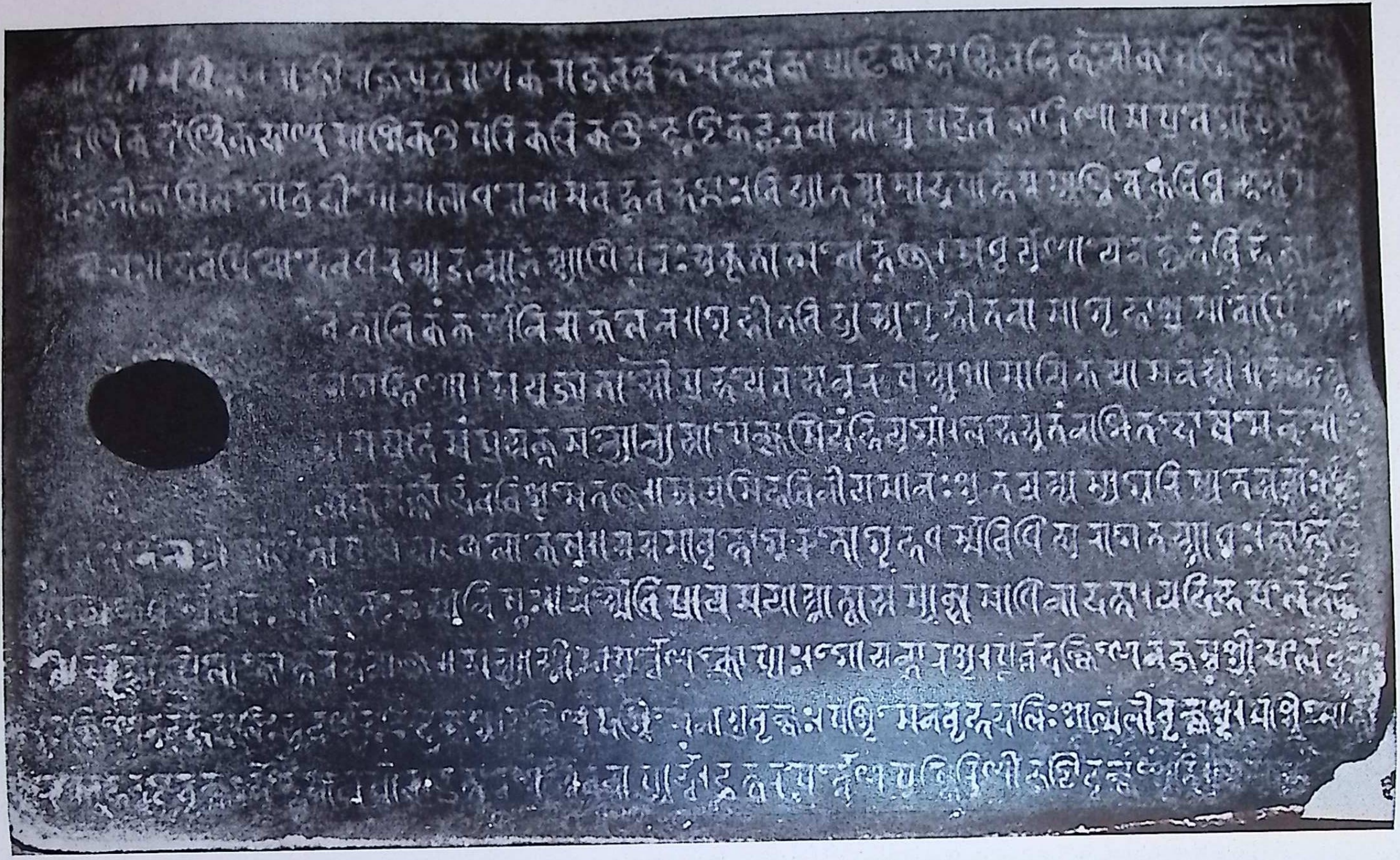


PLATE II b—NOWGONG PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ

PLATE III—NOWGONG PLATES OF BALAVARMĀ



४३. याम[28] प्रतिमं प्रसक्तमन्योन्यसापेक्षमिदं हि युग्म।
लेभे सुतं नाशितदोषमेनमा
४४. लोकमर्क्कादिव विश्वमेतत्[29] ।।२६।।
अयमिह विनीयमानः श्रुतीश्च[30] सम्यग्धरिष्यते सर्व्वाः।
श्रु–
४५. तिधर इति नामासौ पित्रा प्रथितोथ लोकेषु[31] ।।३०।।
स समावृत्तो गुरुतो गृहधर्म्मविधित्सु रागतस्साधुः
काले वि–
४६. षुवत्यर्थी धर्म्मपरः पण्डितः कथानिष्ठः ।।३२।।
तस्मै विप्राय मया स्नात्वा सम्यक् समाधिना दत्ता।
यदिह फलं तत् पि–
४७. त्रोर्म्ममापि लोकोत्तरम्भूयात् ।।३२।।
अस्यास्सीमा पूर्व्वेण कोप्पा। गोसन्तारश्च। पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन जम्बुश्रीफलवृक्षाः [।]
४८. दक्षिणेन वृहदालिः सुवर्णदारुवृक्षश्च। दक्षिणपश्चिमेनाम्रवृक्षः। पश्चिमेन वृहदालिः शाल्मलीवृक्षश्च। पश्चिमोत्त–
४९. रेण वृहद्वटवृक्षः दिहेसावापी च। उत्तरेण सेववाप्यर्द्धं। उत्तरपूर्व्वेण पुष्करिणी[32] जटिवृक्षश्चेति।। सं व [९ व] सौ[33]

[Text of the Seal]

९ स्वस्ति श्रीमा[न्] प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपान्वयो
महाराजाधिराजश्रीब–
लवर्म्मदेवः ।।

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[27] The metre is उपेन्द्रवज्रा।

[28] In the original अहस्तृयाम।

[29] A similar verse in the रघु v. 35.
राजापि लेभे सुतमाशु तस्मादालोकमर्कादिव जीवलोकः।

[30] In the original the form is श्रुतयः This is not only a grammatical mistake but also causes a metrical error.

[31] A similar verse in the रघु III. 21:
श्रुतस्य यायादयमन्तमर्भकः
तथा परेषां युधि चेति पार्थिवः।
अवेक्ष्य धातोर्गमनार्थमर्थवित्
चकार नाम्ना रघुमात्मसम्भवम्।

[32] In the original पुष्करिणी।

[33] Mm. Dhireswar Bhattacharya Kaviratna has rendered this portion as संवत् रवौ।

The Bargaon Grant of Ratnapāla (25 year)

The inscription was found by a cultivator in village Nāharhābi of Bargaon Mauza in the Tezpur subdivision of Darrang District. The exact place of find is not known. That peasant inherited the inscription from his forefathers. Honourable Mr. Gait (afterwards Sir Edward) sent the inscription to Asiatic Society in the month of April, 1897. Dr. Hoernle deciphered the script and wrote an article in April, 1898 on the inscription in the journal of the Society (1st part U-99 pp). Paṇḍit Padmanath Vidyāvinoda published an article with Bengali translation in the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* B.S. 1332 1st issue. He edited the inscription in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī* pp. 89-109.

The inscription has great similarity with those of Balavarmā. Here also the three plates are fastened together by means of a ring which is joined to a seal. There are 4 pages of writing. In all there are 72 lines of writing. The first plate contains 17 lines, the second plate contains 20 lines on each page thus totalling 40 lines and the third plate contains 15 lines. The size of each plate is $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$.

The grant was issued in the 25th year of the reign of Ratnapāla. The period of reign of Ratnapāla falls approximately in the first part of the eleventh century A.D. The grant records the donation of a piece of land to a Brahmin named Vīradatta.

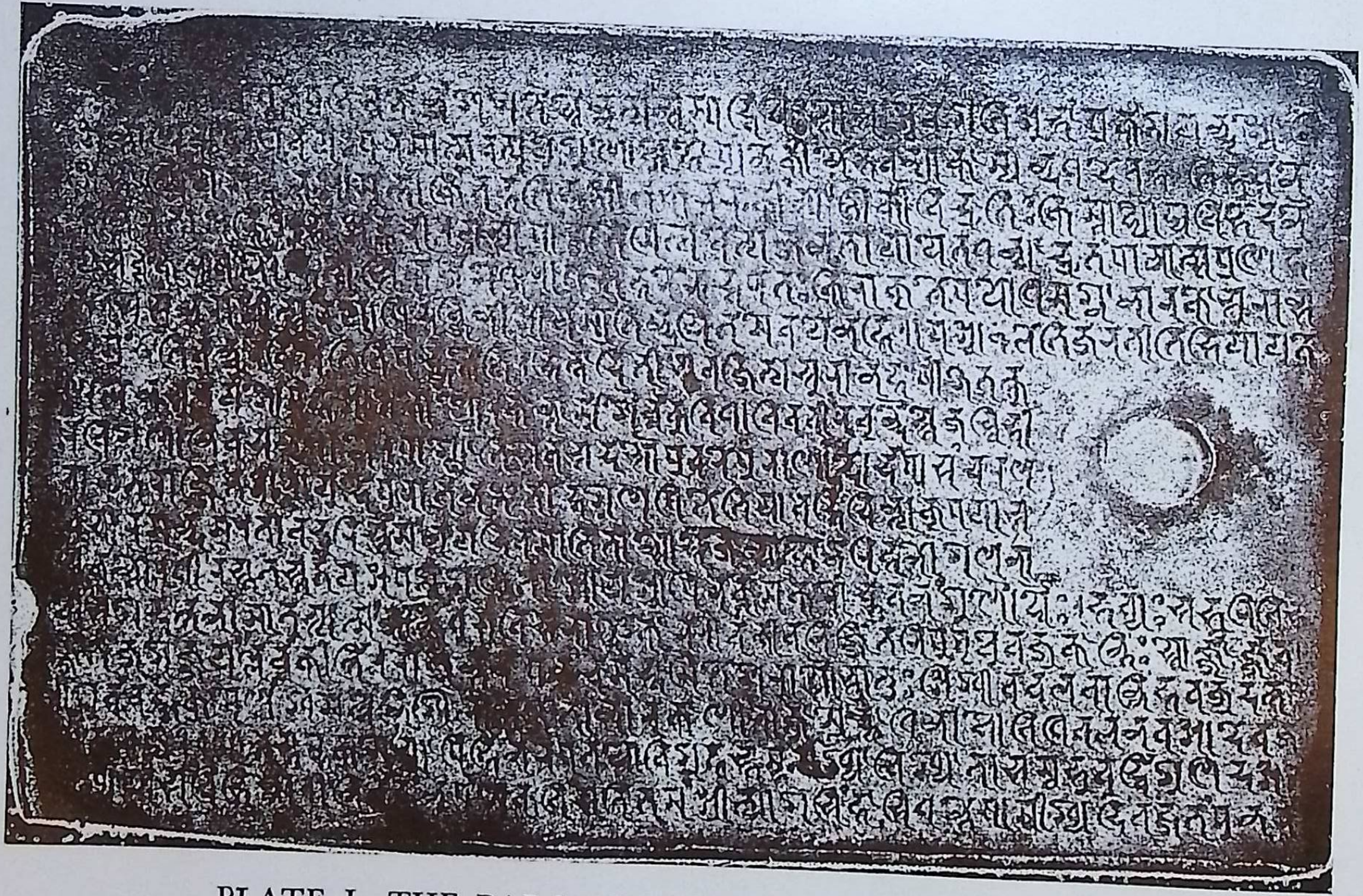
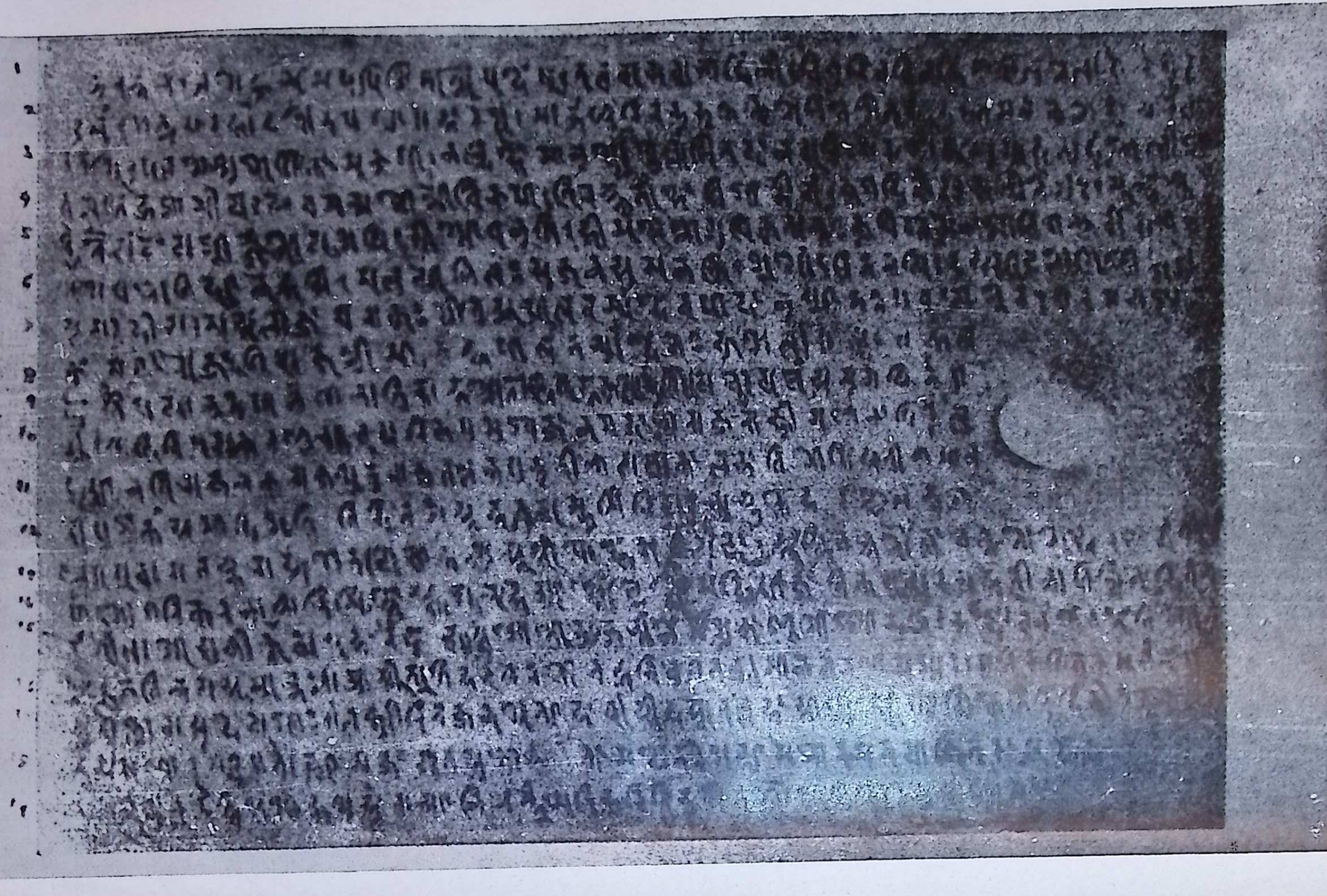


PLATE I—THE BARGAON GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA

PLATE IIb—ŚUĀLKUCI GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA



BARGAON PLATES OF RATNAPĀLA

(*Charter No. I of Ratnapāla*)

१. स्वस्ति। द्रष्टेव प्रतिविम्बकै[1]र्न्नखगतै [:] स्वैर्न्नृत्यसम्पद्विधेः
सौवश्वीव[2] गतिं शुभां प्रकटयन् दृश्योनिशन्ताण्डवीम्।
२. एवं यः परमात्मवत् पृथुगुणो ह्येको[3] प्यनेकी[4] भवन्
प्राकाम्यन्दधदेव भाति भुवने
३. स[5] स्तात्[6] श्रिये शङ्करः ।।१।।[7]
मूर्त्ता किं वहतीह[8] शीतकररुक् किं[9] स्फाटिकी विद्रुतिः
किं वाघौघ[10] विभेदनै–
४. कनिरता शक्ति [:] शुभा शाङ्करी[11]।
यस्यापाङ्गतिमित्यवेत्य जनता जायेत[12] धन्या द्रुतं
पायात् स प्रणिह–
५. त्य सर्व्वकलुषं लौहित्यसिन्धुर्जगत् ।।२।।
धरां हरेरुद्धरतः किराकृते [:]
पयोधिमग्ना [ं] नरकोसुरांश–

---

[1] The original reading is प्रविम्वकै।

[2] .. .. .. सोसश्वेव। From this Dr. Hoernle has imaginatively written down सोसश्वेत which does not conform to the meaning intended. Vidyāvinoda suggests another reading सोसौस्वैरगतिम्, but hereafter one इव is anticipated.

[3] In the original गुणोह्येहो। Dr. Hoernle reads गुनोद्देहो। But उद्देह conveys no sense.

[4] In the original अनेकीने।

[5] .. .. श fo स।

[6] Dr. Hoernle has read तत् and has connected it with the previous श and makes it after *sandhi* भुवनेशस्तत्। But he has not been able to see that there is a form स्तात् in place of अस्तु, according to the sūtra—तुह्योस्तातङङाशीष्यन्यतरस्याम् (Pāṇiṇi 7.1.35). Moreover स्तात् and श्रिये should have been joined together in *sandhi* but this is not done in the original. The *Supadma* allows optional *sandhis* in such cases.

[7] The metre in this *śloka* as well as in the 2nd, 10th and 11th is शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित।

[8] ब In the original वहतिह।

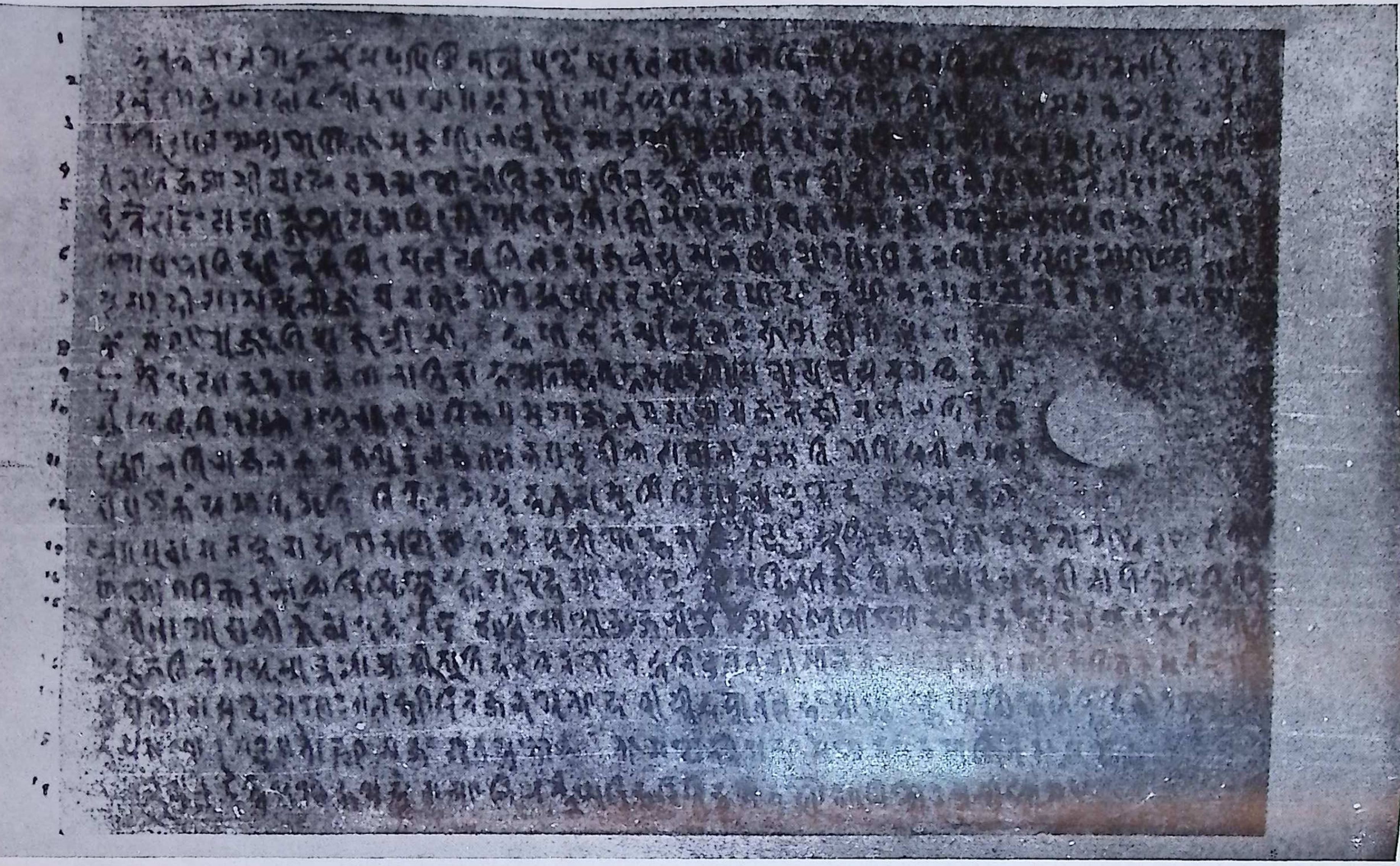
[9] .. .. रुकीं।

[10] Dr. Hoernle reads किम्वाद्यौघ।

[11] In the original शङ्करी।

[12] .. .. यायेत for जायेत।

PLATE IIb—ŚUĀLKUCI GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA



BARGAON PLATES OF RATNAPĀLA

(*Charter No. I of Ratnapāla*)

१. स्वस्ति। द्रष्टेव प्रतिविम्बकै[1]र्न्नखगतै [:] स्वैर्न्नृत्यसम्पद्विधेः
सौवश्वीव[2] गतिं शुभां प्रकटयन् दृश्योनिशन्ताण्डवीम्।
२. एवं यः परमात्मवत् पृथुगुणो ह्येको[3] प्यनेकी[4] भवन्
प्राकाम्यन्दधदेव भाति भुवने
३. स[5] स्तात्[6] श्रिये शङ्करः ।।१।।[7]
मूर्त्ता किं वहतीह[8] शीतकररुक् किं[9] स्फाटिकी विद्रुतिः
किं वाघौघ[10] विभेदनै–
४. कनिरता शक्ति [:] शुभा शाङ्करी[11]।
यस्यापाङ्गतिमित्यवेत्य जनता जायेत[12] धन्या द्रुतं
पायात् स प्रणिह–
५. त्य सर्व्वकलुषं लौहित्यसिन्धुर्जगत् ।।२।।
धरां हरेरुद्धरतः किराकृते [:]
पयोधिमग्ना [ं] नरकोसुरांश–

---

[1] The original reading is प्रविम्वकै।

[2] .. .. .. सोसश्वेव। From this Dr. Hoernle has imaginatively written down सोसश्वेत which does not conform to the meaning intended. Vidyāvinoda suggests another reading सोसौस्वैरगतिम्, but hereafter one इव is anticipated.

[3] In the original गुणोह्येहो। Dr. Hoernle reads गुनोद्देहो। But उद्देह conveys no sense.

[4] In the original अनेकीने।

[5] .. .. श fo स।

[6] Dr. Hoernle has read तत् and has connected it with the previous श and makes it after *sandhi* भुवनेशस्तत्। But he has not been able to see that there is a form स्तात् in place of अस्तु, according to the sūtra—तुह्योस्तातङङाशीष्यन्यतरस्याम् (Pāṇiṇi 7.1.35). Moreover स्तात् and श्रिये should have been joined together in *sandhi* but this is not done in the original. The *Supadma* allows optional *sandhis* in such cases.

[7] The metre in this *śloka* as well as in the 2nd, 10th and 11th is शार्द्दूलविक्रीड़ित।

[8] ब In the original वहतिह।

[9] .. .. रुकीं।

[10] Dr. Hoernle reads किम्वाद्यौघ।

[11] In the original शङ्करी।

[12] .. .. यायेत for जायेत।

६. क [:][13]

स सूनुरासीत्[14] सुरयोषिदब्जिनी
श्रियम्प्रती[15] न्दूयितमेव येन हि ।।३।।[16]
यश्चावलेलि जरतीति भियायुते-
७. ति
मूढ़ेति बन्धुरहितेति विपद्गतेति ।
हित्वार्दितं[17] स [म] वजित्य सुरानहार्षीत्
तत् कु-
८. ण्डले सुरयशोमहसी इवाग्र्ये[18] ।।४।।[19]
कान्तामुखैर्ब्बहुविधाविव[20] वीरवृन्दै
स्तेजस्विभी-
९. रविगणानिव सन्दधाने ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषे[21] वसदसौ प्रवरे पुराणां
दोर्दर्प्पसञ्चरण-
१०. चारुतराज्जितश्री [:] ।।५।।
युद्धे पुरातन इतीद्धगुण [:] पितेति
यावद्विचिन्त्य कृपया स
११. चचार मन्दम् ।
तावद्धरिस्तमनयद्दिव[22] मातितांसो-
स्तेजांस्यहो नुरिह नो गणना-
स्ति बन्धौ ।।६।।

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[13] .. .. नारकोसुरान्सक ।

[14] .. .. राशीत् ।

[15] .. .. श्रीयम्प्रति ।

[16] The metre is वंशस्थविल ।

[17] In the original हित्वादिती ।

[18] .. .. the readings are respectively कुण्डलेन, महशी and वाश्र्ये ।

[19] The metre is वसन्ततिलक । The same metre is used in 5-8, 13-15.

[20] In the original ब्वंकुविधाविव ।

[21] .. .. ज्योतिसे ।

[22] In the original मनयदिव ।

१२. धीरस्तत स्ततयश [ः] पटगुण्ठिताशो[23]
यश्चापि रक्तमकरोद्भुवनं गुणौघैः।
भव्यः स भूरिविभ–
१३. वो भगदत्तनामा
तस्यात्मज [ः] क्षि [ति] धुरां विभराञ्चकार ।।७।।
वज्रीव निर्ज्जितरिपु [ः] पृथुवज्रकान्तिः
स्वोर्ज्जार्ज्जवा–
१४. र्ज्जितजगज्जयलब्ध[24] कीर्त्ति [ः]।
राज्यन्तदाप रुचमस्तमिते खरांशौ
भ्रातुः शिखीव बलवानिह[25] वज्रदत्तः
१५. ।।८।।
एवं वंश[26]क्रमेण क्षि [ति] मथ[27] निखिलां भुञ्जता [ं] नारकाणां
राज्ञा [ं] म्लेच्छाधिनाथो विधिचलनवशादेव ज–
१६. ग्राह राज्यम्।
शालस्तम्भ [ः] क्रमेस्यापि हि नरपतयो विग्रहस्तम्भमुख्या
विख्याता [ः] सम्बभूवुर्द्विगुणि [त] दशता–
१७. संख्यया संविभिन्ना [ः] ।।९।।[28]
निर्वंशं नृपमेकविंशतितमं श्रीत्यागसिंहाभिध–[29]
न्तेषां वीक्ष्य[30] दिवङ्गतं पुनर–

Second Plate [first page]

१८. हो भौमो हि नो युज्यते[31]।
स्वामीति[32] प्रविचिन्त्य तत् प्रकृतयो भूभाररक्षाक्षमं
सागन्ध्यात् परिचक्रिरे नरप–

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[23] Dr. Hoernle has read गुण्ठितांसो translating it as "whose shoulder was girt with the mantle of far-reaching glory."

[24] In the original ज्जयल्लुब्ध।

[25] .. .. बलवान्निह।

[26] .. .. वंश।

[27] .. .. खिमथ।

[28] स्रग्धरा वृत्त।

[29] In the original सिंहासिध।

[30] .. .. तेषाम्वीख्य।

[31] .. .. युय्यते।

[32] .. .. स्वामिति।

१९. ति [ं] श्रीब्रह्मपालं हि यं ।।१०।।
एकोसौ जितवान् रिपून्[33] समिति भो [ः] किं नाम चित्र [ं]न्विदं
अत्रोदाहहरणं हरो ह–
२०. रि रहो भीष्मादयोन्येपि[34] हि ।
इत्थं[35] सम्परिमृश्य यस्य हि भटा [ः] स्थानस्थितस्य द्विषां
दिक्ष्वष्टस्वपि विद्र
२१. वेण महताश्चर्य्यं[36] सदा मेनिरे ।।११।।
विभवफलविलासास्वादजाताभिलाष [ः]
स युवतिमुपयेमे या–
२२. नुरागाज्जनेषु[37] ।
अवनिकुलसमुत्थ[38] क्ष्मापसंप्राप्त[39] लक्ष्म्याः
स्थितमिव कुलदेवीनामधेयम्बभार ।।१२।।[40]
२३. रत्नोपमान्नरपति [ः][41] स्वगुणैर्म्महार्हान्
यः पालयेदिति जनैरवगम्य सम्यक् ।
नीतः प्रसिद्धिमिह ते–
२४. न सकीर्त्तनेन
श्रीरत्नपाल इति सूनुरजायतास्यां ।।१३।।
दुर्वारवैरिकरिकुम्भभिदाभवास्र–
स्रोतोव–
२५. हाहतिचलत्करिमुक्तिकाभिः ।
यद्युद्धभूर्व्विपणिवद्धृतपाद्मरागा[42]
शोभिष्ट[43]

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[33] .. .. जितवानृपुन् ।
[34] .. .. अनेपि ।
[35] .. .. इथं ।
[36] .. .. श्चर्य्यंन्सदा ।
[37] .. .. जानुरागाजनेषु ।
[38] .. .. समुथ ।
[39] .. .. संप्रात्य ।
[40] मालिनी वृत्त ..

[41] In the original रत्नोपमानरपति । Dr. Hoernle has read it as रत्नोपमो नरपतिः । In the second copper plate grant of the same king, the reading is रत्नोपमो । But the meaning becomes appropriate when we read रत्नोपमान ।

[42] In the original पाद्मरागी । Hoernle has read पद्मरागी ।

[43] .. .. शोभोत । In the other plate शोभैत ।

२६. वीरवणिजा [ं] निकरैः प्रकीर्णा ।।१४।।
सिंहासनेऽथ नरका[44] न्वयजाब्जभानु [ं]
संवेश्य
२७. तं[45] दिवमगादकलङ्कगण्डः ।
कालोचितं विचरितुं हि महानुभावाः
संविद्र–
२८. ते[46] हि गुणदोषविदो भवस्य ।।१५।।
निशितासिमरीचिमञ्जरीजटिलभुजबलवि–
२९. जितनरपतिशतो[47] पायनीकृतसमदगजघटाकटस्यन्दि[48] दानाम्बुशीकरासा–
३०. रसमुपशमितसन्तापं सकलारिकटकलुण्ठनलम्पट[49] सुभटबाहुविटपाटवी–
३१. सङ्कटमपि महाजननिवासयोग्यं । समदसुन्दरीस्मितसुधाधवलितसौधशि–
३२. खरसहस्रान्तर्हित[50] तरणिमण्डलम् । मलयाचलस्थली[51] रुहकानन–
मिवानेकभोगिशतसेवितं । नभो–
३३. वर्त्मेवा[52] वाप्तबुधगुरुकाव्यालङ्कारम् । कैलाशगिरिशिखरमिव परमेश्वराधिष्ठानं ।
वित्तेशनिषेवित–
३४. ञ्च । यच्च शकक्रीड़ाश [कु] निदृढ़पञ्जरेण गुर्ज्जराधिराजप्रज्वरेण[53] दुर्द्दान्तगौ-
ड़ेन्द्रकरिकूटपाकलेन
३५. केरलेशाचल[54] शिलाजतुना वाहिकतायिकातङ्क[55] कारिणा दाक्षिणात्यक्षौणिपतिराज-
यक्ष्मणा[56] क्ष–

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[44] .. .. था नरङ्का ।
[45] .. .. संवेश्यताम् ।
[46] .. .. सम्विद्रिते ।
[47] .. .. सतो ।
[48] .. .. स्यान्दि ।
[49] .. .. ल्लम्पट ।
[50] .. .. अन्तहृत ।
[51] .. .. स्थलि ।
[52] Dr. Hoernle has read 'वत्सेवा' ।
[53] In the original प्रजरेण ।
[54] .. .. अचला ।
[55] .. .. वाहिकता इकातङ्क ।

Other inscriptions have वाहिक but there is no ता-इक in them. Dr. Hoernle has read बाहीक । He says that the वार्त्तिक–बहिषष्टिलोपः. . . इकक् च of Pāṇiṇi 4-1-58 directs the formation of बाहिक । But the अभिधानचिन्तामणि in the भूमिकाण्ड has written वाहिक ।

[56] In the original राजजन्मनाः in the other plate जक्ष्मणा ।

३६. पितारातिपक्षतया क्षितिपवक्षःक्रपाटपटेनेव प्राकारेणावृतप्रान्त[57] मुन्मदकलहंस[58] कामिनीकु–

३७. लकुणितपेशलमरुन्मन्दान्दोलितोर्म्मिशीकरै रुपशमितापावृतसौधशिखराधिरूढ़सुन्दरीसुर–

Second Plate [second page]

३८. तोत्सवायासेन कैलासकरिदुकूल[59] कदलिकापटेनमनेक[60] नाकेशकामिनीविभ्रममणिदर्प्पणे–

३९. न लौहित्याम्भोधिना विराजमानं। माननीयमनेकमनुज[61] पतिसार्थानाम् यथार्थाभिधानं

४०. प्राग्ज्योतिषेषु[62] दुर्ज्जयाख्यपुरमध्युवास। तत्र च जड़ता हारयष्टिषु नेन्द्रियेषु चञ्चलता हरि–

४१. षु न मानसेषु भङ्गुरता भ्रूविभ्रमेषु न प्रतिपन्नेषु सोपसर्गता धातुषु न प्रजासु वामता कामि–

४२. नीषु स्खलितं मधुमदमुदितकामिनीगतिषु नि [ः] स्पृहता दोषकारिषु निरत्ययमधुपानासक्ति[63] मं–

४३. धुकर[64] कुलेषु अत्यन्तं प्रिया[65] नुवर्त्तनं रथाङ्गनामसु पिशिता[66] शिता श्वापदेषु तत्र वासवा[67] वा–

४४. सर्पाद्धनि[68] विधुरिव विर्वाद्धितशीलवेलाजलधिमण्डलः शत्रुसरसीव[69] दर्शितपद्मापहारश्च मार्त्त–

४५. ण्ड इव भूभृच्छिरोनिवेशितपादः कमलाकरोद्भासनलालसश्च[70] परमेश्व–

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[57] .. .. प्राण्ठ।

[58] .. .. हन्स।

[59] .. .. दुकुल।

[60] .. .. पटनेक।

[61] .. .. मनज। Dr. Hoernle has read it as मनक़ and has emended it to मानक।

[62] .. .. प्रागज्योतिषेष। Dr. Hoernle has modified it to प्रागज्योतिषेशः as a subject to the verb अध्युवास।

[63] In the original शक्ति।

[61] .. .. मधुकरकर, evidently a slip of the scribe.

[65] .. .. पृथा।

[66] .. .. पिषिता।

[67] .. .. वासपा।

[68] .. .. स्पर्धिनी।

[69] .. .. सत्रुसरसा।

[70] .. .. ल्लाषश्च; Dr. Hoernle advises to read लास; but in the other plate लालश्च—the correct reading will be लालसश्च।

४६. रोपि कामरुपानन्दी[71] भौमान्वयोप्युल्लासितदानवारिः पुरुषोत्तमोप्यज–

४७. नार्द्दन [:] वीरोपि मत्तेभ[72] गामी यस्य[73] च मन्मथोन्माथिरूपम्[74] तिरस्कृता[75] म्भोधि–

४८. गाम्भीर्यम् जगद्विजयाशंसि धैर्य्यं[76] स्कन्दास्कन्दिवीर्य्यं यश्चार्ज्जुनो यशसि[77] भी–

४९. मसेनो युधि कृतान्तः क्रुधि दावानलो विपक्षवीरुधि शशधरो विद्यानभसि म–

५०. लयानिलः सुजनसुमनसि सूर्य्योरितमसि उदयाचलो मित्रोद्गमसम्पदि य [:]।

५१. महाराजाधिराजश्रीब्रह्मपालवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारको

५२. महाराजाधिराजः श्रीरत्नपा[ल] वर्म्मदेवः कुशली ।।*।। उत्तरकुले त्रयोदशग्राम-विषयान्तः पाति वा–

५३. मदेवपाटकापकृष्टभूमिसमेतलावुकुटिक्षेत्रे[78] धान्यद्विसहस्त्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ। यथायथं समुपस्थि–

५४. तव्राह्मणादिविषयकरणव्यावहारिकप्रमुखजानपदान् राजराज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि रा–

५५. जन्यक[79] राजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्व्वान् माननापूर्व्वकं समा-दिशति विदितम [स्तु]

५६. भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेतायथासंस्था स्वसीमोद्देश[80] पर्य्यन्ता

५७. हस्तिबन्धनौकाबन्धचौरोद्धरणदण्डपाशोपरि[81] करनानानिमित्तो[82] त्खेटन हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्र-गोमहिषाजावि–

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[71] In the original नन्दि।

[72] .. .. मत्तेह।

[73] .. .. यसा।

[74] Compare the other inscription for a different text : स च मन्मथोन्माथिरूपी।

[75] In the original the form is तीरस्कृता।

[76] .. .. वीर्य्यम्। This followed by the same word smacks of repetition. Moreover in the other inscription the reading at both these places is वैर्य्यम् which can be easily taken to be a slip for धैर्य्यम् in one place and वीर्य्यम् in another.

[77] In the other copper-plate there is the portion—भीष्मोधनुसि which might have been omitted through oversight of the scribe.

[78] In the original the reading क्षेत्रा: Dr. Hoernle has made it क्षेत्रायां and has used as adjective to भूमन्। This is redundant.

[79] In the original the reading is राजनक।

[80] .. .. मोदेश।

[81] .. .. परी।

[82] .. .. निवित्तो।

[*Third Plate*]

५८. कप्रचारप्रभृतीनां विनिवारितसर्व्वपीड़ा शासनीकृत्य ।।
पाराशरोऽभूद्भुवि देवदत्तः का
५९. ण्वोऽग्रजो वाजसनेयकाग्र्यः।
आसाद्य यं वेदविदां परार्द्ध्यं त्रय्या कृतार्थायितमेव सम्य-
६०. क् ।।१६।।[83]
अग्न्याहित[84] स्तस्य वभूव सूनुः सद्गङ्गदत्तो गुणशीलशाली।
यं वीक्ष्य षट्कर्म्मरतं द्विजेशं[85]
६१. भृग्वादिषु प्रत्ययितो जनौघः ।।१७।।
श्यामायिका तस्य वभूव पत्नी पतिव्रता शीलगुणो [प] पन्ना।
उग्रेन्दु–
६२. लेखेव विराजते या विशुद्धरूपा तमसो निहन्त्री[86] ।।१८।।[87]
अस्यामभूच्छास्त्रविदां धुरीण स्त्रस्तः[88]
६३. सुतोऽधात् खलु वीरदत्तः।
यं प्राप्य धर्म्माश्रियमुग्रवुद्धि कालः कलिर्न्यक्कृतवद्बभूव ।।१९।।
संक्रान्तौ
६४. विष्णु[89] पद्याञ्च पञ्चविंशाब्दराज्यके।
तस्मै दत्ता मया पित्रोर्यशः पुण्या–
६५. य चात्मनः[90] ।।२०।।[91]
सीमा पूर्व्वेण वृहदाल्याम् शाल्मलीवृक्षः। पूर्वदक्षिणेन रू–
६६. षिगणपाटी[92] नौसीम्नि खरतटस्थशाल्मलीवृक्षः। दक्षिणेन तन्नौसीम्नि
६७. बदरीवृक्षः। दक्षिणपश्चिमेन तन्नौ[93] सीम्नि काशिम्बलवृक्षः। पश्चिमेन

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[83] The metre is इन्द्रवज्रा in this *śloka* as well as in the 17th and 19th.

[84] In the original the form is आग्न्याहित।

[85] .. .. the reading द्विजेषम्; it may be read as द्विजेषु।

[86] .. .. निहन्त्रीम्।

[87] The metre is उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा and उपेन्द्रवज्रा)।

[88] In the original आस्यामम् for अस्याम्; and त्रस्त्रः for त्रस्तः।

[89] .. .. the reading is विप्नु।

[90] .. .. .. चात्मनम।

[91] The metre is अनुष्टुभ् (पथ्यावक्त्र)।

[92] Dr. Hoernle has read पठो।

[93] In the original तनौ।

६८. खरतटस्थाश्वत्थवृक्षः । पश्चिमग । उत्तरग वक्रेण क्षेत्रालि [:] काशिम्ब–
६९. लावृक्षश्च । पश्चिमोत्तरेण क्षेत्राल्याम् हिज्जलवृक्षः । पूर्व्वग । उत्तरगव–
७०. केण क्षेत्रालि ।[94] शाल्मलीवृक्षौ । पुनः पूर्व्वगदक्षिगवक्रेण क्षेत्रालि । काशिम्बल वृक्षौ । कि–
७१. ञ्चित् पूर्व्वग । दक्षिणग वक्रेण क्षेत्रालि । शाल्मली वृक्षौ । उत्तरेण वृह[95] दाल्यां काशिम्बलवृ–
७२. क्षः । उत्तरपूर्व्वेण वृहदाल्यां वेतसवृक्षश्चेति ॥

[*The text of the seal with the elephant's head*][96]

स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपतिमहाराजाधिराज–
–श्रीरत्नपालवर्म्मदेवः ॥

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[94] The full stop sign of the vertical stroke should be understood as a hyphen in this place as well as two or more other places.

[95] In the original वह ।

[96] The letters here are very indistinct. So Vidyāvinoda has accepted the reading of Dr. Hoernle. There is a slight variation in the text of the seal of the Second Plate from this one. There the *āñjī* sign has preceded the text, and after स्वस्ति the portion प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यन्ययो is seen.

The Śuālkuci Grant of Ratnapāla (26th year)

This second inscription of Ratnapāla was found at Śuālkuci village of Kamrup district which is richly inhabited by Brahmins but it is not known how, where and by whom the charter was discovered. Gait sent the inscription to the Asiatic Society in the month of May, 1896. Dr. Hoernle discussed this inscription in *the Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Bengal 1898, 1st April, p. 120 along with the previous inscription of Ratnapāla with photographs of the plates. Paṇḍit Vidyāvinoda published it in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī* pp. 110-115.

The inscription consists of three plates. The size of each plate is 12″×8¼″. The first plate has been lost. Therefore the first page of the second plate, being uncovered, has eroded and become unintelligible at many places. Even then, this is of no importance; because the writing of the first plate and the first page of the second plate is exactly similar to the first charter of Ratnaāla. It has been presumed that the lost plate had contained 19 lines. Each page of the second plate contains 19 lines and the first page of the last plate contains 7 lines. The seal and the ring are the same as those of the first charter.

This second charter was issued in the 26th regnal year of Ratnapāla. It records the grant of a piece of land producing 3000 paddy to a Brahmin named Kāmadeva Bhaṭṭa in the district of Kalaṅgā.

THE ŚUĀLKUCI PLATES OF RATNAPĀLA

[*Charter No. II of Ratnapāla*]

[The first plate is lost; the contents of this seem to have been the same as those of the first plate of the first inscription. The first page of the second plate is highly indistinct; here is nothing new except what it is there in the first inscription. The second page of the second plate is exactly similar with the first inscription upto श्रीमान्‌रत्नपालवर्म्मदेवः कुशली ।।×।। After this the following new insertion is made—कलङ्गविषयान्तः-पातिधान्यत्रिसहस्रोत्पत्तिकापकृष्ट[1] भूमौ। Then from यथायथं समुपस्थितः upto शासनीकृत्य—this portion is exactly similar with the first inscription. Thereafter the following portion is found in this inscription.]

५३. [2]भारद्वाजसगोत्रो वाजसनेयश्च[3] काण्वशाखोभूत् ।
भट्टोबलदेव इति ख्यात–
५४. : श्रुतविनयसम्पन्नः ।।१६।।[4]
आसीत् प्रतिहतनरको
वहुविबुधवन्द्यमानचरणयुगमः ।
प्रविकसितकमलनयन–
५५. स्तत् पुत्रो वासुदेवाख्यः ।।१७
लक्ष्मीरिव जनसेव्या भार्य्यासीदस्य वल्लभा साध्वी ।
च्छेपायिकेति विदिता सद्धर्म्मा व–
५६. र्णभूषणा रम्या ।।१८
ताभ्यामजायत सुतो भूवि कामदेवः

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[1] The first three letters preceding भुमौ is highly indistinct. Dr. Hoernle has read it हक्रुष्टा and changed it to हलकृष्टा। हलकृष्टा has no appropriateness here, it being applicable to all agricultural lands. Therefore the word अपकृष्ट commonly used with land grants is more appropriate and is selected as the reading here.

[2] There were 19 lines in the first plate because this was equal in size with the 1st page of the second plate which contains 19 lines. From the beginning of the second plate upto this line there were 33 lines. Therefore the number of this line is made 53.

[3] Dr. Hoernle has read वाजसनेयीशृ and has replaced शृ by श्री. But the word वाजस्सनेयीश्री places extra gaṇas interfering with the आर्या metre.

[4] The *śloka* numbers are exactly similar with the first inscription. The number so far in the first inscription being 15, this is made 16. The metre is आर्याजाति; the two *ślokas* following are in the same metre. But the 17th *śloka* has wrong *gaṇa* in the first half—the sixth is not "ज", the fifth (uneven) is "ज", the 18th śloka is आर्या गीति ।.

शक्त्या मनोरमतया जितकामदेहः ।

कीर्त्तिः

५७. समस्तभुवनं हि शशाङ्कशुभ्रा
यस्यानिशम्भ्रमति भूरिविभूषितद्यौः ।।१९[5]
पित्रोः स्वपुण्यमुद्दिश्य कीर्त्तेश्च सम–

Third Plate

५८. वाप्तये ।[6]
मया दत्ता द्विजायास्मै राज्ये षड्विंशदब्दिके ।।२०।।[7]
अस्यास्सीमा पूर्व्वेण चन्देनौकिन
५९. स्सहसीम्नि इष्टकेन्द्रस्योपरि शर्क्करामूल ।[8] खोड़ास्त्र[9] वृक्षौ ।
पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन दक्षपाटिनौकिस–
६०. हसीम्नि वेतसवृक्षः । दक्षिणेन सधवनौकिसहसीम्नि हिज्जल[10] वृक्षः ।
दक्षिणपश्चिमेन भद्राक्ष [ना-]
६१. म-वृक्षः । पश्चिमेण चन्देनौकिसहसीम्नि अधुनारोपितशाल्मलीवृक्षः ।
पश्चिमोत्तरेण कलङ्गा–
६२. दण्डिदक्षिणपाटः । पूर्व्वंगवक्रेण सधवकलङ्गादण्डिदक्षिणपाटस्थ-
चोरकवृक्षः । दक्षिणवक्रे–
६३. ण कुलसोन्तोत्तरपाटः । पूर्व्वंगवक्रेण सधवकुलसोन्तोत्तरपाटस्थवरुणवृक्षः
उत्तरगवक्रेण हिज्ज–
६४. लवृक्षः । उत्तरेण दियम्वारजोलोत्तरपाटः । उत्तरपूर्व्वेणालिमस्तकस्थ-
वेतसवृक्षश्चेति ।।

[*The text of the seal with the elephant's head*]

९स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यन्वयो महाराजाधिराजश्रीरत्नपालवर्म्मदेवः ।

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[5] वसन्ततिलकवृत्त ।

[6] This portion is extremely hazy. This portion here in the first inscription is पित्रोर्यशः पुण्याय चात्मनः ।

[7] अनुष्टुभ् पथ्यावक्त्र ।

[8] Dr. Hoernle has read शवरमूला which he has modified to मूले, evidently not being able to notice the vertical line working as a hyphen.

[9] In the original खोड़ाम्त्र ।

[10] .. .. हिजल

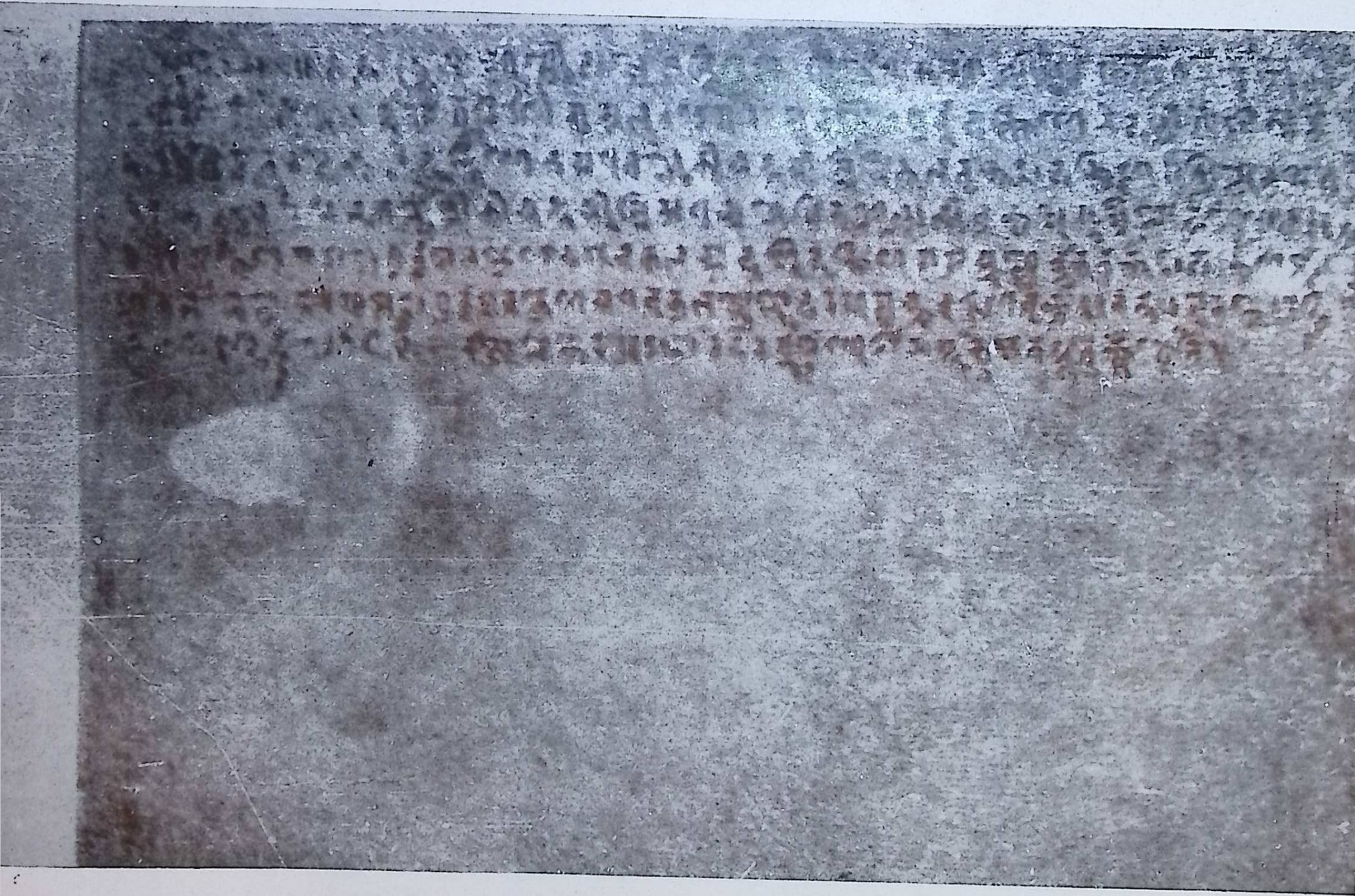
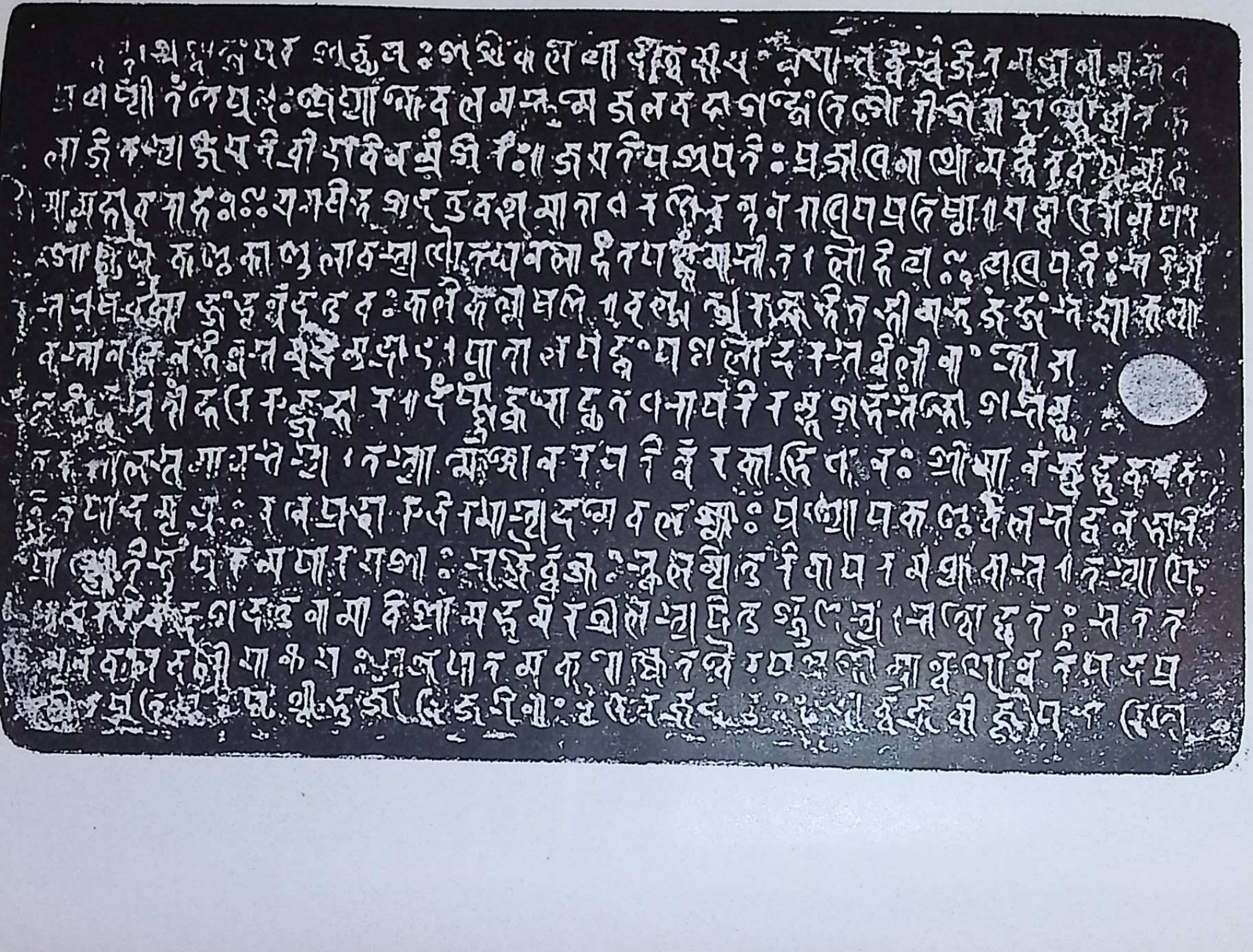


PLATE III—ŚUĀLKUCI GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA

PLATE I—GAUHATI GRANT OF INDRAPĀLA



THE GAUHATI GRANT OF INDRAPĀLA

(*The first charter of Indrapāla, 8th year*)

One cultivator named Tanuram of Barapānāra village of Pāṭidarrang *Mauza* of Gauhati sub-division in Kamrup District of Assam while trying to level a high piece of land discovered three copper plates with an elephant-marked seal. One of his relations named Dhairynath Mandal got it from Tanuram. After 30 years of its discovery, Honourable Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Gait recovered them from Dhairyanath and sent to Dr. Hoernle in September of 1893. He wrote an article with the text of the inscription in *the Journal of the Asiatic Socity* LXVI, 1st part, pp 113-32.

Unfortunately, Dr. Hoernle committed some mistakes in deciphering as well as in commenting on the inscription. Therefore Paṇḍit Padmanath Vidyāvinoda pointed out the various mistakes in an article published in the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (B.S. 1319, 2nd and 4th issue) in which also a Bengali translation of the inscription was given. He also edited the inscription in the *Kāmarūpasāsanāvalī* p. 116-129.

The inscription consists of three plates. The size of each plate is 10″×6″. The first plate and the third plate are written only on one page containing 14 lines and 9 lines respectively, but the second plate is inscribed on both faces, each page containing 15 lines. Thus there are altogether 53 lines.

The grant was issued in the *8th year* of Indrapāla's reign. If the period of reign of Ratnaāla is supposed to be the first part of the 11th century, Indrapāla's reign may be supposed to fall roughly in the middle part of the 11th century A.D. The grant records the gift of a piece of land in *Kāsīpāṭaka* of the *viṣaya Hapyoma* on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra (*Uttarakūla*), producing 4000 paddy to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Deśapāla.

THE GAUHATI PLATES OF INDRAPĀLA

(Charter No. I of Indrapāla)

१. ९ स्वस्ति । खट्वाङ्ग[ं][1] परशुर्व्वृषः शशिकलेत्यादि[2]त्वदीयं मया
सर्व्वस्वं जितमद्य नाम कि [त] व
२. प्रत्यर्प्पितं[3] ते पुनः [।]
प्रेष्या केवलमस्तु मे जलवहा गङ्गेति गौरीगिरा
शम्भोर्द्यूतक–
३. लाजितस्य जयति व्रीड़ाविनम्रं शिरः ।।१[4]
जयति पशुपतिः प्रजाधिनाथो महितवपुर्म्महि
४. मा महावराहः ।
इयमपि भगदत्तवंश[5] माता धरणीर [न] न्तनराधिपप्रतिष्ठा ।।२।।[6]
यद्वारि रामपर–
५. शो र्नृपकण्ठकाण्ड–
लावस्य धौतघनलोहितपङ्कमासीत् ।
लौहित्य इत्यधिपतिः सरितां
६. स एष
ब्रह्माङ्गभूर्न्नुदतु वः कलिकल्मष [ा] णि ।।३।।[7]
वल्गत्खुरक्षुभितभीमभुजङ्गसद्मा
कल्पा–
७. वसानदिनभिन्नसमुद्रमुद्राम् ।
पातालपङ्कपटलोदरसन्निलीनां
क्रोड़ा––
८. कृति र्व्वसु [म] तीं हरिरुज्जहार ।।४।।
दंष्ट्राङ्कुरोद्धतधरापरिरम्भगर्भ––
सम्भोग सम्भृ–

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[1] Dr. Hoernle has made it masculine which is a mistake.

[2] In the original त्यादी ।

[3] .. .. प्रत्यर्प्पीतं ।

[4] The metre is शार्द्दूलविक्रीड़ित in this *śloka* as well as in the 9th and 10th.

[5] In the original वन्स. Dr. Hoernle reads वतस्. But in the second inscription it is clearly वङ्श ।

[6] पुष्पिताग्रावृत्त ।

[7] वसन्ततिलकवृत्त । The same metre is in verses 4-8, and in 17-18.

९. तरसालसमानसस्य ।
तस्यात्मजो नरपति र्न्नरकाभिधानः
श्रीमानभूद्भुवनव–
१०. न्दितपादमुद्रः[8] ।।५।।
रत्नप्रभारुचिरमास्पदमेव लक्ष्म्याः[9]
पुण्योपकण्ठविलसद्वन[माल] भारि[10] ।
११. प्राग्ज्योतिषं पुरमपारयशाः स [उ]च्चै
र्बक्षःस्थलम्पितुरिवापरमध्युवास ।।६।।
तस्यापि
१२. सूनुरभवद्भगदत्तनामा
विश्रामभूमिरखिलस्य पितुर्ग्गुणस्य ।
सत्त्वोद्धतः[11] सतत–
१३. मूनवले वलीयान्
यः पक्षपातमकरोत् क्षतवैर[12] पक्ष[ः] ।।७।।
भौमान्वयो[13]न्नतिपदप्र–
१४. थितप्रतिष्ठः
पृथ्वीभुजां विजयिनां धुरि वज्रदत्तः ।
दोर्व्वज्रवीर्य्य[14]परितो

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[8] In the origlnai पादमूद्रः। मूलः was substituted for मूद्रः। From the reading of the second plate, the correct form is determined as in the text.

[9] In the original the reading is लक्ष्मा।

[10] .. .. the two letters are missing. Dr. Hoernle, therefore, has modified the reading into विलसद्वनभारहारि। But the reading we have adopted is clear in the second charter. माला is changed into माल by the Pāṇini's sūtra 6.3.65: इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु।

[11] In the original सत्त्वोद्धत।

[12] In the other plate, the reading is क्षतवैरि which is good.

[13] Dr. Hoernle read कौम्रान्वयो and in translation made it Kaumra dynasty. But when he subsequently went through the plates of Ratnapāla, he rectified his own mistake (cf. J.A.S.B.-I-1898. p. 105).

[14] In the original वीज्ज।

[*Second Plate: first page*]

१५. षित[15] वज्रपाणि–
रासीदमुष्य मुषितारियशा[16]स्तनूजः ॥८॥
अस्मिन्नेव[17] नृपान्वये नरपतिः श्रीब्रह्म–
१६. पालोभवत्
त[स्या]त्मा[18] भुवि रत्नपाल इति च ख्यातः क्षतारिर्व्वंशी ।[19]
अस्यानर्घगुणाकरस्य महिमा रा–
१७. ज्ञस्तु किं वर्ण्यते
यः श्लाघ्यैरतिदिश्यते सुचरितैः रामस्य कृष्णस्य वा ॥९॥
सम्बाधा[20] वसुधा सु–
१८. धाधवलितैः शम्भुप्रतिष्ठापदै
र्यस्य श्रोत्रियमन्दिराणि विभवैर्न्नानाप्रकारैरपि ।
यूपै र्यज्ञ–
१९. गृहाङ्गणानि हविषां धूमै[21]र्न्नभोमण्डलं
यात्रारेणुभिरर्ण्णवाम्बु विजयस्तम्भैश्च सर्व्वा[22]दिशः ॥१०॥
आ––
२०. सीदुदारकीर्त्तिर्द्दाता भोक्ता शुचिः कलाकुशलः ।
तस्य पुरन्दरपालः सूनुः शूरश्च सुकवि–[23]
२१. श्च ॥११[24]
कृतमतिकौतुकमसकृन्मृगयारसिकेन येन समरेपि ।
क्षणविरचित––

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[15] This was also preceded by a तो which is redundant·

[16] In the original, दुमुस्यमुषितारिजशा ।

[17] .. .. अस्मिनेव ।

[18] .. .. तन्मा । This was read as तज्जन्मा । Dr. Hoernle has read it as तत्सूनु । In that case, the भ following would have been रेफयुक्त। However the reading is clearly तस्यात्मा in the second plate.

[19] In the original the reading is र्व्वंशि ।

[20] .. .. .. सम्बधा ।

[21] Dr. Hoernle has read धूम्रै ।

[22] In the original सबव; but the reduplication indicates रकारयुक्तत्व ।

[23] .. .. सुकवी ।

[21] आर्य्या जाति; the 12th and the 19th *śloka* are of the same metre.

२२. शरपञ्जरवद्धै रिपुराजशार्द्दूलैः ।।१२।।
जामदग्न्यभुजविक्रमार्ज्जितप्राज्यराज्यनृ--
२३. पवंशसम्भवां
दुर्ल्लभेति स तु लोकदुर्ल्लभां प्राप्य सम्यगभवत्[25] कलत्रवा-
२४. न्[26] ।।१३।।[27]
सचीव शक्रस्य शि[वे]व शम्भो रति [:] स्मरस्येव हरेरिवश्रीः ।
सा रोहिणीव क्षणदाकरस्य
२५. तस्यानुरूपप्रणया बभूव ।।१४।।[28]
देवः प्राचीप्रदीप [:] प्रकटवसुमतीमण्डनः[29] खण्डितारि-
२६. र्ज्जातस्ताभ्या[ं] जितात्मा नयविन[य] वतामग्रणीरिन्द्रपालः ।
यस्मिन् सिंहासनस्थे स्वयमवनिभृ-
२७. तां वद्धसेवाञ्जलीना-
मावर्ज्जन्मौलिरत्नैः फलितमिव [स] भाकुट्टिमं कीर्य्यमाणैः ।।१५।।[30]
सुवि-
२८. स्तृतानां पदवाक्यतर्क्कतन्त्रप्रवाहातितरस्विनीनां[31]
यः सर्व्वविद्यासरितामगाधमन्तर्निम-
२९. ग्नश्च गतश्च पारम् ।।१६
स्वर्ग्गं गते पितरि यस्य यशः शरीरे
पौत्रस्य पूतमनसा [हरि][32]

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[25] In the original भवत ।

[26] .. .. कलत्रवाना०

[27] The metre is रथोद्धता ।

[28] The metre is उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा उपेन्द्रवज्रा). The same metre is in the 16th verse.

[29] Dr. Hoernle has read मण्डलः; in the second inscription मण्डनः ।

[30] The metre is स्रग्धरा ।

[31] Dr. Hoernle has read तरङ्गिणीनां, but in the other inscription the reading is clearly तरस्विनीनां ।

[32] A few letters towards the end of the last line of the 1st page and the first line of the 2nd page of the second plate are quite indistinct. These are restored from the reading of the second charter.

[33] In the original मत्यर्प्पित स्वयमन्निज । The accepted reading is after comparison with the second grant.

[*Second Plate: second page*]

३०. [विक्रमेण ।]

[राज्ञा वयःपरिणतेन] गुणानुरूप–
मित्यर्प्पिता स्वयमियन्निज[33]राज्य[34]लक्ष्मीः ।।१७
यस्मिन्नृपे विनयविक्रमभाजि जा[ते][35]

३१. सम्यग्विभक्तचतुराश्रमवर्ण्णधर्म्मा ।
अ[ा]नन्दिनी सकल[36]कामदुघा प्रजाना[ं]
पृथ्वी पृथोः[37] पुनरिव प्रथितोदयासी [त्] ।।१८

३२. करितुरगरत्नपूर्ण्णा राज्ञस्तस्यानुरूपगुणवसतिः ।
नृपतिकु[ल] दुर्ज्जयासीन्नगरी श्रीदुर्ज्जया नाम ।।१९
प्राग्ज्यो–

३३. तिषाधिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिता[38]शेषरिपुपक्षश्रीवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिरा–

३४. जश्रीरत्नपालवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीसदिन्द्र
पालवर्म्मदेव[ः]

३५. कुशली ।।×।। उत्तरकुले हप्योमविषयान्तःपातिकासीपाटकभविषाभूम्यपकृष्ट[39]
धान्यचतु[ः] सहस्रोत्पत्तिकभमौ ।

३६. यथायथं[40] समुपस्थितविषयकरण[41] व्यावहारिकप्रमुखजानपदान् राजराज्ञीराणकाधि-
कृतानन्या[न-]

३७. पि राजन्यकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालमाविनोपि सर्व्वान् माननापूर्व्वकं
समादि–

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[34] In the other charter, the reading is राज; both राज्य and राज are correct.

[35] Dr. Hoernle has read तुङ्गे।

[35] In the original शकल।

[37] In the second inscription the reading is पृथौ; both may be correct.

[38] In the original क्षपृता।

[39] Dr. Hoernle has read भूम्यपक्षष्ट and has corrected it to भूम्यपक्षस्थ translating it as "lying by the side of the land"; but the word अपकृष्ट is so frequently used in the copper plate grants of Kāmarūpa kings that there is no doubt whatsoever about its use.

[40] तथापूर्व्वं is the reading determined by Dr. Hoernle.

[41] In the original विषयरकरण।

३८. शति विदितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियम्। वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेता[42] यथासं
३९. स्था स्वसीमोद्देशपर्य्यन्ता हस्तिबन्धनौकाबन्धचौ[रो]द्धरणदण्डपाशोपरिकरनानानिमि-त्तोत्खेटनहस्त्यश्वो–
४०. ष्ट्र गोमहिषाज[ा]विकप्रचारप्रभृतीनां वि[43]निवारितसर्व्वपीडा शासनीकृत्य ॥ आसीत् काश्यपगोत्रोऽतिपवित्रो[44]मि–
४१. त्रवत्सलः।
यजुर्व्वेदी गुणाधारो हरिपाल इति द्विजः ॥२०॥[45]
सुतः शवरपाला [ख्यः] ख्यातः सभ्य[46]विमत्सरः
अभवद्भुव–
४२. निष्ठस्य द्विजन्मा मानिनां वरः ॥२१॥
सौख्यायिकेति तस्याभूत् परिचर्य्यासुखप्रदा।
आर्य्याचारस्य[47] साचारा पत्नी गु–
४३. णवती सती ॥२२॥
देशपाल इति स्निग्धबन्धनां कृतपालनः।
ताभ्यां जातो द्विजोऽशेषगुणरत्ननिधिः सुधी [:] ॥२३॥
४४. शासनीकृत्य भूरेषा तस्मै दुष्करशासिने।
द्विजाय दत्ता यत्ताय राज्येऽष्टम-समे मया ॥२४॥[48]

[*Third Plate*]

४५. अस्या [:] सीमा पूर्व्वेण कोष्ठमाक्खियान विल्लपूर्व्वः कलं[49] कून्तवितखम्भवासत्क-मकूतिमाक्खियान[50] भसीम्नि[51]

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[42] .. .. द्यूपेता।
[43] .. .. नाम्वि।
[44] .. .. पवितो।
[45] The metre is अनुष्टुभ् पथ्यावक्त्र।
[46] Dr. Hoernle has read सद्म; but it appears not to be a letter ending in म but य. Therefore the reading may be सह्य or सभ्य। The latter word yields a better sense, and therefore it is accepted in the text.
[47] In the original आयृाचारस्य।
[48] The metre is अनुष्टुभ्।
[49] In the original कूलम्।
[50] .. .. मक्खियान।
[51] The reading here is quite hazy. भूसीम्नि is adopted because it is many a time preceding 'क्षेत्रालि'।

४६. क्षेत्रालिश्च। पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन तद्भू [:] कून्तवितलाक्खवाभोगकासीपाटकभूम्योः[52] सीम्नि वृहदालिः। दक्षिणे–

४७. न तद्भूसीम्नि वृहदालिः। उत्तरग। पश्चिमगवक्रेण[53] स्वल्पद्युतिकैवर्त्तानां भोगदीर्घिका[54] कोष्ठभू–[55]

४८. सीम्नि क्षेत्राली। वंशस्तूपत्रयञ्च। दक्षिणपश्चिमेन तद्भूसीम्नि दिर्गुम्मा[56] नदी। उत्तरगव–

४९. क्रेण। सैव नदी। पूर्व्वग। उत्तर[ग] वक्रेण कोष्ठकासी[57] पाटकभूसीम्नि क्षेत्राली। पश्चिमगव–

५०. क्रेण तद्‌भूसीम्नि वास्त्वालिः। पश्चिमेन दिर्गुम्मा नदी। पश्चिमोत्तरेण सैव नदी।

५१. उत्तरेण तथागतकारितादित्यभट्टारकसत्कशासनभविषाभूसीम्नि क्षेत्रा–

५२. लिस्थशाखोटक[58] वृक्ष। पशुपतिकारितपुष्करिणी दक्षिणपाटौ क्षेत्रालिश्च।

५३. उत्तरपूर्व्वेण तद्भू [:]। कोष्ठमाक्खियानविल्लपूर्व्वः। कूलञ्चेति।।०।।

(The text of the SEAL with the elephant's head)

स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपतिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीम–
दिन्द्रपालवर्म्मदेवः

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[52] Dr. Hoernle has read भूम्याः। The reference to two plots of land is clear.

[53] In the original वक्षेण।

[54] .. .. भोगदीर्घा।

[55] The letter after को is exceedingly indistinct; it appears to be ण्ट। The reading adopted here is inferential.

[56] Dr. Hoernle has read दिगुम्मा।

[57] In the original काषी।

[58] Hoernle has read लाखोटक।

The Guākuci Grant of Indrapāla

(The Second Charter of Indrapāla, 21st year)

One cultivator found this inscription in a village named *Guākuci* situated at a distance of 25 miles from Raṅgīyā Police station in the Kamrup District of Assam. It was then April, 1925. The inscrip- tion was discovered suddenly when the peasant was digging the foundation of his old house with a view to changing from the house owned by his forefathers to a new house at a different site. Sometimes after its discovery, in August, 1925, noted antiquarian of Assam, Paṇḍit Hem Chandra Goswami, secured the plates and it was he who first brought to light the historical importance of the inscription. After this, Paṇḍit Padmanātha Vidyāvinoda read an article in the session of the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat* (B.S. 1336) which was published in the journal of the same *pariṣat* in the same year. He also edited the inscription in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī* p. 135-145 with a Bengali translation.

The set of the inscription consists of three plates. The first plate contains 18 lines of writing on the internal face, the second plate contains 19 lines on both faces and the last plate contains 18 lines of writing on the internal face. The last page of the inscription has four figures of a *Garuḍa* sitting on snake, a lotus (*padma*), a *saṁkha,* and a *cakra.* The drawing has no significant association with the writing of the inscription and was possibly inscribed with a view to filling up the blank space on the last page of the inscription. According to Padmanātha Vidyā vinoda, this is the only instance of art in the copper plate inscriptions so far discovered.

The inscription was issued in the 21st year of the reign of *Indrapāla.* The grant records the gift of a piece of land producing 2000 paddy, in *Paṇḍarī* area of *Mandi viṣaya* on the northern bank of the Bramhaputra *(Uttarakūle)* to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Śrīmān *Devadeva.*

THE GUĀKUCI PLATES OF INDRAPĀLA

[*Charter No. II of Indrapāla*]

[This inscription up to the portion इन्द्रपालवर्म्मदेवः कुशली in line 34 is exactly similar with charter No. I of Indrapāla up to the first word कुशली in line No. 35. Only the text of the dissimilar portion is given below.]

३४. ।।*।। उत्तरकूले मन्दिविषयान्तः पातिपण्डरीभूमितोऽप–
३५. कृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ ।। * यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयकरणव्यावहा–
३६. रिकप्रमुखान् जानपदान् राजाराज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि राजन्यक । राजपुत्र । राज–
३७. वल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोऽपि सर्व्वान् सम्माननापूर्व्वकं समादिशति विदितमस्तु

Second Plate [*second page*]

३८. भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेता यथासंस्था स्वसी[1]
३९. मोद्देशपर्य्यन्ता हस्तिबन्ध । नौकाबन्ध । चौरोद्धरण । दण्डपाशोपरिकर । नानानि–
४०. मित्तोत्खेटनहस्त्यश्वोष्ट्र । गोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारप्रभृतीनां विनि[2] वारितसर्व्व–
४१. पीड़ा शासनीकृत्य–

सावथ्यामस्ति वैनामा ग्रामो धाम द्विजन्मनां
धर्म्मस्या
४२. धर्म्मभीतस्य दुर्ग्गलम्भनिभः कलौ ।।२०।।[3]
काश्यपस्तत्र पुण्यात्मा सोमदेवोऽभवद्द्विजः[4]
४३. काण्व[5] शाखो यजु[6]र्व्वेदी देवः साक्षादिवात्मभूः ।।२१।।
वसुदेव इति श्रीमान् वसुदेव इवा–
४४. त्मजः ।
तस्य जज्ञे सुहृन्नन्दसुप्रीतपुरुषोत्तमः ।।२२।।
अस्य मुनेरिव वशिनः[7] पत्नी शीलै–

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[1] In the original ससी ।

[2] In the original नाम्विनि ।

[3] The metre is अनुष्टुभ् पथ्यावक्त्र । *Ślokas* 21, 22, 25 have the same metre.

[4] In the original the form is भवद्विजः ।

[5] .. .. कण्व ।

[6] .. .. ययु ।

[7] .. .. वसिनः ।

४५. रुन्धतीवासीत्।
अनुराधेति[8] कुलीना गङ्गेवापास्त-कलिकलुषा ।।२३।।[9]
दे–
४६. वक्यामिव तस्यां तेनाजनि देवदेव इति सूनुः।
हरिरिव गोपहितै–
४७. षी यशोदया स्वीकृतः श्रीमान् ।।२४।।
द्विजायास्मै मही धान्यसहस्रद्वय–
४८. सम्मिता।
मया राज्यस्य दत्तेयमेकविंशतिवत्सरे ।।२५।।

अस्याः

४९. सीमा पूर्व्वेण महागौरी। कामेश्वरयोः सत्कशासनमर्क्कम्यीकोक्व[10] राजपुत्रपाटक।
५०. पण्डरीभूसीम्नि वास्त्वालिस्थकण्टाफलवृक्ष। क्षेत्राली। पश्चिमगवक्रेण तड्डू। वीरस–
५१. त्कमकुति [कुम्यरा][11] पण्डरीभूम्योस् सीम्नि क्षेत्रालिः। दक्षिणगवक्रेण तड्डूसीम्नि क्षेत्रालिः।
५२. पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन तड्डू। महागौरीकामेश्वरयोस् सत्कशासनपण्डरीभूम्योः सीम्नि क्षेत्रालिः।
५३. दक्षिणेन तड्डूसीम्नि क्षेत्रालि। हाहारविजोलोत्तरकूले।[12] दक्षिणपश्चिमेन तड्डूसीम्नि
५४. क्षेत्रालिमस्तकः। पश्चिमेन तड्डू। वसुमाधवदेवसत्कशासनपण्डरीभूसीम्नि क्षेत्रालि।
५५. जिङ्गिनी[13] वृक्षौ। पूर्व्वग उत्तरवक्रेण तड्डूसीम्नि शाखोटकजोलदक्षिणकूलं। क्षेत्राली।
५६. पश्चिमोत्तरेण तड्डूसीम्नि क्षेत्रालिमस्तकः। पूर्व्वगवक्रेण तड्डूसीम्नि तज्जोलदक्षिणकू–

[*Third Plate*]

५७. लं उत्तर ग। पश्चिम ग। उत्तरगवक्रेण तद्भूसीम्नि वास्त्वाली उत्तर (?) × × × [जोल][14]
५८. दक्षिणकूलस्थ [:] अम्र [15]वृक्षः। उत्तरेण तड्डू। पीदकग्राम [सवृद्धग्राम][16] भूम्यो [:] सीम्नि स्थितं

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[8] .. .. अनुधारेति।

[9] The metre is आर्या जाति in this *śloka* as well as in the next.

[10] These are possibly the *prākṛtised* names (of places).

[11] Letters within [ ] appear to be struck out.

[12] In the original जेलौत्तर कूलौ।

[13] .. .. जिङ्गणी।

[14] This portion of the plate is completely effaced and nothing can be read.

[15] In the original अम्ब

[16] It appears the letters within [ ] are struck out

५९. स्रोतसीजोलदक्षिणकूलं। उत्तरग। पूर्व्वंगवक्रण तद्ग्रामभूसीम्नि दक्षिणपूर्व्वंकू-
६०. ल। दक्षिणकूले[17]। उत्तरपूर्व्वेण तड्डू। महागौरी। कामेश्वरयोर्द्देवसत्कशासनपण्ड-
६१. रीभूम्योस् सीम्नि वास्त्वालिश्चेति ।।०।। श्रीमत्परमेश्वरपादानां द्वात्रिं-[18]
६२. शन्नामान्यमूनि। कीर्त्तिकमलिनीमार्त्तण्ड। लक्ष्मीभारोद्वहनाच्युत। सकललोकशङ्क-
६३. र। करुणाजीमूतवाहन। संग्रामस्तम्भ। अरसिकभीम। अप्रतिहतशक्तिकार्त्ति-
६४. केय। विपक्षवलभित्। नरसिंहविक्रम। कलिकालजलधिनिमज्ज-
६५. द्वसुन्धरादिवराह। साहसैकसहाय। धनुर्द्धरैकपार्थ। अनतक्षत्रव-
६६. ०श[19] भार्ग्गव। उद्धतभूभृदशनिपात। अन्तःपुरभुजङ्ग। सरस्वती-
६७. निजनिवास। सुहृन्मानसराजहंस। कामिनीमनोमोहनैक[20] मन्त्र।
६८. अनवद्यविद्याधर। समरसागरमृगाङ्क। प्रज्ञावधूवल्लभ। कलाविलासिनीसुभ-
६९. ग। अर्थि[21] जनमनोरथकल्पद्रुम। मित्रोदयप्रभातसमय। धर्म्मविरोधिवर्त्मभी-
७०. रु। सद्गुणकर्ण्णावतंस[22]। सच्चरितचन्दनमलयगिरि। मेदिनीतिलक। प्रचण्डन-
७१. रगण्ड। तरुणीतरण्ड। तुरङ्गरेवन्त। हरगिरिजाचरणपङ्कजरजोरञ्जितो
७२. त्तमाङ्ग।

शनि Drawings of
ढनि the Garuḍa and serpent; the lotus; the conch; and the disc.
अनि पुष्टा सिरि अष्टहेन्त[23]

[THE SEAL]

[The figure of an elephant]

६ स्वस्ति श्रीमान् प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपति
महाराजाधिराज श्रीमदि-
न्द्रपालवर्म्मदेवः ।।

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[17] In the original कूलौ।
[18] .. .. द्वातृं।
[12] .. .. वन्स।
[20] .. .. मोहनौक।
[21] .. .. अर्थी।
[22] .. .. तन्स।
[23] These three words appear to be prakṛiticism of पुस्तं श्री अष्टकेन। पुष्टा is possibly written in place of पुष्टं > पुस्तं। This shift in the spelling may be due to peculiarities in pronunciation. सिरि=श्री; हेन्त=केन; here ह may be replaced by क, for example लहुच is seen in place of लकुच; ल=न। पुस्तं may mean drawing cf. the शब्दकल्पद्रुम— मृदा वा दारुणा वाथ वस्त्रेणाप्यथ चर्म्मणा।
लौहरत्नैः कृतं वापि पुस्तमित्यभिधीयते ।।
The sense of the sentence, therefore, is those drawings are made by अष्टक।

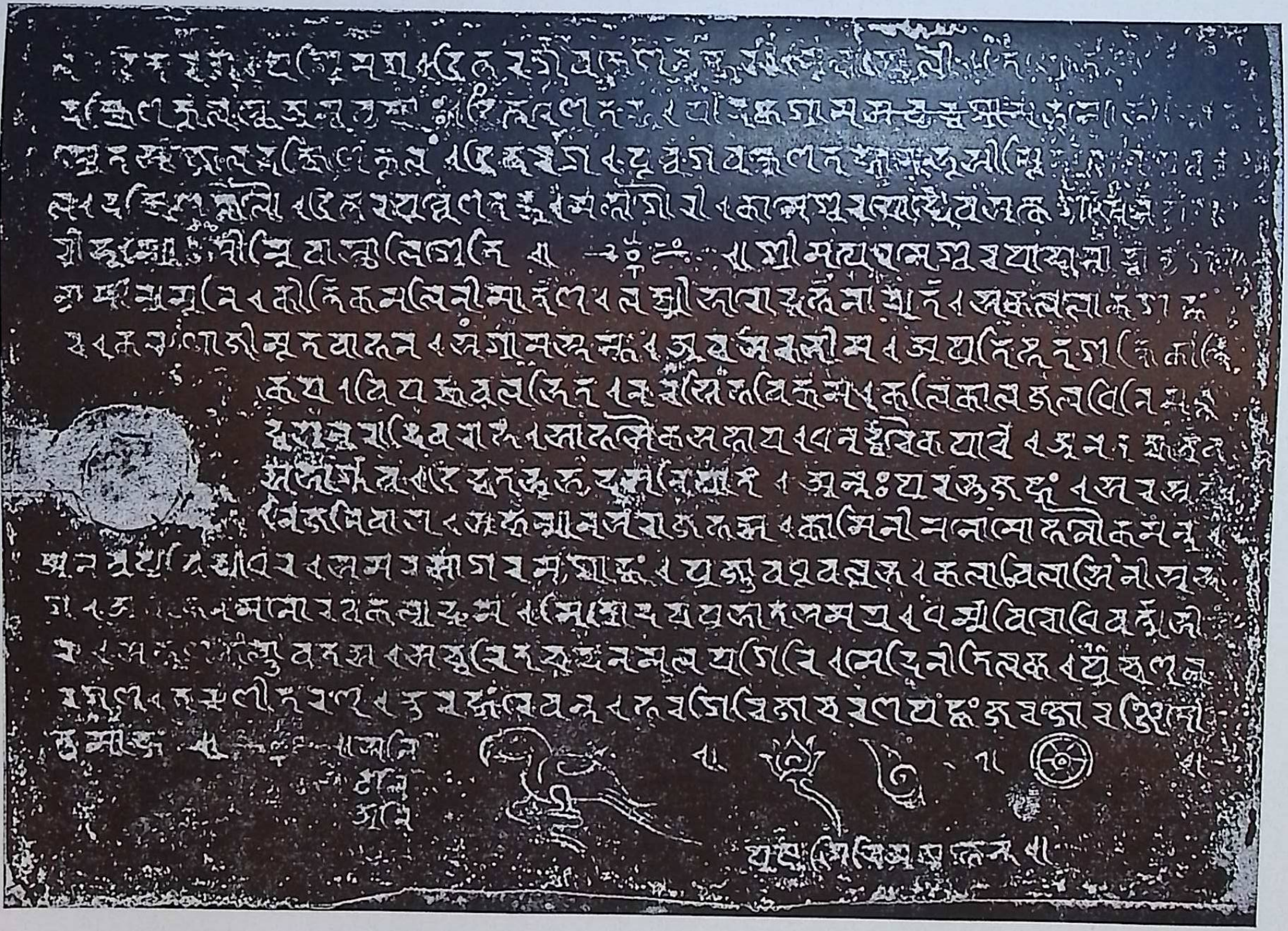
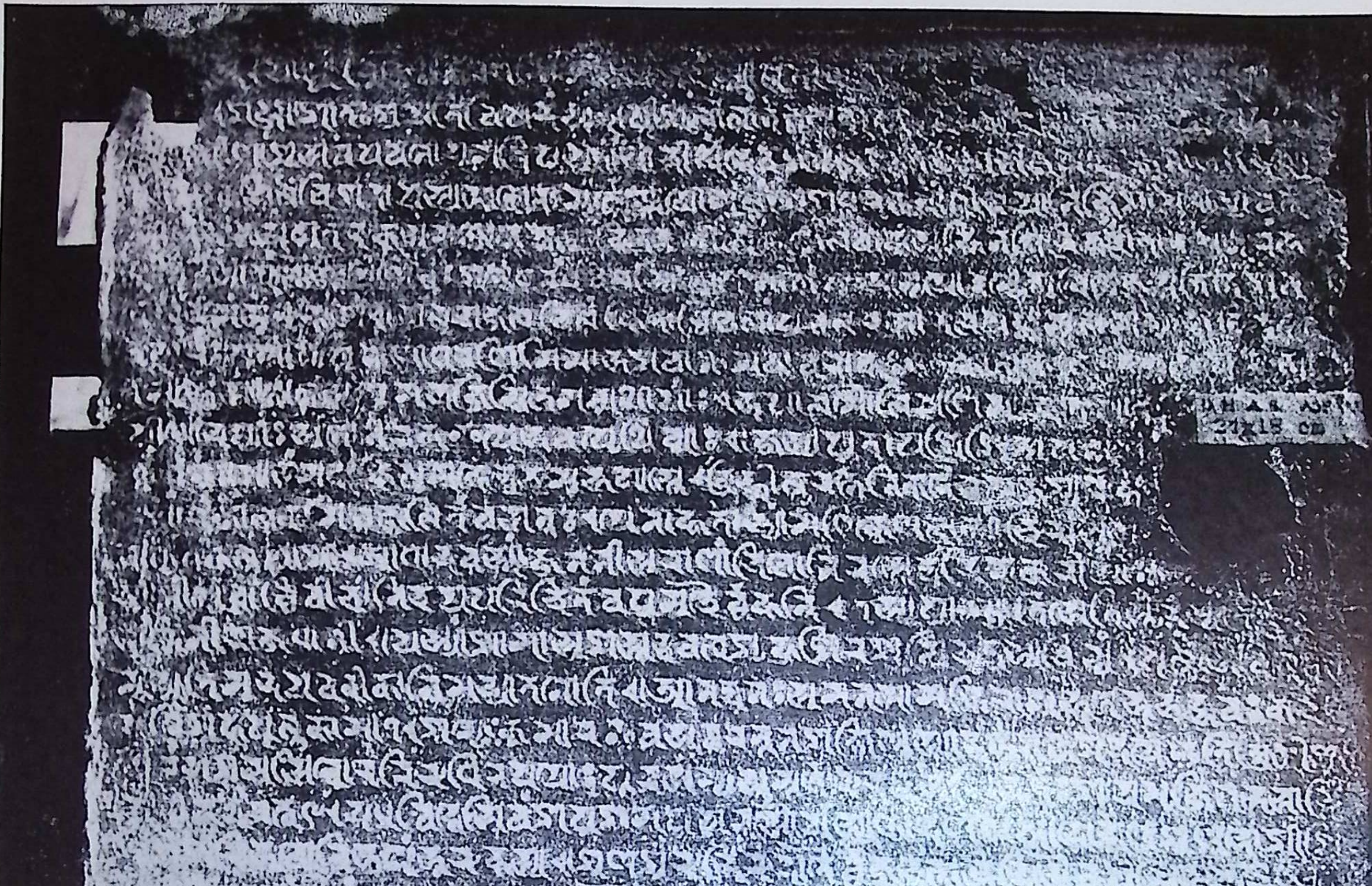


PLATE III—THE GUĀKUCI GRANT OF INDRAPĀLA

PLATE I—GĀCHTAL PLATES OF GOPĀLAVARMADEVA



The Gāchtal Copper-Plates Inscription of Gopālavarmadeva

The copper plates, two in number, were found at Gāchtal near Dabakā in the Nowgong district of Assam. The plates were collected through the courtesy of Sri R. V. Lyndoh, the then District Magistrate of Nowgong. The third plate, the copper ring binding the plates together and the royal seal have been lost. The size of each plate discovered is 24×18 Cm. Dr. P. C. Chowdhury published a text of the inscription in *the Journal of the Assam Research Society*, VOL: xviii 1968 p. 55-60 without any English or Assamese rendering. The date of the inscription may be placed during the 11th century A.D. The inscription records the grant of a plot of land (inferior), producing 8000 measures of paddy in *Khārikoṇākoñci* within the *viṣaya* of *Bār* (*d*) *āsrajambubā*. The name of the donee and the details about the boundary of the land were possibly recorded in the third missing plate.

A FRESH LOOK ON THE DATE OF THE PĀLA LINE AND *GAUḌA-KĀMARŪPA RELATIONSHIP IN THE LIGHT OF THIS INSCRIPTION:*

After the Ḍubi grant of Bhāskaravarmā and the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (circa 854-908), the Gāchtal copperplate inscription of Gopālavarmadeva is significant as it throws new light on the relationship between the ancient country of Kāmarūpa and its traditional foe, the country of Gauḍa. Bhagalpur copperplate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāladeva granted in the 17th year of his reign while describing the deeds of Jayapāla, the commander-in-chief of Devapāla (circa 810-50 A.C.) records—"When he along with his army proceeded on all sides to conquer the quarters on orders of his elder brother, the ruler of Utkala, feeling weariness by hearing his name only from a distance left his own capital and the king of Prāgjyotiṣa lived happily for long, surrounded by relations, as he did carry out on his head the commands of the monarch—the commands, that silenced all talks of warfare."[1]

The Garuḍa-Pillar Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla further states that owing to the good advice of his minister Kedāramiśra "the lord of Gauḍa did extirpate the rulers of Utkala, humble the pride of the *Hūṇas* and humiliate the arrogance of the Draviḍas and Gurjaras and enjoyed for long the trust of land ornamented by girdle in the shape of ocean."[2] The first statement no doubt clearly shows that the king Devapālà had some influence on the contemporary king of Prāgjyotiṣa which was more psychological, than political. The comtemporary king of Prāgjyotiṣa might have been either Harjaravarmā (815-835 A.D.) or Vanamālavarmadev (835-865 A.D.). It must be taken into account that both the kings held the title *paramesvaraparamabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*[3] and were sovereign kings. The statement possibly refers to an alliance between Devapāla and the Kāmarūpa king and can be explained in the light that the ruler of Utkala, hearing Jayapāla's very name fled from his capital; the Prāgjyotiṣa king also on hearing of Jayapāla's command, dropped all preparations relating to warfare and lived very happily all his life, enjoying the company of his relatives. It appears very probable that the ruler of Prāgjyotiṣa followed a policy of friendship in peace and war towards the king of Gauḍa during the reign of Devapāla who also reciprocated the same policy as the latter had to wage a constant war against Gurjara Pratihāra king Mihirabhuja *or* Bhoja-1[4] and *Rāṣṭrakūta* king Amoghavarṣa[5] *or* Pāṇḍya ruler Srī Mara Srī Vallabha[6]. After the death of Devapāla, the glory and brilliance of the Pāla empire did not last long. During the rule of Vigrahapāla I or Surapāla I (C. 850-54 A.C.), Nārāyaṇapāla (C. 854-908 A.D.) and Rājyapāla (c. 908-940 A.D.), who ascended one after another the throne of the Pāla dynasty after the death of Devapāla, the kingdom under the Pāla kings disintegrated into a number of independent or semi-independent principalities. It is said in the Rāṣtrakūta records that Kṛṣṇa II (880-914 A.D.) who succeded Amoghavarṣa was the "preceptor charging the Gauḍas with the vow of *humility* and that 'his command was obeyed by Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Gaṅga and Magadha.[7] A petty chief of Velānāṇḍu (in the Kṛṣṇā district) named Malla I who probably accompanied Kṛṣṇa II in his expedition claims to have subdued the Vaṅgas, Magadhas and the Gauḍas[8]. According to the Chandella records, Yosovarman 'was a sword to the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure creepers' and his son Dhaṅga (C. 950-1000 A.D.) kept in prison the queens of Rāḍha and Aṅga.[9] Kalacuri records also refer to incursions against Bengal by two successive Kalacuri Kings Yuvarāja I and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja who ruled probably in the second and third quarters of the tenth century A.D. Yuvarāja is said to have had amorous dalliances with the women of Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa, Lāta, Kāsmīra and Kaliṅga.[10] Lakṣmaṇarāja is said to have been "skilful in breaking '*Vaṅgāla*'.[11] These foreign raids over, military weakness of and political disruption to the Pāla kingdom probably also instigated the king of Prāgjyotiṣa Ratnapāla to lead an expedition against Rājyapāla the king of Gauḍa. The result of the expedition was possibly the death of Rājyapāla and installation of Pṛthivīpāla in the Pāla throne, for the Dacca plate of Kalyāṇa-Candra, son of Śrī-Candra records-" "(He) was moist (i.e. soft) in the act of washing away the fear of Pṛthivīpāla, was hard enterprising in the charming of Govarṇa (earth and the water), was great in the festivity of re-instating Gopāla, was a protector of sacrifices (vows) in returning the Pāla queen, who was defeated at ease and captured, and whose arm was the universal support of virtuous receptacle of various sentiments.[12] It is apparent from the verse that Srī Candra helped Gopāla II in getting the throne after removing the obstacle created by Pṛthivīpāla and it is possible that Gopāla II and Pṛthivīpāla were brothers. This he did possibly after defeating the king of Prāgjyotiṣa. It is very much possible that interference in the affairs of the Pāla kingdom by Candra King Srī Candra led to a direct conflict between Śrī Candra and the king of Prāgjyotiṣa. This is evident from the Maināmati plates of Laḍaha-Candra, grandson of Śrī Candra which record "he (Śrī Candra) made complete the vows, in the form of shedding of teardrops of the ladies of Lord of Prāgjyotiṣa and made the blossom-like lips of the ladies of the harem of the Gauḍa king devoid of smile in the shape of lotus stalk."[13] It is very much clear that the ultimate result of this conflict was favourable to Śrī Candra, the monarch of Candra dynasty. Now our problem is who was the contemporary of Śrī Candra in the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa. Dr. A. H. Dani[14] on the basis of the following copperplates

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[1] यस्मिन् भ्रातुर्न्निदेशाद्बलवति परितः प्रस्थिते जेतुमाशाः
सीदन्नाम्नैव दूरान्निजपुरमजहादुत्कलानामधीशः ।
आसाञ्चक्रे चिराय प्रणयिपरिवृतो विभ्रदुच्चेन मूर्द्ध्ना
राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणामुपशमितसमित्संकथां यस्य चाज्ञां ।।६।। CBI. P. 165

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[2] उत्कीलितोत्कलकुलं हृतहुणगर्व्वं
खर्व्वीकृत द्रबिड़-गुर्ज्जरनाथ-दर्पं ।
भूपीठमब्धि-रशनाभरम्बुभोज
गौड़ेश्वरश्चिरमुपास्य धियं यदीयाम् ।।१३।। CBI. P. 153.

[3] *Kāmarūpasāsangvalī* p. 50, 187

[4] E.I. Vol. XXIX p. 156

[5] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 9.

[6] Ibid p. 51.

[7] Deoli C.P.V. 13 E.I.V. 193

[8] Pīthapuram Ins. v. 11 E.I. IV 40, 48

[9] Khajuraho Ins. No. II, Verse 23, No. IV, verse 46 (E.I. 126, 132, 145)

1. Rāmpāla Copper Plate of Śrī Candra.
2. Kedārpur..........
3. Dhulia.........., year 35
4. Edilpur..........
5. Dacca Copper Plates of Kalyāṇa-Candra, year 24
6. Maināmati Plates of Laḍaha Candra and Govinda-Candra
7. Bharella Image Inscription of Layahacandra 18th year

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[10] Bilhari Ins. v. 24 (E.I.I. 256, 265)

[11] Goharwa CP. v. 8 (E.I.XI. 142)

[12] *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions, Introduction*, P. 26

[13] Ibid.

[14] "*The Candras of East Bengal*" by Dr. A. H. Dani (Indian Hist. Congress, 1961)

8. Madanpur Plate, year 46 of Sri Candra
9. Paikpārā Image Inscription—year 23 of Govinda-Candra
10. Tirumalai Inscription of Rajendra Cola which refers to flight of Govindacandra from *Vaṅgāladesa in* 1021-1023 A.D.

constructs the genealogy and chronology as follows—

Pūrṇa-Candra
Suvarṇa-Candra
Trailokya-Candra (900-929 A.D.)
Śrī-Candra (929-975 A.D.)
Kalyāṇa-Candra (975-1000 A.D.)
Laḍaha Candra (1000-1020 A.D.)
Govinda Candra (1020-1050 A.D.)

This chronology seems to be correct in the light of the aforesaid events and the facts of Gāchtal copperplate inscription of Gopālavarmadeva. Indrapāla who succeeded Ratnapāla to the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa has been credited with a victory over Kalyāṇa-Candra son of Śrī Candra in a naval battle. Thus it is clear that the struggle between the Candras of Bengal and the *Pālas* of Prāgjyotiṣa did not come to an end during the reign of Śrī-Candra. On the other hand, after the death of Śrī-Candra, it continued for sometime. Evidently Indrapāla was a contemporary of Kalyāṇa-Candra and Ratnapāla was a contemporary of Śrī Candra. On the basis of these facts, we can approximately give the dates of the rulers of the Pāla dynasty of Prāgjyotiṣa. Thus taking Ratnapāla to be a contemporary of Śrī Candra (929-975 A.D.) and Rājyapāla (c. 908-940), Ratnapāla may be assigned to a date circa 925-980 A.D. If Indrapāla is supposed to be a contemporary of Kalyāṇa-Candra as referred to in the present inscription, his period of rule may be dated circa 980-1010 A.D. Now a question may be asked in this connection regarding why this error in counting the date of the Pāla rulers could arise. In my opinion, it is quite unjustifiable to allocate a period of a century,[15] to the three unknown rulers preceding Tyāgasiṁha and less famous Brahmapāla, the founder of Pāla dynasty in the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa.

If our presumption is correct, the chronology of the Sālastambha and Pāla dynasties in the tenth and eleventh century A.D. will be as follows:

Balavarmā III	c. 885-900 A.D.
Three unknown rulers	c. 900-915 A.D.
Tyāgasiṁha	c. 915-920 A.D.
Brahmapāla	c. 920-930 A.D.
Ratnapāla	c. 930-980 A.D.
Purandarapāla	did not reign as king
Indrapāla	c. 980-1010 A.D.

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[15] See "*Early History of Kāmarūpa*" p. 134.

Gopāla	c. 1010-1040 A.D.
Harṣapāla	c. 1040-1070 A.D.
Dharmapāla	c. 1070-1100 A.D.

A Note

Ratnapāla who has been credited with a victory over Rājyapāla of (cir. A.D. 908-940) of Gauḍa in a terrible fight must have been a contemporary of Rājyapāla. In the history of *Gauḍa*, we come across three Rājyapālas. The Monghyr copper plate of Devapāladeva shows that he had installed his son Rājyapāla as Crown-Prince and that this son was alive in the year 33 of his reign. The verse no. 20 of the inscription records—"The king, an appreciator of merits, engaged as announcer of this auspicious proclamation his own son, crown-prince Rājyapāla, endowed with purity of both the families and possesing qualities and conduct equal to those of his own self."[16] Regarding this Rājyapāla writes Dr. R. C. Majumder—"Rajyapala might have died during this interval. (i.e. seven or eight years before his death), as appears to have been the case with Tribhuvanapāla mentioned above. On the other hand, we cannot althogether eliminate the possibility of an internal dispute regarding succession in which the general Jayapāla might have placed his own son on the throne with the support of his army. This view finds support in the story of Haravarṣa if he is regarded as the son of Devapāla and we accept his association with the Rāṣtrakūta kingdom in Central India as suggested by Dr. D. C. Ganguly"[17]. We need not go to identify Rājyapala of our inscription with the crown prince Rājyapāla as the latter never ruled anywhere. The following chronological and genealogical list of the Pāla kings is accepted by almost all the noted historians:—

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[16] श्रेयोविधावुभयवंशविशुद्धिभाजं
राजाकरोदधिगतात्मगुणं गुणज्ञः।
आत्मानुरूपचरितं स्थिरयौवराज्यं
श्रीराज्यपालमिह दूतकमात्मपुत्रं Verse-19, P. 120; *Corpus of Bengal Inscription.*

[17] *The History of Bengal.* Vol. I. p· 126.

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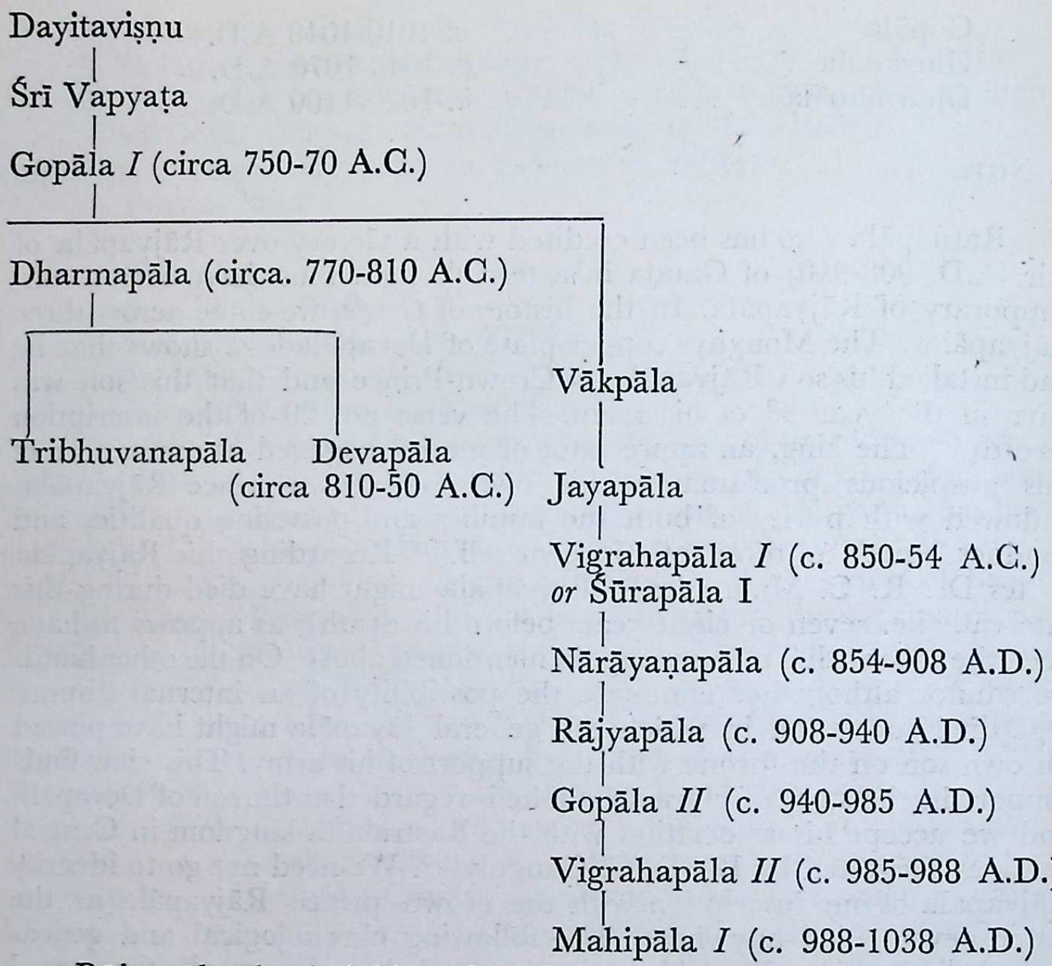
[17] *The History of Bengal.* Vol. I. p· 126.


Dayitaviṣṇu
Śrī Vapyaṭa
Gopāla *I* (circa 750-70 A.C.)
Dharmapāla (circa. 770-810 A.C.)
Vākpāla
Tribhuvanapāla
Devapāla (circa 810-50 A.C.)
Jayapāla
Vigrahapāla *I* (c. 850-54 A.C.) *or* Śūrapāla I
Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 854-908 A.D.)
Rājyapāla (c. 908-940 A.D.)
Gopāla *II* (c. 940-985 A.D.)
Vigrahapāla *II* (c. 985-988 A.D.)
Mahipāla *I* (c. 988-1038 A.D.)

Rājyapāla, the sixth king of the Pāla dynasty, is assigned to a period of circa 908-940 A.D. He ruled at least for 32 years.[18] Bāṇagaḍa copper-plate inscription of Mahīpāla *I* (988-1038 A.D.) credits Rājyayāla with works of public utility such as excavation of big tanks and construction of lofty temples. The inscription records-"His son Rājyapāla, the lord of the earthly region attained high reputation by constructing lakes, whose beds were as deep as bottoms of the ocean and temples, in which vaults were as high as age-old mountains"[19]. Rājyapāla married Bhāgyadevī, the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Tuṅga who is usually identified with Jagattuṅga, son of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛṣṇa II.[20] The third Rājya-

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[18] Kurkihar Image Ins. JBORS XXVI. p. 247. 20. Ibid verse no. 8

[19] तोयाशयैर्जलधि (मूल)-गम्भीरगर्भै
देवालयैश्च कुलभूधरतुल्यकक्षैः।
विख्यातकीर्त्तिर (भव) त्तनयश्च तस्य
श्रीराज्यपाल इति मध्यमलोकपालः॥७॥ CBI, P. 200.

[20] Ibid verse No. 8.

pāla is *Paramasaugata-Mahārajā-dhirāja-Paramesvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Rājyapāladeva of Irda copper-plate whose queen was Bhāgyadevi. There is overwhelming evidence to show that this Rājyapāla is identical with Rājyapāla of the Pāla dynasty; but the epithet of Rājyapāl in the plate, *Kāmbojavaṅsa-tilakah* has raised so many controversies and suspicion. If Rājyapāla of the Kāmboja-*vaṅsa* is held identical with Rājyapāla of the Pāla dynasty and Priyaṅgu, the capital of Nayapāla, the donor of the grant which was established by the king Rajyapāladeva, the father of Nayapāla is identified with the village of Pingbani, in thana Garbeta with ancient remains which possibly lay in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha[21], *Rajyapāla's* kingdom must have been limited to a very small principality in Rāḍha in the earlier part of his reign. Who knows that the agression from the east might have been also a factor which forced Rājyapāla to set up a new capital in a safer place like Priyaṅgu.

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[21] E.I. xxiv. 9. p. 46.

GĀCHTAL PLATES OF GOPĀLAVARMADEVA

(*First Plate*)

१. स्वस्ति। यास्मानङ्गैः[1] किरणनिकरैः शे[2]खरम्मालतीनाम् ×× जटा ×

२. ×× [3]। गङ्गास्रोतः श्रयति विशदं या चोष्णीषलीलां तद्‌गस्तुंगं त्रिभुवनगुरोर्रत्ननागाम्बुना यत् ।।१।।

३. दीव्य[4] स्त्रीणां श्वसनपवनोद्दामदी[5]प्त प्रतापो दूरादेवं[6]स जयति[7] जगद्बीजमम्भोजनाभः[8]। दंष्ट्रा–

४. कोटिः कुटिलविशदा[9] यस्य सा क्रोड़मूर्त्ते[10] र्मेघोन्मुक्तां शशधरकलां लीलया निर्ज्जिगाय ।।२।।[11] आवर्त्त–

५. भ्रान्तिभीमस्तटतरुकुसुमक्षोभभस्मैर्हृत[12] श्रीर्लोलत्कल्लोलबाहुः[13] तुहिनगिरिदरीं दारयन् रंह–

६. सैव। सोऽयं लौहित्यसिन्धुः शशधरधवलस्फीटफेनाट्टहासो नृत्यारम्भेषु विभ्रज्जयति भगव–

७. तो विभ्रमं भूरुहस्य[14] ।।३।। प्रलयपयोनिधि[15] लङ्घिताब्धिवेलां प्रवलरसातलपङ्क–मूललग्नां उद्धर–

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[1] In the original यास्मांन्नङ्गैः ।

[2] .. .. .. शिखर.. । This is avoided for the sake of the metre. शिखरंम्मालतीनां and विषदं य चोन्च्ञायशलीलां in the plate.

[3] Evidently 8 syllables and 7 syllables are missing before and after जटा, because the metre appears to be मन्दाक्रान्ता ।

[4] Dr. Chowdhury's suggested reading is स only. But we have suggested दीव्य in place of स for the sake of the metre. दैत्य may also serve the purpose.

[5] In the original द्विप्त ।

[6] .. .. दीर्घदेवः ।

[7] सञ्जयति in the original.

[8] In the original जगद्बीजमम्बुजनाभः । Dr. Chowdhury's reading जगद्बीजाम्बुजनाभः ।

[9] कुटिलं विशदा in the plate. र्मेघोन्मुक्ता . . .

[10] In the original क्रोरा ।

[11] The metre is मन्दाक्रान्ता ।

[12] In the original ह्लित ।

[13] .. .. कल्लोलवाक् ।

[14] स्रग्धरा metre.

[15] In the original जलधि

८. न्[16] हरिः पुमान् पुराणो धरणिमिमां भगवान् महावराहः ।।४।।
तत्कालकेलिविलसत् पुरुषो-
९. त्तमाङ्गसङ्गोल्लसत्प्रमदजृम्भित[20] मन्मथायाः। भूपालमौलिमणिमार्ज्जितपाद-
१०. पीठो देव्याः सुतो नरक इत्यभवत् पृथिव्याः[21] ।।५।। यस्य[22] प्रतापशिखितापमश-
११. क्नुवन्तः सोढुम्महाजिषु महेन्द्रचमू[23] भटास्ते। उद्गीर्ण्ण[24] रत्ननिकरैरपजग्मु[25] रङ्गै-
१२. रङ्गारजालकमिव वमन्तः[26] ।।६।। येनाहृताभ्यां मणिकुण्डलाभ्यां चिराय
१३. शून्यीकृतकर्णपाशा[27]। आधादवस्थां जननीसुराणां दिवो
निरस्तेन्दु[28]-दिवाकरायाः[29] ।।७।।
१४. आसीत् पूर्वाब्द्धिवीची[30] निचयपरिचितं वप्रमुच्चैर्वहन्ती[31] तस्य प्राग्ज्योतिषेति त्रिदश[32]
पतिपुर-
१५. स्पर्धिनी राजधानी। यस्यां श्यामासु[33] शश्वद्धवलगृहशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रस्य विम्बं। पूर्ण्णं
सौवर्ण्णकु[34]-
१६. म्भद्युतिमुदयवतीं कान्तिमद्यातनोति[35] ।।८।। आनन्दनः सुमनसामभिरामभूतेर्भूभृद्भुवः
कर-

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[16] उद्धरन् militates against the metre, and does not complete the sense. With the suggested modifications of the readings, the metre may be established as मृगेन्द्र मुखम् with 13 syllables in each pāda except the third पाद where it falls short of two syllables.

[20] In the original ज्रिम्भित।

[21] The metre is वसन्ततिलक।

[22] In the original जस्य।

[23] Dr. Chowdhury समुभटास्ते।

[24] उद्गीण्ण in the plate.

[25] Dr. Chowdhury अपाजग्मुः।

[26] Dr. Chowdhury वसन्तः; वसन्ततिलकंवृत्तम्।

[27] सुनीकृतकण्णपाशा in the original.

[28] दिवोड़िरस्तेन्दु .. ..

[29] The metre is उपजाति।

[30] Dr. Chowdhury reads वीचिः but for the sake of the metre it should be वीची because both the forms are correct.

[31] In the original वप्रमुचैर्वहन्ति; Dr. Chowdhury has adopted वहन्ति but it should be वहन्ती।

[32] प्राग्ज्योतिषेतिस्तृदस्पति।

[33] शामसु in the plate.

[34] पूण्ण सौवण्ण .. ..

[35] Dr. Chowdhury splits up this verse into two numbering them 8 and 9. It is one verse and the metre is स्रग्धरा।

१७. परिग्रहपूर्णकामात्[36]। शम्भोः कुमार इव सूनुरनन्तशक्ति[37] स्तस्माद्‌बभूव भगदत्त[38]
हति क्षितीशः[39] ।।६।।

१८. स्वैरं संग्राम[40]सिन्धोररिरुधिरपयः[41] पुरसम्पूर्ण[42] भूर्त्तेरुद्वर्त्तं भूमिभर्त्तुः श्रियमाजिरभसाद्वि[43]–

१९. श्रुतो (स्तृतो)[44] मन्दरत्वं। दण्डे विद्वेसि[45] वंशप्रशमपटुरसौ यस्य[46] कोदण्डसङ्गी-दोर्द्दण्डशुण्डभोगीश्रि–

२०. -त-शिखरिभुवो विभ्रमं भूरुहस्य[47] ।।१०।। गुणगुरुभिरुदात्तैर्वज्रदत्तादिभिस्तैर्नृपतिभिरभिजा–

२१. तैर्भूषितो यस्य वंशः। शशधरकरगौरैर्मांसलै[48] र्राजहंसैर्गगनतलविशालं पाटलं[49] (र्निज्जि)–

२२. गाय[50] ।।११।। तस्य वंशजलधेः कलानिधिर्ब्रह्मपाल इति निर्म्मलोदयः[51]। सौम्यशीतलक-(रो वभूव)[52]

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[36] In the original पुण्णकामात्।

[37] .. .. सूनुरन्तन।

[38] .. .. भगदत्य।

[39] The metre is वसन्ततिलक।

[40] In the original सग्रम।

[41] .. .. .. पयोः।

[42] .. .. .. पुरसम्पुण्ण।

[43] .. .. .. श्र्यमाजिनभसाद्वि

[44] The reading adopted by Dr. Chowdhary is श्रुतो, but he has suggested in bracket स्तृतो। This does not improve the text.

[45] Instead of विद्वेसि, विद्वेषि should have been correct.

[46] In the original सौर्यस्य।

[47] The verse is not intelligible. The following modifications in the text of the verse may be made to adjust it to the metre which might be स्रग्धरा

पुरसम्पूर्ण>पूरसंपूर्ण;
श्राजि>श्रजि
दोर्द्दण्डशुण्ड>दोद्दण्डाशुण्ड

But even after these modifications the position in meaning does not improve.

[48] In the original मांसलम् which Dr. Chowdhury changes into मांसल। But the metre requires that it should be मांसलैः।

[49] Dr. Chowdhury reads पटलं but the metre requires it to be changed into पाटलम्। पटल means a cover, a roof, a heap, a multitude: पटलमेव पाटलम् स्वार्थेऽण् in the case of the king and पाटल means light red colour in the case of swan kings who conquered it by their whiteness.

[50] The metre is मालिनी।

[51] Here in the original there is no vertical stroke to denote a stop.

[52] Dr. Chowdhury reads कु (लोद्भवः), because कु is distinct.

(*Second Plate A*)

२३. यः प्राप[53] जन्म मनुजेन्द्र चन्द्रमाः[54] ।।१२।। पुत्रस्तस्यामृतांशुद्युतिविशदयशाः शातिता-
रातिपक्षः

२४. क्षोणीभृन्मौलिमालामुकुटमणिशिखामञ्जरीरञ्जितांघ्रिः[55] ।
यज्ञे राज्ञामलघोरघनघ्रषणा–

२५. नलानाह[56] नाभागकल्पः श्रीमानस्वल्पशौर्यज्ज्वलनवलयितक्ष्मातलो रत्नपालः[57] ।।१३।।
वार्णैर्वारण-कु–

२६. म्भपीठभिदुरैर्भूयः कुलं विद्विषां यस्मिन् विस्मयनीयभीममहसि स्वच्छन्दमुच्छन्दति[58] ।
ताः प–

२७. -र्यस्तसितातपपत्र-पतिताश्चक्रे शिर[59] च्छ्रेणयो रुप्यस्थालनिवेशिताम्वुजमयीं[60] मृत्यो-
र्रिवार्घक्रि–

२८. -याम् ।।१४।। दोर्द्दर्पधू[61] र्ल्लंड़ितमाजिषु गौड़राजं यो[62] राज्यपालमवजित्य भुजद्वयेन ।
मन्ये गजेन्द्र-म

२९. दचन्द्रकसान्द्रतोयां मन्दाकिनीमपि कलिन्दसुताञ्चकार[63] ।।१५।। सः[64] विश्रुतो जनि[65]
पुरन्दरपालनाम्ना ध–

३०. र्म्मनिर्धिर्द्दिवसनाथ[66] इव द्वितीयः। यस्य द्विषद् युवतिवाष्पजलैः प्रतापो जज्ज्वाल
वाड़व इवा–

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[53] In the original प्राप्य ।

[54] The metre is रथोद्धता ।

[55] In the original रञ्जितांध्रि ।

[56] .. .. घ्रषनलोनाह ।

[57] The metre is स्रग्धरा । Dr. Chowdhury combines verse 12 and the two first पादs of the 13th here into one verse.

[58] In the original मुच्छन्दतिः । Dr. Chowdhury makes it स्वच्छद्मुच्छन्दति ।

[59] In the original श्चक्रः शिरः । Dr. Chowdhury adopts श्चक्रशिरः । But we have amended the whole reading as given, पर्यस्तसितातपपत्रपतिताश्चक्रे शिरः, because this clearly fits in with the imagery expressed by रूप्यस्थाल etc.

[60] Dr. Chowdhury मयी which is evidently मयीम् ।
The metre of the verse is शार्द्दूलविक्रीड़ित ।

[61] दोर्द्दर्पंधु in the plate.

[62] जो .. .. ..

[63] वसन्ततिलकं वृत्तम् ।

[64] Here a syllable must have been left out which we have substituted by सः ।

[65] In the original वीस्ततोऽजनि ।

[66] धर्म्मनिधिः interrupts the metre; र्म्म should have been long. It might be धर्म्मानिधिः i.e. धर्म्मस्य श्रा सम्यङ निधिः ।

३१. म्बुभिरम्बुराशेः[67] ।।१६।। गुरुसमरसमुद्रचन्द्रलेखा प्रवलपराक्रमदन्तिदन्तकोटिः सुजनमु–
३२. खसरोजराजहंसी धवलयति स्म जगन्नृपस्य कीर्त्तिः[68] ।।१७।। अजनि विनयशौर्योद्–
३३. योगधैर्य्यार्ज्जितश्रीर्ग्गुणजलनिधिरस्माद् इन्द्रपालो[69] नरेन्द्रः। समरशिरसि द–
३४. प्पोर्द्दामदोर्द्दण्डकण्डूयन[70] हरणमवापु[71] र्यत्र ते शत्रुयोधाः[72] ।।१८।। पुत्रे पवित्रयशसि
३५. त्रिदिवं प्रपन्ने यात्रीकृतस्य जरसा हरिविक्रमस्य। यस्मिन् निवेश्य निजनप्त[73]
३६. रि राज्यमा[74] सीत् चेतश्चिराय परमात्मनि लब्धलक्षम्[75] ।।१९।। माद्यद्गौड़विमर्द्ददुर्द्द-मभु–
३७. जः श्रीचन्द्रसूनुः स्वयं प्राप्तः संगरसीम्नि वङ्गनृपतिः कल्याणचन्द्रो बली। चञ्चत् काञ्चन चक्रचाम–
३८. रचितं नौचक्रमत्रास्थितःसोयं[76] यद्विजितः[77] सहैव[78] यशसा दीनः प्रलीनः क्वचित्[79] ।।२०।। विशद-सु–
३९. धारसधवलां विरचयता शम्भुदेवकुलमालां कैलासशैलमयमिव भवनं[82] भूर्निमितं
४०. येन[83] ।।२१।। तस्य खलु राष्ट्रकूटान्वयजलधिभुवा बभूव कमलाकरा[84]। पुरुषोत्तमस्य महिषी ल–

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[67] वसन्ततिलक metre.

[68] पुष्पिताग्रा।

[69] In the original जलनिधिः रस्मादिन्द्रपालो।

[70] In the plate कण्डूहन।

[71] In the original हरणम्बार्पूयत्र etc.

[72] The metre is मालिनी।

[73] In the original निजनपुरि। Dr. Chowdhury has given निजपुरि। But this militates against the metre by the deficiency of one syllable. So we have adopted the reading निजनप्तरि which very well conforms to the metre as well as historical facts known from other sources.

[74] Dr. Chowdhury reads राज्यमासीत्। But राज्ययासीत् would have been better. The construction is not happy because समानकर्त्तृत्व is not maintained.

[75] The metre is मालिनी।

[76] In the original the reading is अधिस्थाक्ता। Dr. Chowdhury adopts the reading अधिस्थाता। But आस्थितः reduces the syllable in excess to conform to the metre as well as meaning. Another word of two syllables viz. सोऽयं is to be put in so that the 4th pāda fits in with the metre.

[77] In the original जद्विजितः।

[78] सहैवः in the plate.

[79] The metre is शार्दूलविक्रीड़ित।

[82] Dr. Chowdhury भूवल्यन्।

[83] आर्या metre.

[84] कमलकरा in the plate.

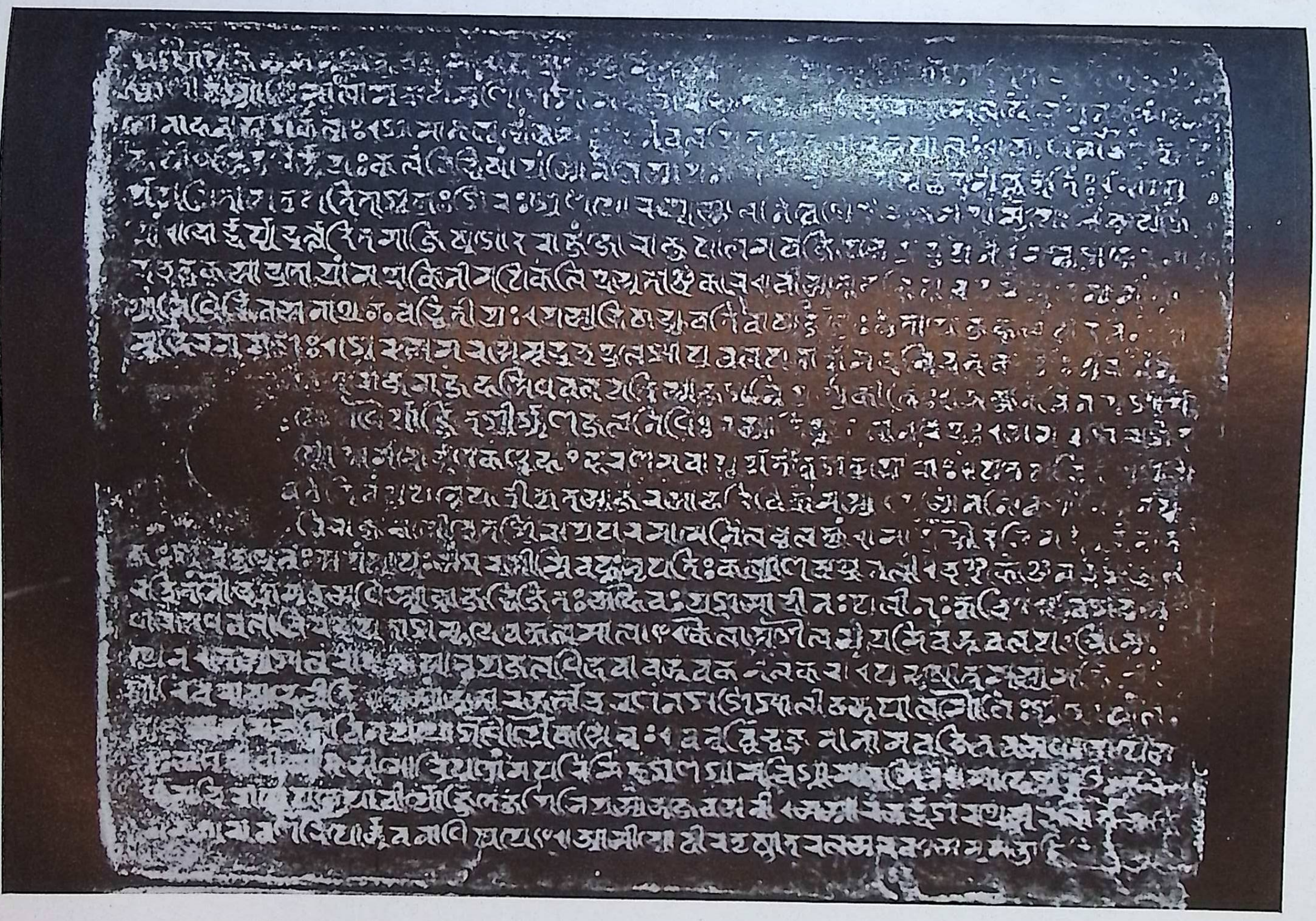
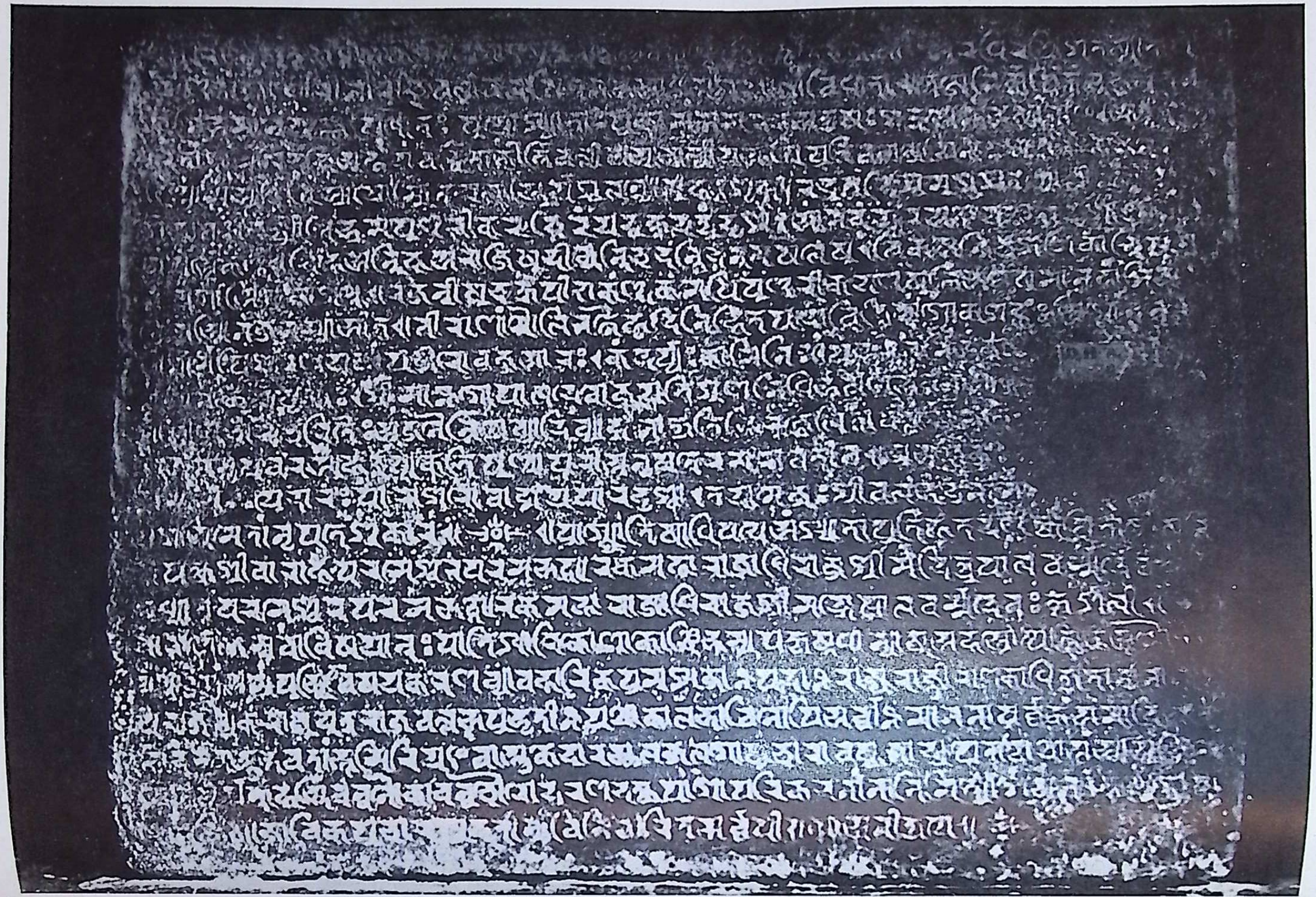


PLATE IIa—GĀCHTAL PLATES OF GOPĀLAVARMADEVA

PLATE IIb—GĀCHTAL PLATES OF GOPĀLAVARMADEVA



४१. क्ष्मीरिव राज्यदेवीति[85] ।।२२।। ताभ्यां भूभारभृद्भ्यां चरणनखशिखालीढ़भूपालमौलिः श्रीगोपालः

४२. सुजन्मा समजनि विनयोद्योग[86] धैर्य्यैकसिन्धुः। वन्धुर्विद्वज्जनानामवजितवसुधः सत्य–

४३. सन्धः सुधन्वा[87] धीमान् भीमो रिपूणामपरिमित[88]-गुणग्रामविश्रामभूमिः[89] ।।२३।। माहेश्वरं पितरि धा–

४४. म चिरात् प्रपन्ने वीर्य्यार्ज्जिता[90] जयिनि यस्य भुजे वसन्ती। सस्मार भूर्दशरथे सुरलोकभाजि[91]

४५. रामस्य रावणरिपुर्भुवनाधिपत्यम्[92] ।।२४।। आसीद्यो वीरतृष्णातरलसुरवधूसंभ्रम-भ्रान्तिसिञ्जन् म–

(*Second Plate B*)

४६. ञ्जीरोन्मिश्र-तूर्यध्वनिवधिरदिशां गृध्रवच्चोत्सवानां। प्रीतप्रेतव्रजानां सरुधिरपिशितफेनस्फीतफे–[92(a)]

४७. रण्डभाजां धारानाराच[93]वल्लीवलयितनभसां संगराणां विधाता[94] ।।२५।। तेजो निर्वापितं प्रोज्ज्वलद[95] न–

४८. लनिभं मानपङ्कोऽपि[96] धौतः प्रत्याख्याताः प्रकामं समररसतृषः शत्रुसेनाभटानां सम्पूर[97]-पू–

४९. रिताशा सरिदपि सुहृदां[98] वर्धिता कीर्त्तिवल्ली यस्य स्वल्पीयसापि प्रतिवलजयिनः खड्गधाराजलेन[99] ।।२६।।

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[85] आर्या metre.

[86] Dr. Chowdhury विनययोग।

[87] In the plate सुधन्वी।

[88] In the original रिपुणांमपरिमित।

[89] स्रग्धरा।

[90] In the original या वीर्य्योर्ज्जिते।

[91] .. .. .. सुरलोकं भाजि।

[92] The metre is वसन्ततिलकम्।

[92(a)] फेन not found in the original.

[93] In the original नाराच्च।

[94] The metre is स्रग्धरा।

[95] In the original निर्वापितमुज्वलदन . . .

[96] .. .. .. निभमान (न) पङ्को।

[97] .. .. .. सद्दूरा-पूरितांशा।

[98] The above readings are adopted for the sake of the metre as well as the construction of a rational text with appropriate meaning.

[99] स्रग्धरा।

५०. उद्दामस्मरविस्मयोर्म्मितरलास्तिर्यग्बलन्त्यो[100] मुहुः श्रृङ्गार-द्रवदिग्विमुग्धगतयो लीला
वभूवा–

५१. ग्रभुक्[101]। लक्ष्मीविभ्रमपुण्डरीकरुचिरं यद्वक्त्र चन्द्रं दृशः सानन्दं सुरसङ्घ[102] चञ्चल-
दृशां सर्प्पन्ति[103]

५२. पर्युत्सुकाः[104] ।।२७।। विहसन्ती हंसराजिषु दीव्यन्ति च दन्तिदन्तमुषलेषु। विकसन्ति
च शशिकान्तिषु य–

५३. स्य यशांसि प्रकाशन्ते[105] ।।२८।। रजनीषु चक्रपीड़ा कण्टकमपि पुण्डरीकदण्डेषु विभवेषु
मानहानिर्भूभृ–

५४. ति यस्मिन्न[106] जनस्यासीत् ।।२९।। वीराणां मौलिरत्नैर्हृदिनिहितपदो विद्विषां शोक-
शङ्कुः स्निग्धो वन्धुर्बु–

५५. धानामपि शरणजुषां[107] पञ्जरो वज्रसारः कन्दर्पः कामिनीनां[108] प्रभुरवनिभुजा–

५६. मर्थिनां कल्पवृक्षः श्रीमान् गोपालदेवो जयति गुणनिधिर्भूषणं भूतलस्य[109] ।।३०।।

५७. गीर्वाणचारुचरितैः सुजनैन्निषेव्या दिव्याङ्गनाकृतिभिरुज्ज्वलिता वधूभिः। त–

५८. स्याभवन्नृपवरस्य हड़प्यकेति पुण्या पुरी सुरपते[110] रमरावतीव[111] ।।३१।। अभूद्द्विजः

५९. सम्भ्रम इत्युदारः पराशरो[112] वाङ्मयपारदृश्वा। तदात्मजः श्रीवलभद्रनाम

६०. प्रशस्तिमेतां नृपतेश्चकार[113] ।।३२।। प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिता-
शेषरि–

६१. पुपक्ष श्रीवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्इन्द्रपालवर्मदेवपादा–

६२. नुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्गोपालदेवः कुशली ।।×।।

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[100] In the plate बलन्नचो।

[101] In the plate बभूग्राग्रभूवः; Dr. Chowdhury वभूवाग्रभुवः; This is modified for the sake of the metre.

[102] In the original सुरचश्च।

[103] .. .. .. सर्प्पान्ति।

[101] शार्द्दूलविक्रीड़ितम्।

[105] This and the next verse are of आर्या metre.

[106] In the original there is न् कार only.

[107] Dr. Chowdhury युसां।

[108] In the original कामिनिनाम्।

[109] The metre is स्रग्धरा।

[110] In the original सुनृपते।

[111] The metre is वसन्ततिलकम्।

[112] Dr. Chowdhury पाराशरो which is the correct reading, but we have made it पराशरो for the sake of the metre.

[113] उपेन्द्रवज्रा metre

६३. वारास्त्रजम्बुबा-विषयान्तःपातिखारिकोणाकोञ्चिभूम्यपकृष्टधान्याष्टसहस्त्रोत्पत्तिकभूमौ ।।×।।

६४. यथायथं[115] समुपस्थितविषयकरणव्यवहारिकप्रमुखजानपदान् राजा[116] राज्ञी राणकाधिकृतान्यान–[117]

६५. पि राजन्यकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभतीन् यथाकालभाविनोऽपि सर्वान् माननापूर्वकं समादिशति[118]-

६६. विदितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदारस्थलजलगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेता यथा संस्था स्वसीमो–[119]

६७. द्देशपर्यन्ता हस्तिबन्धनौकाबन्धचौरोद्धरणदण्डपाशो[120]परिकरनानानिमित्तोत्खेटन हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्र–

६८. गोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारप्रभृतीनां विनिवारितसर्व्वपीड़ा-शासनी[121]कृत्य ।।×।।[122]

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[115] In the original यथाजथम् ।

[116] .. .. .. राज्य ।

[117] Dr. Chowdhury धिकृतान्यनन्या-

[118] In the original समादिसति ।

[119] .. .. .. स्वसिमो ।

[120] .. .. .. दक्षपाशो ।

[121] .. .. .. सासनी ।

[122] The editing is upon the text of the inscription as deciphered from the original plates and published in the "*Jurnal of the Assam Research Society*" Vol. XVIII, 1968 (Umakanta Goswami Commemoration Volume) by Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, Director, Department of Historical and Antiquarian studies in Assam, Gauhati. I am indebted to Dr. Chowdhury and Acarya M. R. Śāstrī of the Assam Sanskrit College, Gauhati, for the kind help they have given me for editing this inscription.

Khonāmukh plates of Dharmapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa (1st year)

One Budhu Sut while tilling the ground at Khonāmukh, a village in Mauza Barbhagiya in the Nowgong District of Assam found a set of three copper plates. The inscription was kept for some time at the Śivathān of the village, but was brought afterwards to Śrī L. M. Som the then Deputy commissioner of Nowgong. Ultimately it was secured for the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. The inscription was first published with an English translation by Śrī P. D. Chaudhury in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 1941, pp. 113 ff. The late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, aided by Dr. R. G. Basak suggested some corrections in respect of lines 35, 36, 37 and 40 of the inscription in the same journal, Vol. XI. pp. 1-3. Later on, it was re-edited critically by P. Banerjee of Calcutta from a nice set of inked impressions sent to him by the Government Epigraphist for India in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

The size of each plate is 9″×6″. The plates are held together by a ring passing through the circular holes in them. Some blank space about 1½″×1½″ in plate I and about 1″×1″ in plates 2 and 3 has been left around the hole in each plate. The seal looking heartshaped is joined to the ring. The seal is divided into two parts by a transverse straight line. The upper part shows the figure of an elephant to front while the lower part is occupied by the legend of three lines. The letters of the legend are slightly larger in size than those employed in the grant. The size of the seal is 5″×3½″. The first and third plates are inscribed only on their inner sides. The second plate contains writing on both the sides. Altogether there are 58 lines of writing. The first inscribed side contains 16 lines, the second and third 15 lines each and the fourth only 12 lines.

The date of the inscription is approximately either the last quarter of the eleventh century or the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by king Dharmapāla of some land in *Merupātaka*, producing 6000 measures of paddy which was a plot of land carved out of a bigger area called *Digalaṇḍī* belonging to the district of *Purujī* to Bhaṭṭa Mahābāhu.

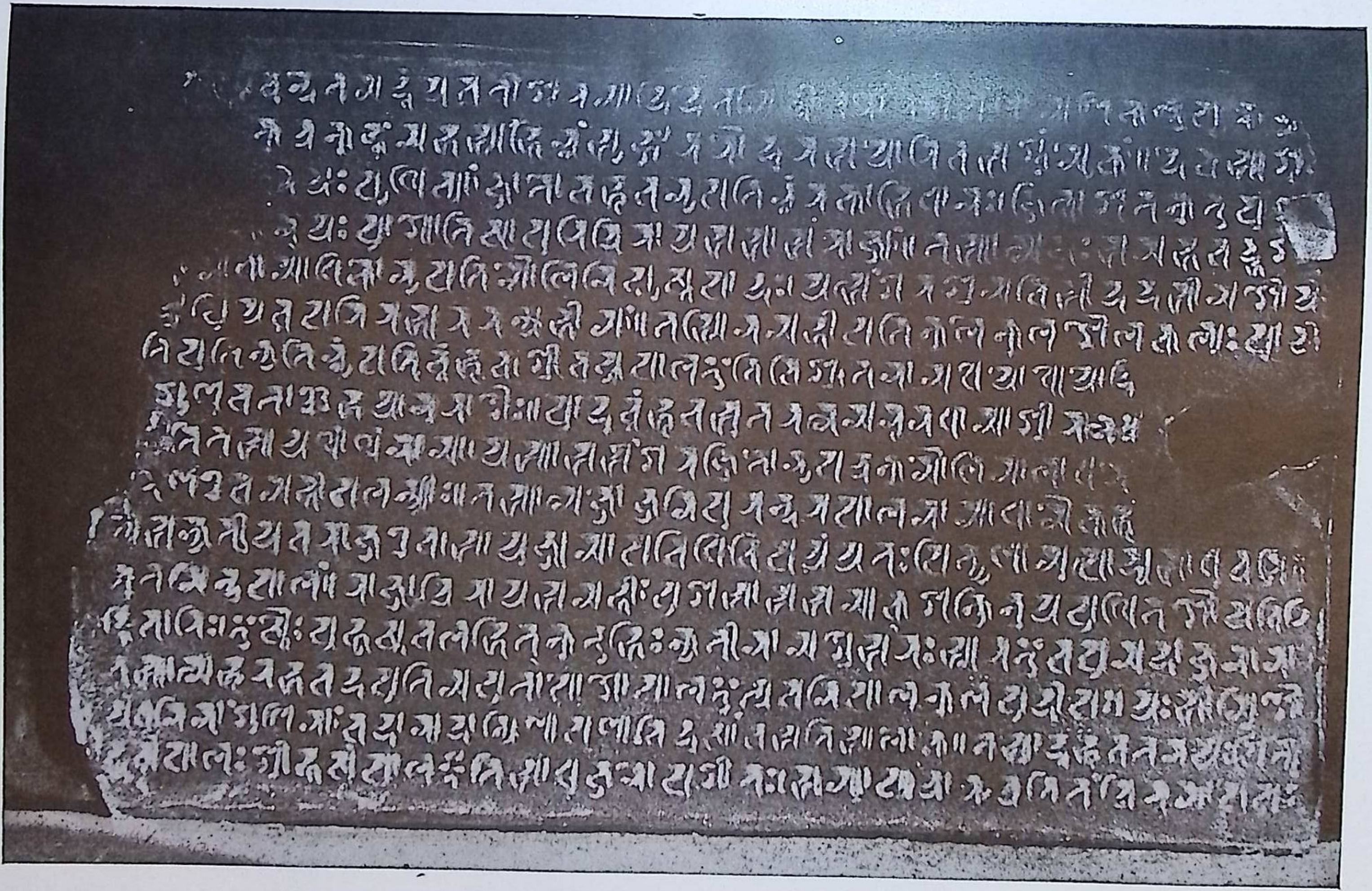

PLATE I—KHONĀMUKH PLATES OF DHARMAPĀLA

KHONĀMUKH PLATES OF DHARMAPĀLA

(*First Plate*)

१. स्वस्ति। वन्दे तमर्द्धयुवतीश्वरमादिदेवमिन्दीवरोरगफणामणिकर्ण्णपूरं[1]। [उत्तु–]
२. [-ङ्गपीन] कुचकुङ्कुमभस्मभिन्नं शृङ्गाररौद्ररसयोरिव सर्ग्गमेकं[2] ॥१॥ देवस्य शू [क]
३. [रतनोस्त] नयः पृथिव्यां जातो बभूव नृपतिर्न्नरकाभिधानः। जित्वा शतक्रतुपुरः [स]
४. [रदिक्पती] न् यः प्राग्ज्योतिष[3] पुरि[3]चिराय शशास राज्यम् ॥२॥ तस्यात्मजः समभूद्भगद–
५. [त्तना] मा धामाधिको नृपतिमौलिनिघृष्टपादः। यत्संगरश्रमविषीददसीमशौर्य्यं
६. मूर्च्छा प्रियेव परिरभ्य ररक्ष भीमं ॥३॥ तस्मिन् महीपतिकुले कुलशैलकल्पः प्राची–
७. [प] तिप्रतिकृतिर्न्नृपतिर्ब्बभूव। श्रीब्रह्मपाल इति विश्रुतनामधेयो ध्येयो द्वि–
८. षां गुणवताञ्च भयानुरागैः ॥४॥ प्रादुर्ब्बभूव सुतरत्नमनूनधामा श्रीरत्नपा–
९. [ल] इति तस्य यथार्थनामा। यस्यास संगरजितो नृपचक्रमौलिमालाधरे
१०. चरण एव महीपलक्ष्मीः ॥५॥ तस्यात्मजोजनिपुरन्दरपालनामा धामैकभू–
११. स्स सुकृती युवराज एव। सायुज्यमाप विधिविपर्य्ययतः पितृणामुत्पाद्य साधुचरि [तं]
१२. सुतमिन्द्रपालं ॥६॥ राजा चिराय स महीं प्रशशास सम्यक् शक्तित्रयप्रथितशौर्य्यविनि–
१३. र्ज्जितारिः। इष्टैः प्रहृष्टवलभित्क्रतुभिः कृतीनामग्रेसरः स्मर इव प्रमदाजनानां ॥७॥
१४. तस्यात्मभूरभवदप्रतिमप्रतापो गोपाल इत्यवनिपालकुलप्रदीपः। यः सीम्नि शौ–
१५. र्य्यधनिनां गुणिनां वदान्यो दाक्षिण्यपुण्यविदुषां वसति स्म लोके ॥८॥ तस्माद् बभूव तनयः पितृ–
१६. हर्षपालः श्रीहर्षपाल इति साधुजनोपगीतः। सम्प्राप्य चारुचरितं चिरमाप स [ख्य]

Second Plate (*First Page*)

१७. सौख्यामृतं कमलया सह भारतीयम् ॥९॥ सन्तर्प्पिताः समरभूमिषु येन शश्वत् खड्गप्रहारद–
१८. लिताहितकुम्भिकुम्भैः। रक्षोगण [:] प्रचुरफेनविमिश्रमस्रमुष्णोष्णमाशु[4]तृषिताः परितः पिबन्ति ॥१०॥

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[1] In the Śubhaṇkarapāṭaka inscription the reading is कण्ठब[न्धम्]।

[2] The metre in verses 1-3 is वसन्ततिलक।

[3] In the original the reading is प्राग्ज्योतिषा for प्रागज्योतिष, and ससास for शशास।

१९. देवस्य तस्य महिषी प्रवरा सतीनामात्मानुरुपकुलजा गिरिजेव शम्भोः। रत्नाभिधा विविधपुण्य–

२०. पवित्रकीर्त्तिरुत्कीर्य शीतकिरणादिव निर्म्मिताभूत् ।।११।। पुत्रस्तयोरभवदम्बुधिमेखलाया भर्त्ता भुव–

२१. स्त्रिभुवनाभरणं महीपः। श्रीधर्म्मपाल इति धर्म्मपरोपिकाममर्थञ्च पालयति यः प्रसमीक्ष्य[4] का–

२२. लं ।।१२।। निस्त्रिंशघातदलितेभ[5]-विमुक्तमुक्तापुष्पोपहाररुचिरेषु रणांगणेषु। देवः परं समरसम्भ–

२३. वया विहर्त्तुमेकः श्रिया विजयते सह धर्म्मपालः ।।१३।। परिणयति य एको भूमिमेकातप–

२४. त्रां शरणमुपगतानामेकको यः शरण्यः। जगति विदितकीर्त्तिर्धर्म्मपालाभिधानः

२५. स जयति जितवीरातिचक्रो नरेन्द्रः[6] ।।१४।। प्रस्थानकलसनाम्ना कविना गोवर्ण्णमानवै–

२६. द्येन। रचिता प्रशस्तिरमला राज्ञः श्रीधर्म्मपालस्य[7] ।।१५।। स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यसंख्याता–

२७. प्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिताशेषरिपुपक्षश्रीवाराहपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज–

२८. श्रीमद्धर्षपालवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्ध–

२९. र्म्मपालवर्म्मदेवपादाः कुषलिनः ।। पुरुजीविषयान्तः पातिदिगलण्डीभूम्यपकृष्ट–

३०. धान्यद्वि[8]सहस्रोत्पत्तिकमेरुपाटकभूमौ ।। यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयक[र]णव्य–

३१. वहारिकप्रमुखजनपदान् राजराज्ञीराणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि[9]राजन्यकराजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्र–

Second Plate (Second Page)

३२. [भृतो]न् यथाकालभाविनोऽपि सर्व्वान् भाननापूर्व्वक[म्] समादिशन्ति[10]विदितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तु–

३३. [के] दारस्थलजलाकरगोप्रचारावस्कराद्युपेता यथासंस्था स्वसीमोद्देशपर्यन्ता हस्तिबन्धनौकाबन्ध–

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[4] The Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka inscription has सुसमीक्ष्य।

[5] In the original the reading is निस्त्रिंसघातदलितेभविमुक्ति।

[6] मालिनी वृत्त।

[7] Verse no. 15 is of आर्या metre.

[8] Here द्विं appears to be a mistake for पत् ; cf. I. 43.

[9] In the original the reading appears to be राज-राज्ञी-राधिकृतान्-अनन्यपि which does not yield a sense. The reading adopted is after the Śubhaṇkarapāṭaka inscription.

[10] In the plate the reading is समादिसन्ति।

३४. चौरोद्धरणदाण्डपाशिकौपरिकरनानानिमित्तोत्खेटनहस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रगोमहिषाजाविकप्रचार-सज–

३५. लस्थलप्रभृतीन्[11] विनिवारितसर्व्वपीड़ाशासनीकृत्य ।। मध्यदेशोद्भवो विप्रो यज्वा वेदाङ्गपा[12]

३६. रगः । योगी रथिक उम्मोकः सर्व्वशास्त्रविशार[दः][13] ।।१६।। काश्यपोसौ यजुर्व्वेदी काण्वशाखो महामखः ।

३७. अग्निष्टोमादिभिर्यागैर्येनेष्टं वहुधा किल ।।१७।। तस्मिन्नध्वरधूमतीव्रविकलव्यालोल-पाठान् वटून्[14]

३८. क्रीड़ापञ्जरसंयतः सरिदुरुप्रज्ञानिधानः शूकः ।। [य] त्रासीत् खलु शिक्षयन् मु–

३९. हुरलं[15] संस्मारयन्[16] शारिका आसन् यत्र च लज्जिताः पुनरपि विप्रश्चिरं[16] ऋत्विजः[17] ।।१८।।

४०. तस्य सूनुरभूद्वीरः शस्त्रशास्त्रपरायणः । नाम्ना विष्णुरिति ख्यातो भुवि विष्णुरि–

४१. वापरः ।।१९।। शम्भोरभूद् यथा गौरी लक्ष्मीरिव हरेः प्रिया । तस्यासीन्मनोरमानाम[16] अपराख्या[18]

४२. मनस्विनी ।।२०।। ताभ्यामजायत सुतः श्रीमान् महावाहुरिति विश्रुतः । मीमांसाभ्या-सनिःशेष–

४३. दोषप्रोषितमानसः ।।२१।। राज्ञा श्रीधर्म्मपालेन राज्ये प्रथमवत्सरे[19] । धान्यषट्स-स्त्रिका[20]भूमि–

४४. दत्ता तस्य द्विजन्मनः[21] ।।२२।। अस्याः सीमा पूर्व्वेण हाक्केवट्टिभूः फेट्टसिम्मलिदि-गलण्डीभूः

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[11] Read प्रमृतीनाम् ।

[12] The reading adopted by Śrī Chaudhury and Dr. Bhattasali is यजुर्वेदाङ्गपारग ।

[13] Verses 16, 17, 19, 20 and 22 are of अनुष्टुभ् metre.

[14] Śrī Chaudhury reads this portion as व्यालाल-वामन्-वतन्, and Śrī Bhattasali as व्यालोल-यामं नवः ।

[15] Śrī Bhattasali reads गुरुरलम्, and Śrī Chaudhury मुद्गरलम् ।

[16] Rules of *Sandhi* are not complied with.

[17] शार्दूलविक्रीड़ितं वृत्तम् ।

[18] The reading is नेपुराख्या । The stanza is of irregular metre.

[19] The reading is वच्छरे in the original.

[20] सस्त्रिका, perhaps an abbreviation of सहस्त्रिका, is written for the sake of the metre.

[21] षष्ठी is used for the fourth case-ending by the rule विवक्षावशात् कारकाणि भवन्ति ।

४५. मेरुपाटकधान्य[22]षट्सहस्राणि भट्टमहावाहुभुज्यमानानि । पुरुज्यां पूर्व्वेण संखु[23]पाटक-
भूमौ
४६. क्षेत्रालिवटवृक्षसहसीमा । दक्षिणेन अर्ज्जा[24]पाटकीभूमौ तद्वक्रेण हलावण[25]वृक्षसीमा ।

(*Third Plate*)

४७. × × × × × × सीमा दक्षिणेन. . .भूमि वृहदालि अश्वत्थवृक्षसीमा[26] ।
४८. पश्चिमेन खण्टापाट्टकी-भूमी[27]सहसीमावृहदालि[:] । तद्वक्रेण जतोदीपं[28] स्वयम्भू-
देव-[स]
४९. हसीमाक्षेत्रालि[:] । उत्तरेण देवनाथसत्क[29] शासनसहसीमा अश्वत्थवृक्षः । तद्वक्रेण
खागालि[30]–
५०. भूमीसहसीमा ।[31] तदुत्तरेण पञ्चापटकभूमौ जड़मकाजोल[म्] दक्षिणपाटक इति ।।
एवम–
५१. परखण्ड-दिगलण्डीमेरुपातकसीमाः । पूर्व्वेण चोक्कापाटककुमारसत्कशासनपश्चिम–
५२. पाटक[:] । कण्टाफलवृक्षपुष्करिणी-वटवृक्षसहसीमा । पन्ना[32]वाणदक्षिणपाटक[:] तद्व–
५३. क्रेण भावदेवपुष्करिणी । उत्तरपाटक[:] कोञ्चलीविड़िबृहदालि[:] । तदुत्तरे–
५४. ण । पश्चिमेन मधुमथनसत्कशासनपुरपु[33]त्तभूमौ सहसीमा बृहदालि[:]त–
५५. तो दक्षिणेन वटवृक्षसहसीमा । ततो दक्षिणेन पाञ्चाकभूमि[मौ]सरोलजोल[म् ।]
५६. उत्तरपाटक[:] । पूर्व्वेण बलभद्रपुष्करिण्युत्तरपाटकसहसीमा । तत् पूर्व्वेण छोक्का-
पाट–

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[22] In the original the न्य of धान्य is not visible.

[23] Śrī Choudhury reads सङ्ख ।

[24] Śrī Chaudhury reads अज्जा।

[25] Dr. Śrī D. C. Sarkar reads भल्लाचण but admits the correctness of the reading हलावण adopted by Śrī Chaudhury.

[26] In the original the word is अश्वस्थ ।

[27] Śrī Chaudhury reads पाटकि and भूमौ ।

[28] Śrī Chaudhury reads द्वीपः; Dr. D. C. Sarkar appears to accept चूतादीपः as a correct reading.

[29] In the original शत्क is the reading.

[30] See खगालि mentioned in the Puṣpabhadrā grant of Dharmapāla, I. 51.

[31] Śrī Chaudhury reads भूमन् ।

[32] The reading suggested by Dr. D. C. Sarkar is पन्नच ।

[33] .. .. प्रत्त ।

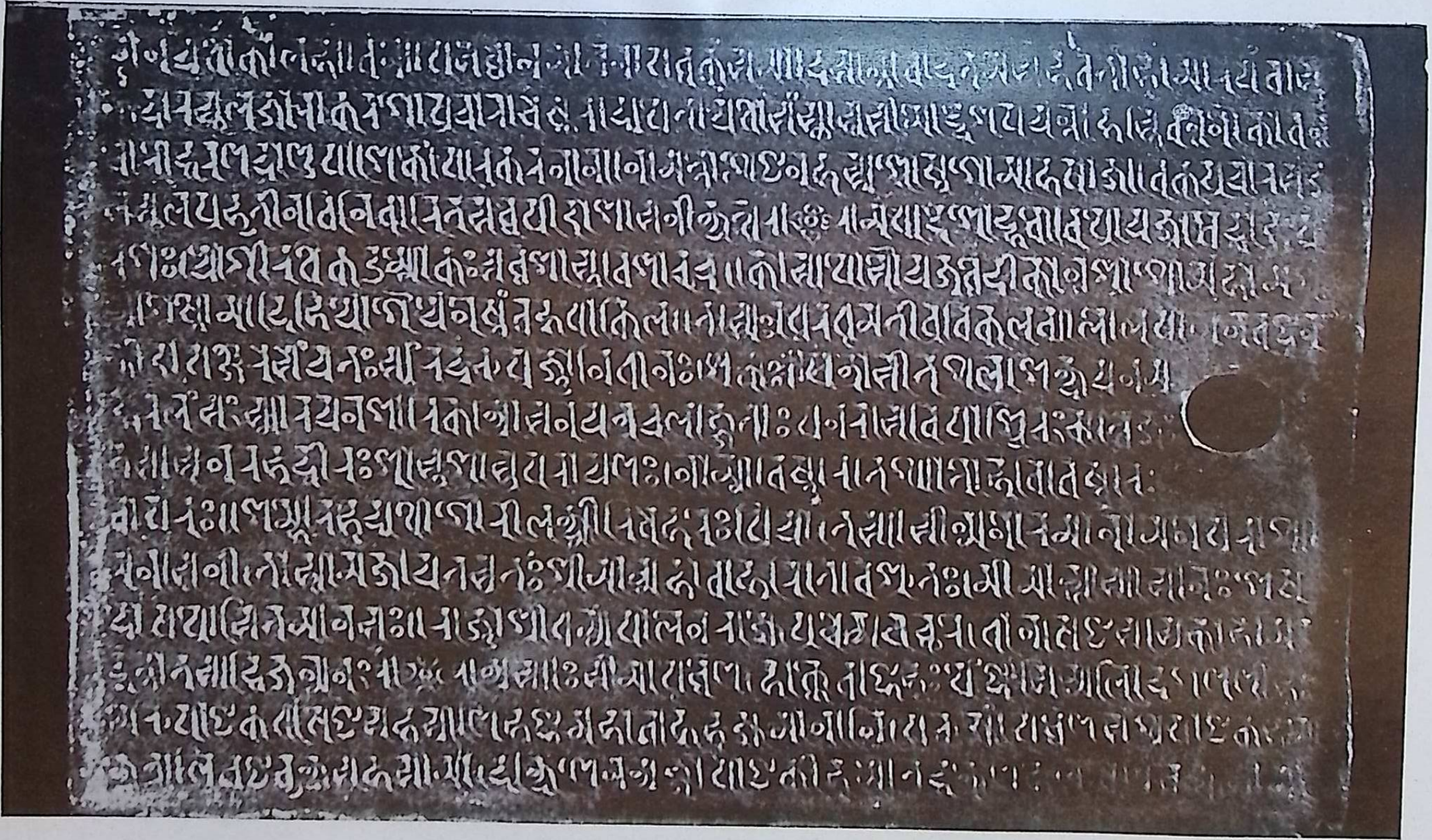
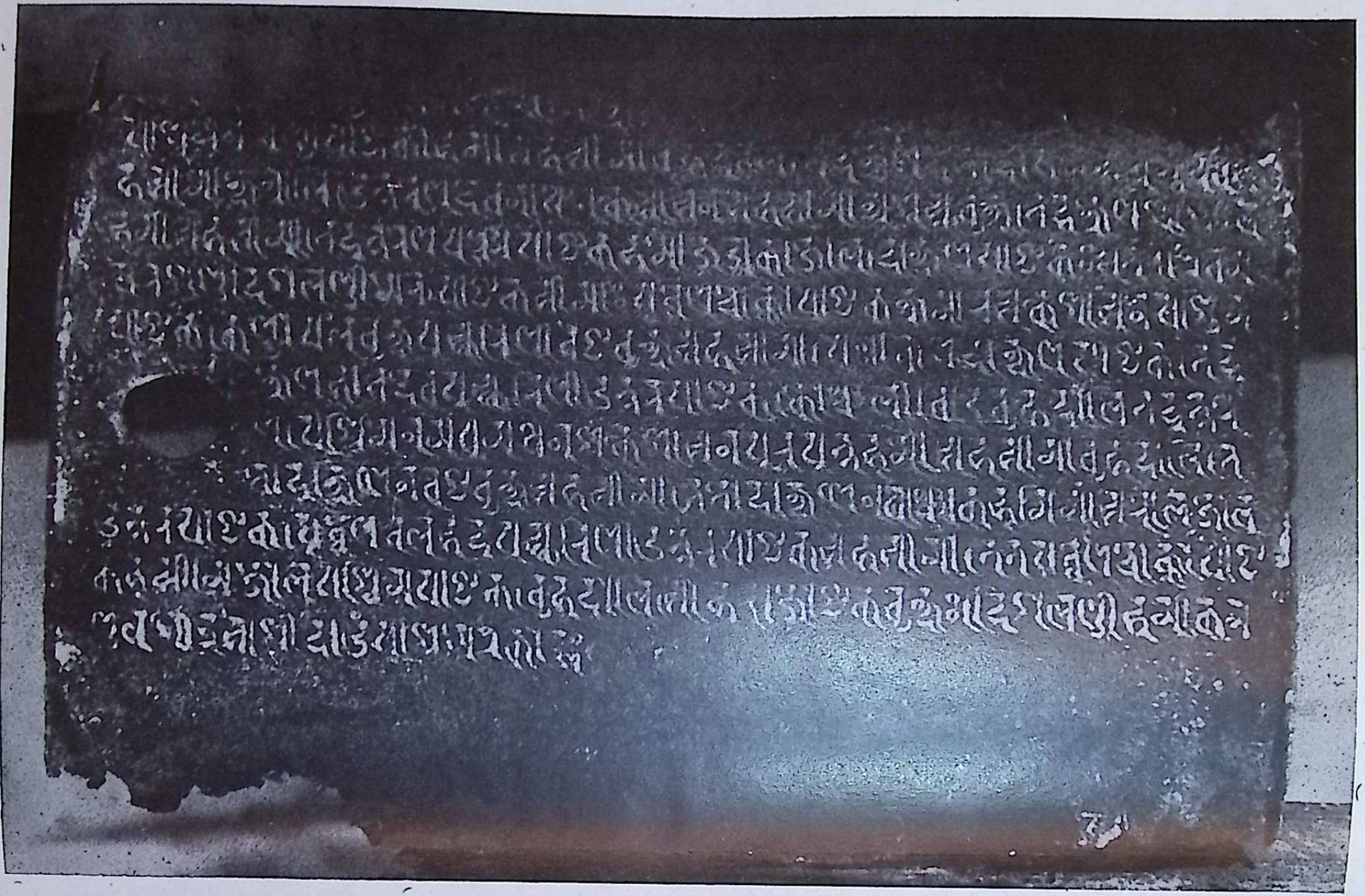


PLATE II b—KHONĀMUKH PLATES OF DHARMAPĀLA

PLATE III—KHONĀMUKH PLATES OF DHARMAPĀLA



५७. कभूसीम्नि जोलपश्चिमपाटक[ः] बृहदालि[ः]। साहड़ाजोटकवृक्षः। दिगलण्डी-
भूमीकम–
५८. ण्डल[ल] गोत्रस्य श्रीदर्ड़ु[34] पश्चिमे एकांशः...

SEAL

1. स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपतिम–
2. हाराजाधिराजश्रीधर्म्म–
3. पालवर्म्मदेवः ॥

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[34] The reading may also be श्रीदाड़ु intended for श्रीदारु which may imply a सुवर्ण-दारु mentioned in the Nowgong grant of Balavarmā, l. 48. Chawdhury reads श्रीदम्। D. C. Sarkar thinks the reading to be दाउं।

The Subhaṅkarapāṭaka Plates of Dharmapāla (3rd year)

It is not known how and when the plates were discovered. Late Kashinath Dikshit, M.A., the then Deputy Director of Archaeology, Govt. of India, obtained the plates from Sri Sarat Chandra Goswami, son of Late Hemchandra Goswami, a noted archaeologist of Assam in March, 1929. On enquiry, Sri Goswami could not tell when and wherefrom Late H. C. Goswami obtained the plates. As the find place of the charter was not known, the charter was named *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* after the name of the plot of land producing 6000 measures of paddy donated to a religious Brahmin named Himāṅga. The inscription was edited with a Bengali translation by Paṇdit Padmanath Vidyāvinoda in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*. p. 146-163.

THE ŚUBHANKARAPĀTAKA PLATES OF DHARMAPĀLA

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१. [६][1] स्वस्ति । वन्दे तमर्द्धयुवतीश्वरमादिदेव-
मिन्दीवरोरगफणामणिकण्ठब[न्धं ।]
[उत्तु--][1]
२. ङ्गपीनकुचकुङ्कुमभस्मभिन्नं
शृङ्गाररौद्ररसयोरिव सर्ग्गमेकं[2] ।।१।।[3]
देवस्य शू [कर]
३. तनोस्तनयः पृथिव्यां
जातो बभूव नृपतिर्न्नरकाभिधानः [।]
जित्वा शतक्रतु[4]पुरःसरदि-
४. क्पतीन् यः
प्राग्ज्योतिषापुरि चिराय शशास[5] राज्यं ।।२।।
तस्यात्मजः समभवद्भगदत्तनामा
धा-
५. माधिको नृपतिमौलिनिघृष्टपादः ।
यत्सङ्गर[6] श्रमविषीद[7] दसीमशौर्य्यं
मूर्च्छा प्रियेव प-
६. रिरभ्य ररक्ष भीमं ।।३।।
तस्मिन् महीपतिकुले कुलशैलकल्पः
प्राचीपतिप्रतिकृतिर्नृपतिर्ब्बभूव ।
७. श्रीब्रह्मपाल इति विश्रुतनामधेयो
ध्येयो द्विषां गुणवताञ्च भया-

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[1] This corner of the plate being broken, the letters are added here on conjecture. However a portion of the आञ्जी is visible.

[2] In this plate the अनुस्वार is written exactly as in the present days in Assamese.

[3] The metre is वसन्ततिलक । From the 2nd to the 13th, and the 18th, 20th and 21st *ślokas* are in the same metre.

[4] In the original सतक्रतु ।

[5] .. .. ससास ।

[6] .. .. संगर ।

[7] .. .. विसीद ।

नुरागैः ।।४।।
८.
प्रादुर्ब्बभूव सुतरत्नमनूनधामा
श्रीरत्नपाल इति तस्य यथा–
र्थनामा ।
९.
यस्यास सङ्गरजितो नृपचक्रमौलि–
मालाधरे चरण एव महीप–
लक्ष्मीः ।।५।।

१०. तस्यात्मजोजनि पुरन्दरपालनामा
धार्मैकभूस्स सुकृती युवराज ए––
वे ।
११.
सायुज्यमाप विधिपर्य्यय[8]तः पितॄणा–
मुत्पाद्य साधुचरितं सुतमिन्द्रपा-
लं ।।६।।
१२.
राजा चिराय स महीं प्रशशास[9] सम्यक्
शक्तित्रयप्रथितशौर्य्यविनिर्ज्जितारिः ।
इ-
१३. ष्टैः प्रहृष्टवलभित्क्रतुभिः कृतीना-
मग्रेसरः स्मर इव प्रमदाजनानां ।।७।।
तस्यात्मभू–
१४. रभवदप्रतिमप्रतापो
गोपाल इत्यवनिपालकुलप्रदीपः ।
यः सीम्नि शौर्य्यधनिनां
१५. गुणिनां वदान्य-
दाक्षिण्यपुण्यविदुषां वसति स्म लोके ।।८।।
तस्माद्बभूव तनयः पितृहर्ष-
१६. पालः
श्रीहर्षपाल इति साधुजनोपगीतः ।
सम्प्राप्य चारुचरितं चिरमाप सख्य-

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[8] .. .. विधिविवर्य्यय। If the वि could be retained, a better sense would have been yielded; but it affects the metre.

[9] In the original प्रससास ।

१७. सौख्यामृतं कमलया सह भारतीयं ।।६।।
सन्तर्प्पिताः समरभूमिषु येन शश्वत्[10]
शस्त्र–

Second Plate (First Page)

१८. प्रहारदलिताहितकुम्भिकुम्भैः ।
रक्षोगणाः प्रचुरफेनविमिश्रमस्त्र[11]
मुष्णोष्णमाशु तृषिता[ः]
१९. परितः पिबन्ति ।।१०।।
देवस्य तस्य महिषी प्रवरा सतीना-
मात्मानुरूपकुलजा गिरिजेव शम्भोः[।]
२०. रत्नाभिधा[12] विविधपुण्यपवित्रकीर्त्ति-
रुत्कीर्य्य शीतकिरणादिव निर्मिताभूत् ।।११।।
पुत्रस्तयोर–
२१. भवदम्बुधिमेखलाया
भर्त्ता भुवस्त्रिभुवनाभरणस्महीपः
श्रीधर्म्मपाल इति धर्म्मपरो-
२२. पि काम-
मर्थञ्च पालयति यः सुसमीक्ष्य कालं ।।१२।।
निस्त्रिंश[13]घातदलितेभविमुक्त[14]मुक्ता-
पु-
२३. ष्पोपहाररुचिरेषु रणाङ्गणेषु ।
देवः परं समरसम्भवया विहर्त्तु-
मेकः श्रिया वि-
२४. जयते सहधर्म्मपालः ।।१३।।
परिणयति य एको भूमिमेकातपत्रां
शरणमु-

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[10] .. .. सश्वत् ।
[11] .. .. मश्र ।
[12] .. .. रत्नाभिधान ।
[13] .. .. निस्त्रिन्स ।
[14] .. .. विमुक्ति ।

२५. पगतानामेकको[15] यः शरण्यः ।
जगतिविदितकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्म्मपालाभिधानः
२६. स जयति जितवीरा [रा] तिचक्रो नरेन्द्रः ।।१४[16]।।
प्रस्थानकलस[17]नाम्ना कविना गोवर्ण्ण-
२७. मानवैद्येन[।]
रचिता प्रशस्ति[18] रमला राज्ञः श्रीधर्म्मपालस्य ।।१५।।[19]
स्वस्ति
२८. प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपत्यसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिताशेषरिपुपक्षश्रीवारा–
२९. हपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्[20]हर्षपालवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्या–
३०. तपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्[20]धर्म्मपालदेवपादाः कुषलिन[:][21]
३१. ।।×।। दिज्जिन्ना[22] विषयान्तःपातिधान्यषट्सहस्रोत्पत्तिक श्रोलिन्दापकृष्ट[23]
कञ्जिया[24]भि–
३२. द्दिव शुभङ्कर[25] पाटकभूमौ ।।×।। यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयकरणव्यावहारिक–
३३. प्रमुखजानपदान्[26] राजराज्ञी[27] राणकाधिकृतानन्यानपि[28] राजन्यकराज-

Second Plate (Second Page)

३४. पुत्र। राजव [ल्ल] भ[29] प्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्व्वान् माननापूर्व्वकं समा-
दिशन्ति वि–

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[15] .. .. गतानां मेकको ।

[16] मालिनीवृत्त ।

[17] In the original कलष ।

[18] .. .. प्रसस्ति ।

[19] आर्य्या जाति ।

[20] In the original श्रीमत ।

[21] In the original कुषलिनः । In the other inscription of Dharmapāla, the same spelling is used. This is not incorrect. For this see *Kāmarapaśāsanāvalī*, p. 154. foot-note 8.

[22] In the original दिजिन्ना । But in line 51 the name of the river serving as a boundary line is written as दिज्जिन्ना । Very likely the name of the region is after the name of this river. The endowment of the plot of land made in the inscription of Balavarmā, two centuries earlier is of the same name. दिज्जिन्ना therefore seems to be appropriate.

[23] In the original श्रोलिन्दोमपकृष्ट but subsequently श्रोलिन्द or श्रोलिन्दा ।

[24] .. .. कंजिया ।

[25] .. .. सुहंकर ।

[26] .. .. जनपदान् ।

[27] .. .. राज्ञि ।

[28] .. .. राणकादिक्त्यानन्यानापि ।

[29] .. .. राजवभ ।

३५. दितमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदार। स्थलजलाकर। गोप्रचाराद्युपेता[30]; यथासंस्था।
३६. स्वसीमापर्य्यन्ता। हस्तिबन्ध। नौकाबन्ध। चौरोद्धरण। दाण्डपाशिकौपरिकर[31]। नाना नि-
३७. निमित्तोत्खेटन। हस्त्यश्चोष्ट्रगोमहिषाजाविकप्रचारसजलस्थलप्रभृतीन [ां] विनि-वारि-
३८. तसर्व्वपीड़ा शासनीकृत्य ।।×।।
ग्रामः क्रौसञ्जनामास्ति श्रावस्त्यां यत्र यज्वनां।
होम धू-
३९. मान्धकारान्धं नाविशत् कलिकल्मषं ।।१६।।[32]
तत्सम्भवानां प्रवरो[33] द्विजानामुदारधीः कोथुम-
४०. शाखमुख्यः
रामोपमः सामविदामखण्डयः शाण्डिल्यगोत्रोऽजनि राम-
४१. देवः ।।१७।।[34]
तस्याभवद्भूरत इत्यभिभूतपापः
शा [क्यो] पमः[35] शमदमप्रसवैकभू-
४२. मिः।
षट्कर्म्मकर्म्मठतया विरतोऽशुभेभ्यः
सभ्यः सतां[36] गुणवतान्तिलकस्त-
४३. नूजः ।।१९।।
रोहिणीव हिमदीधिते[37] रभूत् पार्व्वतीव दयितान्धकद्विषः।
पा
४४. उकेति सहधर्म्मचारिणी सच्चरित्र[38] गुणशीलधारिणी ।।२९।।[39]
निःशेषसौष्ठवपदप्रभृति-

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[30] .. .. -दुपेता।
[31] .. .. पासिकौपरिकम।
[32] The metre is अनुष्टुभ पथ्यावक्त्र। The same metre is in *slokaś* 22.
[33] In the original प्रवरा।
[34] The metre is उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ।
[35] In the original the formis शप मः। The reading शाक्योपमः is fancied by Vidyāvinoda in association with श्रावस्ती previously referred to.
[36] In the original स्वतां।
[37] .. .. दीधिति।
[38] .. .. सचरित्र।
[39] The metre is रथोद्धता।

४५. क्रियावा-
नभ्यस्तचित्रदृढ़दुष्करकर्म्ममार्ग्गः।
नाराचमोक्षगतिपातगुणप्रवीणः

४६. प्र[ा]णाधिकोऽजनि ततोरथिकोहिमाङ्गः[40] ।।२०।।
ओलिन्दभूतलसमन्तितकञ्जियाक-
भिट्वीभु-

४७. वान्वितशुभङ्कर[41] पाटकाख्यां [।]
तस्मै स षट्[42] प्रमितधान्यसहस्र[43] काणां
राज्ये निजे नरप-

४८. तिः प्रददौ त्रिवर्षे।।२१।।
त्रिलोचनाय तेनैव भ्रात्रे[44]ऽस्मादेव शासनात्
सोदराय ददे भू-

४९. मिर्द्धयोर्द्धान्यसहस्रयोः।।×।।२२
अस्याः सीमा पूर्व्वेण चतुर्विंशतितन्त्राणां भूसीम्नि

Third Plate

५०. × × × क[45] वृक्षः कूर्म्म [नाथ][46] सत्कशासनभूसीम्नि शाखोटवृक्षः आखोटवृक्षः[47] [।] पूर्व्वदक्षिणे-

५१. [न] × × वीरसत्कशासनभूसीम्नि क्षेत्रालि [:]। दक्षिणेनाश्वत्थवृक्षः। दिज्जिन्ना नदी। पश्चि-

५२. मदक्षिणेन सैव नदी। पश्चिमेन कूर्म्मनाथसत्कशसनभूसीम्नि अश्वत्थ[48] वृक्षः लोचन-

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[40] The word appears as हिमाङ्गा:; but what appears as the आ-कार (ा) in ङ्ग is possibly a slanting stroke of the अनुस्वार of Modern Assamese (ं)।

[41] In the original सुहङ्कर।

[42] .. .. तस्मै रु सट्।

[43] .. .. सहस्रा।

[44] .. .. भ्रातरे।

[45] The corner of the plate being broken, a few letters are lost.

[46] In the second inscription कूर्म्मनाथसत्क is the reading. Therefore नाथ is restored.

[47] This reading आखोट is restored by analogy.

[48] In the original आश्वत्थ।

५३. वृक्षः [।] पश्चिमोत्तरेण रोपितशाल्मलीवृक्ष [:] क्षेत्रालि [:] तद्भूसीम्नि ओड़िअम्म-
वृक्षश्चेति ।।[49]

५४. एवमपरखण्ड ओलिन्दासमेतकञ्जियाभिट्विभूमेः सीमा पूर्व्वेण ओरङ्गितन्त्रा–
५५. णां भूसीम्नि लोचनवृक्षः। वक्रानुवक्रेण हिज्जलवृक्षः। पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन शाल्मलिवृ–
५६. क्षः। दक्षिणेन विजय श्रीनौभुक्तकभूसीम्नि कण्टावक्कड़वृक्षः वंश[50] स्तू–
५७. पः। ओरचोस जोल [ं]। हिज्जलवृक्षः। उत्तरगक्षेत्रालि [:] पग[51] अश्वत्थ[48]
५८. वृक्षः। वंश[50] स्तूप [:]। लहुचवृक्षः। डूम्मरिमस्तक [ं]। दक्षिणपश्चिमेन
५९. भल्लाभिठिभूसीम्नि धूमारदेव [:]। पश्चिमेन झरिपाकटी वृक्षः। अन्त–[52]
६०. रेण वंश[53] वृक्तिः। पश्चिमोत्तरेण विजय श्रीनौभुक्तकभूसीम्नि वंशस्तूपः। उत्त–
६१. रेण[54] क्षेत्रालिः [:]। शाल्मलिवृक्षः। वक्रेण ओरचोषजोल [ं] वृहद्रावा भूसीम्नि
काशिम्वला[55]

६२. वृक्षः। वटवृक्षः। क्षेत्रालिः। उत्तरपूर्व्वेण ओरङ्गितन्त्राणां भूसीम्नि वहुआलवृक्षः
६३. वाल्मीकस्तूपश्चेति ।।×।।

[Text of the Seal]

स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्यातिषाधिपतिम–
हाराजाधिराजश्रीधर्म्म–
पालवर्म्मदेवः।

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[49] It is to be noticed here that the description of the boundary of the 1st plot comes to an end here without any reference to the North and the North East. This might be due to the error of the scribe or it might be that the second plot might have lapsed on this point with the first. Therefore the reference to the boundary line here might be unnecessary.

[50] In the original वंस।

[51] Abbreviation for पश्चिमग।

[52] The two letters here are not properly read.

[53] In the original वन्स।

[54] .. .. उत्तरग।

[55] .. .. काशिम्ला।

The Puspabhadrā Plates of Dharmapāla

This inscription containing three copperplates strung by means of a ring and a seal was found by one cowherd boy in a small pit in the dry bed of a river called Puṣpabhadrā on the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra to the north of the present city of Gauhati. In 1315 B.S., the plates reached the hands of Late H. C. Goswami. After the plates had been deciphered by the noted antiquarian of Assam, Paṇḍit Padmanath Vidyāvinoda wrote an article on the inscription with a Bengali translation in the *Raṅgpur Sāhitya Sabhā Patrikā* (B.S. 1322, 2nd issue). He edited the inscription in the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī* p. 168-184 with a Bengali translation adducing convincing arguments in favour of the view that the grant was later than the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* although the *Puṣpabhadrā* grant does not contain any reference to the regnal year in which the grant was issued.

The letters of the inscription have great similarity with those of the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka plates. The writing is very clear and quite intelligible. The first plate contains 15 lines, the second plate contains 16 lines on the first page and 15 lines on the second page; the third plate contains 10 lines. Thus there are 56 lines. It is very much interesting to note that the first eight verses were composed by king Dharmapāla himself and the rest by poet Aniruddha. It should be mentioned in this connection that the composer of the Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka plates was Prasthānakalasa. The charter records the grant of a plot of land producing 10,000 measures of paddy to a Brahmin named Madhusūdana.

THE PUṢPABHADRĀ PLATES OF DHARMAPĀLA

१. ६ स्वस्ति। श्रीमान् स क्रोड़रूपो[1] जयति वसुमतीमण्डलालीढ़दंष्ट्रः
पोत्रोत्कीर्ण्णाद्रिचक्रः खुरयुग–
२. शिखरक्षुण्णपाताल[2] पङ्कः [।]
वेगव्याक्षिप्तविश्वप्र[ल]यजपवनैर्यस्य निश्वासवातै–
र्भूयो भूयः प्र–
३. ताम्यत्तिमिमकरकुलाः पीतमुक्ताः समुद्राः ।।१।।[3]
आसीन्नृपो नरक इत्यवनिप्रसूत [:]
सूनुर्व्वराहव–
४. पुषो[4] गरुड़ध्वजस्य।
तस्माद्बभूव भगदत्त इति प्रसिद्धो[5]
राजन्यचक्रपरिचुम्बितपादपद्मः ।।२[6]
त–
५. स्मिन्नेव महान्वये[7] नयनिधौ श्रीब्रह्मपालादयो
भूता ये नृपपुङ्गवाः कथयितुं तेषां गु–
६. णान् कः क्षमः।
येनास्माकमदृष्टपारमहिमोपाख्यानमूढ़ात्मनां
जिह्वैका न सहस्रधा न
७. वचसि प्रज्ञापि वा हृष्यति[8] ।।३[9]
तद्वंशे[10] नृपतिर्ब्बभूव नयवान् धर्म्मे[11] निबद्धादर [:]
श्रीगोपा–

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[1] In the original रुपो। [2] .. .. सिखरखुण्णपातील। [3] The metre is स्रग्धरा।
[4] In the original वपुसो। [5] .. .. प्रसिद्ध।
[6] वसन्ततिलकवृत्तम्। The same metre is in 5-8, 13, 15-19, and 21
[7] In the original माहान्वये। [8] .. .. हृष्यतिः।
[9] शार्द्दूलविक्रीड़ित वृत्त; the 4th and the 14th *śloka* are of this metre.
[10] In the original तद्वन्से। [11] . .. .. the reading is ब्बभूव नयवान् धम्मे।

८. ल इति प्लुष्टप्रतापदहनपुष्टद्विषत्कानन: ।
यस्यादद्यापि सुधासहोदरगुणग्रामोपरुद्धा–
९. तति:[12]
स्वर्ग्गङ्गा[13]गुरुभङ्गसङ्गरजिता[14] फेनैरिवोपप्लुता [15]।।४
पत्नी बभूव नृपते–
१०. र्नयनाभिधाना
तस्य प्रसिद्ध[16] महसो महनीयकीर्त्ति: [।]
ताभ्यामजायत जगत्रयगीतकी–
११. र्त्ति:
श्रीहर्षपाल इति पालकुलप्रदीप: ।।५।।
तस्मान्नृपो भुवन[17] गीतगुणाभिरामो
धर्म्मैकदत्त–
१२. हृदयोऽजनि धर्म्मपाल: [।]
यस्मिन् मुखाम्बुरुहकोषरजोभिवास–[18]
लब्धेव वाग् भगव–
१३. ती चिरमध्युवास[19] ।।६
हे भाविनो नृपतयो प्र [ण] येन याच्ञा [।]
श्री धर्म्मपालनृपते:[20] शृणुते–
१४. ति यूयं ।
विद्यच्छटाचपलराज्यमृषाभि [मा] न–
स्त्याज्य [:] कदाचिदपि नित्यसुखो न धर्म्म: ।।७
१५. पालान्वयाम्बुजरवि: कविचक्रवाल–
चूड़ामणि [:] कलितसर्व्वकलाकलाप: ।
श्रीधर्म्मप[ा]ल–

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[12] .. .. .. रुद्धं नतिः ।
[13] .. .. स्वर्गंगां ।
[14] .. .. जितैः ।
[15] .. .. प्लुतां ।
[16] .. .. स्तस्याः प्रसिद्धि ।
[17] .. .. तस्यामृपो भवन ।
[18] .. .. रास ।
[19] .. .. मद्धवास ।
[20] .. .. नृपतिः ।

Second Plate (First Page)

१६. नृपतिर्गुणरत्नसिन्धु–
रेतां प्रशस्ति[21] मकरोदवदातकीर्त्तिः ।।**।।८
स्वस्ति प्राग्ज्योतिषा[22]धिपत्य संख्याताप्रतिह–
१७. तदण्डक्षपिताशेष[23] रिपुपक्षश्रीवाराहपरमेश्वर[24] परमभट्टारक[25] महारा[जा]धिराज–
श्रीमद्धर्म्मपालव–
१८. र्म्मदेवपादाः कुषलिनः[26] ।।×।। श्रीमधुसूदनसत्कगुहेश्वरदिग्डोलवृद्धग्रामभूमौ ।।
१९. यथायथं समुपस्थितविषयकरणव्यावहारिकप्रमुख-ज[ा]नपदान् राजराज्ञीराणकाधि-
कृतानन्यानपि
२०. राजन्यक[27] राजपुत्रराजवल्लभप्रभृतीन् यथाकालभाविनोपि सर्व्वान् माननापूर्व्वकं
समादिशन्ति विदि–
२१. तमस्तु भवतां भूमिरियं वास्तुकेदारस्थलज[ल]गोप्रचारावस्कर[ा]द्युपेता यथासंस्था
स्वसीमा[28] पर्य्यन्ता हस्ति[29] बन्ध–
२२. नौकाबन्धचोरोद्धरणदाण्डपाशिकौ[30] परिकरनानानिमित्तोत्खेटनादिहस्त्यश्वोष्ट्र[31] गो–
२३. महिषाजाविक [ा] प्रचारा जलस्थलप्रभृतीनां[32] विनिवारितसर्व्वपीड़ाशासनीकृत्य ।।×।।
२४. ख्यातिपल्यभिधमस्ति सद्द्विजव्रात[33] भूषणमधर्म्मदूषणं ।
ग्रामरत्नमतियत्ननिर्म्मितं धर्म्मम–
२५. न्दिरमिव प्रजासृजा[34] ।।९[35]
होमधूमवलये वियद्गते यज्वनां क्रतुषु कालिकाभ्रमात् ।
२६. यत्र डम्बरमकाण्डताण्डवे तेनुरुन्मुखशिखाः शिखण्डिनः[36] ।।१०
द्विजानां सद्धर्म्मप्रथ [म] पथिकानाम–
२७. नुदिनं
त्रिसन्ध्यं स्नानार्थप्रशम[37] जपपापक्षयकृतां [।]
चतुर्व्वेदीपाठध्वनिरतनु वाचालयति य–

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[21] .. .. प्रसस्तिं ।
[22] .. .. जोतिषा ।
[23] .. .. तासेस ।
[24] .. .. परमेस्वर ।
[25] .. .. भटारक ।
[26] see foot-note No. 21 of Plate No. 1.
[27] In the original राजन्नक ।
[28] .. .. ससीमा ।
[29] .. .. हस्थि ।
[30] .. .. पासिको ।
[31] .. .. हस्तिश्वोष्ट्र ।
[32] .. .. प्रभृतीन ।
[33] .. .. सद्विजव्राज ।
[34] .. .. सृजत् ।
[35] The metre is रथोद्धता here as well as in the 10th and 20th *ślokas*.
[36] In the original तेनरुन्मुखसिखाः सिखण्डिनः ।
[37] .. .. स्नानार्थ प्रशम ।

२८. द्[38] यमीगङ्गासङ्गोच्छलित[39] जलकल्लोलबहलः ।।११[40]
माध्यन्दिनयजुर्व्वेदिशुद्ध[41] मौद्गल्यगोत्रजाः [।]
तस्थु–
२९. रौतथ्यमौद्गल्याङ्गिरसप्रवरा द्विजाः ।।१२[42]
गोष्ठेषु[43] धामसु वनेषु चतुष्पथेषु[44]
रथ्यासु वीथिषु मखे–
३०. षु[45] सुरालयेषु ।
अद्यापि[46] पिण्डतरलब्धसुधासनाभो[47]
विश्वानि यद्गुणगणो मुखरी–
३१. करोति ।।१३
तद्वंशादजनिष्ट शिष्टचरितोविप्रेश्वरो भास्वरो
लक्ष्मीवान्न[48] रवाहनाह्वय–

Second Plate (Second Page)

३२. सुतः सम्यक् कलाभिर्युतः ।[49]
मीमांसा नयमांसलीकृतमतिश्चाणक्यमाणिक्यभू–
र्व्वंशोत्तुङ्गम–
३३. णिः श्रुतिस्मृतिपथप्रस्थानपान्थव्रतः ।।१४
जीवाभिधा रुचिररूपधराथ कन्या
धन्याकृतिर्व्विमलवंशभवा बभूव ।
३४. तस्याः करेण स करं जगृहे गृहस्थ–
धर्म्माय कङ्कणधरं धृतकङ्कणेन ।।१५
आचारचारुचरितो

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[38] .. .. त् ।

[39] .. .. सङ्गींत्सलित ।

[40] शिखरिणीवृत्त ।

[41] In the original माध्यंदिनयजुव्वेदीसुद्ध ।

[42] अनुष्टुभ पथ्यावक्त्र ।

[43] In the original गोष्ठेसु ।

[44] .. .. चतुस्पथेषु ।

[45] .. .. मखेसु ।

[46] .. .. आद्यापि ।

[47] Possibly समाभो was the intended reading; or सनाभो is a mistake for सनाभिः ।

[48] In the original, भास्वरः लक्ष्मीमान्न ।

[49] Here is the sign of complete pause (।।).

३५. भरितो गुणौघैः[50]
सर्व्वस्वदाननिरतो विरतो विमार्गात् ।
ताभ्यां बभूव तनयो विनयोपपन्नो–
धन्यो–
३६. तिसुन्दरतनुः सुतनुः प्रसिद्धः ॥१६
सौभाग्यरत्नगिरिविद्रुमवल्गुवल्ली–
लावण्यपङ्कभवबालमृणा–
३७. लयष्टिः ।
आनन्दकन्दलतिका मृगशाव[51] नेत्रा
नेत्राभिधा किल बभूव तदीयपत्नी ॥१७
ताभ्यां सुतः
३८. सकलविप्रकुलप्रदीपः
श्रीमान् बभूव मधुसूदननामधेयः ।
यो बाल्यतः प्रभृ–
३९. ति माधवपादपद्म–
पूजाप्रपञ्चरचना [ ] सुचिरं चकार ॥१८
तस्यानघप्रणयभागथ धर्म्मभार्य्या
ना–
४०. र्य्याकृतिः शतधृते[52] र्च्चनैव कापि
उत्रस्त[53] बालहरिणीचलनेत्रपत्रा
पत्रेति फुल्लशतपत्र–
४१. मुखी बभूव ॥१९
कामरूप[54] नगरे नृपोभवद्धर्म्मपाल इति सान्वयाह्वयः ।
यस्य कीर्त्तिवरटा जगज्जरत्प–
४२. ञ्जरोदरगता स्म राजते ॥२०
दिग्डोलसंयुतगुहेश्वरनाम[55] धेयां
तस्मै ददौ दशसहस्रभ–

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[50] In the original गुणोघैः ।

[51] .. .. साव ।

[52] .. .. सत्रधृते ।

[53] .. .. उत्रस्थ ।

[54] .. .. कामरुप ।

[55] .. .. गुहेश्वरधाम ।

४३. वां भुवं सः।
श्रीधर्म्मपालनृपतिः[56] प्रगुणावदात-
-चित्ताय शासनतया मधुसूदनाय[57] ।।२१
४४. नालंकृतिज्ञत्वकवित्वशब्दचित्त्वा[58] दितः श्रीअनिरुद्धनामा।
सदन्ववाय[59] स्तुति पु-
४५. ण्यलोभात् प्रशस्तिमेनां रचयांचकार।*।२२[60]
तक्षकार[61] श्रीविनीतेन खनितमिति।*।
४६. पूरजिविषयान्तःपातिधान्यदशसहस्त्रोत्पत्तिकगुहेश्वर[62] दिग्डोल-
वृद्धग्रामभूम्यपकृष्ट-

Third Plate

४७. × × × [भूमिः]। [अस्याः सीमा पूर्व्वेण नोक्कडेव्वरीपालगोवाभभोग-अलि[प]
णा[64] क्षत्रभूसीम्नि क्षेत्रा [लिः] × ×
४८. [पूर्व्व]ग। दक्षिणग। तद्भूसीम्नि सोव्वड़िपुष्करिणीपश्चिमपाट। खग्गालि। चम्य-
लाजोलि-
४९. पश्चिमकूलानि। पूर्व्वग। जौगल्लनदीदक्षिणकूलं। दक्षिणग। तद्भूसीम्नि नेक्का-
५०. देडलि। सिङ्गड़िजोल्यौ। पूर्व्वदक्षिणेन[65] दिज्जरतिहड़ी। दक्षिणेन वेक्कशुष्का[66]
नदी [।]
५१. दक्षिणपश्चिमेन खग्गालिः। पश्चिमेन अवञ्चिकैवर्त्तानां [ं] भू [भु] क्तक अवञ्च-
भूसी-

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[56] .. .. नृपतिं।

[57] .. .. मधुसूदनस्य. This may be correct; but its objective is in the fourth case singular.

[58] In the original चित्वा।

[59] .. .. सदथ्ववाय।

[60] उपजाति [इन्द्रवज्रा उपेन्द्रवज्रा] वृत्त।

[61] In the original तठ्ठकार ; तष्टकार also may mean the same thing.

[62] .. .. गुहेस्वर।

[63] Some of the letters in the first portion of this place are effaced.

[64] अलिपणा is accepted in the reading because the word is again found in the last line.

[65] Here is an unnecessary vertical stroke denoting full stop.

[66] In the original शष्का।

५२. म्नि। थैसाडोब्भि। चाक्कोजाण। पारलिमुण्डाः। पश्चिमोत्तरेण तद्भूसीम्नि व-
५३. श [ा] स्त्रयः। उत्तरेण तद्भूसीम्नि[67] दिजमक्काजोलदक्षिणकूलस्थसुवे-
५४. र्ण्णदारुमुण्डः। उग। पग। वक्रानुवक्रेण तद्भू [:]। मानोसत्कशासननो-
५५. क्कतड़ाभूम्योः सीम्नि दिजमक्कार्द्धस्रोतः[68] पूर्व्वोत्तरेण तद्भूः। नोक्कडेव्वरीपा-
५६. लभोग अलिपणाक्षेत्रभूम्योः सीम्नि दिजमक्काजोलार्द्धः। मधुराश्वत्थ-
मुण्डश्चे [ति ।।]

(The seal)
[The elephant's figure]

प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपति
श्रीमद्धर्म्मपाल-
वर्म्मदेवस्य।

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[67] .. .. सीम्निः।
[68] .. .. मक्काद्धशोतः।

Kānāibaraśī Rock Inscription

By Śrī P. D. Chaudhury

The rock known as Kānāibaraśī exists at North Gauhati. It bears an inscription which was deciphered and discussed by Paṇḍit Padmanāth Bhaṭṭāchāryya in his '*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*'. This Rock Inscription is now a preserved monument of the State department of Archaeology, Assam.

The inscription refers to the fact that in 1206 A.D. (Śaka 1127) the army of Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar that entered Kāmarūpa was destroyed here. This Muslim invasion of Kāmarūpa is taken as the first one which resulted in their annihilation. The successive Muslim invasions were also successfully repulsed by the rulers of ancient Assam. The cannons now preserved in the State Museum, Gauhati, bearing inscriptions "..........*Yavanaṃ jitvā astramidaṃ prāptaṃ*" bear eloquent testimony to the fact first stated above.

The 'Kānāibaraśī Rock Inscription' is the Second dated inscription of the Kāmarūpa Kings (early period) so far discovered, the first being the Harjara Rock Inscription at Tezpur, Darrang District.

THE KĀNĀIBARAŚĪ ROCK INSCRIPTION

शाक ११२७

शाके तुरगयुग्मेशे मधुमासत्रयोदशे ।
कामरूपं समागत्य तुरुष्काः क्षयमाययुः ।।

Stone Inscription of Samudrapāla found at Āmbāri

This stone inscription was discovered a few years ago by the labourers working for laying the foundation of the Textile Institute at Gauhati.

Most of the characters are in mixed *Brāhmī*, *Devanāgarī* and old Assamese, and are much worn out. The credit of deciphering the present inscription involving painstaking labour goes to one research scholar on Assamese script Sri Bibhuti Pachani and Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, Director, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, Gauhati, improved upon the readings of Sri Pachani and published it in the *Jurnal of Indian History*, Vol. XIVIII, Part I, April 1970 with a brief note on its historical significance. We have reproduced the text herewith as published by Dr. Chowdhury in the journal referred to above.

STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAPĀLA FOUND AT ĀMBĀRI

आदित्यसम श्रीसमुद्रपालराज्ये। प्रवलसवासिकसत्र
सगुणक्रिया[1]। सन्न्यासीन्[2] बोले दानपुण्य सज। योगीहाती।
शक[3] ईश वाणचक्र। मूढ़ भणति।

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[1] कृपा in the original.
[2] सन्वासीन् in the original.
[3] सक in the original.

Gāchtal Pillar Inscription

Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua discovered a stone pillar octagonal in shape containing 24 lines of inscribed materials in the midst of the ruins of a Śiva temple at a place known as Gāchtal two miles west of Ḍabakā. This octagonal pillar with the measurement of 71 × 67 cm. possibly formed part of a structure which might have been the Śiva temple itself or a separate one erected for the purpose. The stone-pillar was brought to the Assam State Museum in the year 1940. Dr. D. C. Sarkar tried to decipher the text from an impression of the same. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali when he received a photographed copy of the inscription from the late R. M. Nath, Assam, stated that the letters of the inscription were in a very bad state and the engraving was not distinct. Though the language was Sanskrit, it was full of orthographical mistakes. The language of the inscription appeared to him to be Sanskrit prose, but the possibility of finding out verse pieces in it if successfully deciphered by some scholars could not be discounted. (New Lights on the History of Assam, I.H.Q. Vol. XXII, March 1946, pp. 12-13). On the basis of these presumptions, Dr. Bhattasali could read only the first three lines of the inscription wherein he found a reference to king Viśvasundaradeva, his readings—

श्रीमत् विश्व
-सुन्दरदेव (रा)ज्ये
शक ११४९

Again starting with these three lines, Rajmohan Nath claimed to have established the reading of the entire inscription, its contents giving the information, according to him, that Viśvasundaradeva who was a powerful monarch of the areas Kāchāra, Jaintia and Laṅkā defeated the *mlecchas* in a battle and performed a sacrifice at Dabakā on the 8th of *Vaiśākha*, 1149 *śakābda* (See *Assam Sāhitya Sabhā Patrikā XIIIth* year, 1st issue, pp. 27-30).

But when Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, the Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, came across this inscription through the courtesy of Sri M. C. Das, Director, State Archaeology, Assam, he found that the declarations about the inscription by the late R. M. Nath were too much of a presumption, that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit but old Assamese prose, that it contained no reference whatsoever to Viśvasundaradeva and that it refers to a Muslim invasion of Assam. There is no reference to the Kāmarūpa king during whose rule the Muslim invasion took place and the name of the Muslim general is not given. Dr. Chowdhury opines that the Kāmarūpa king cannot be the Ahom king Durlabhanārāyaṇa or Indranārāyaṇa because their rule did not extend into the interior of the Nowgong district. He is either a Bhuyān chieftain connected with the former Pāla ruling family or the Varāhī king Mahāmaṇikiya or his predecessor who are credited with the sway over the Kapila Valley at the time, (for details, see *Vishveshvarānand Indological Journal*, Vol. IX. i, March 1971 in which he has published the text of the inscription with an English rendering and notices on its historical importance. We have accepted Dr. Chowdhury's text of the inscription and reproduced it in this Volume of the Inscription of Ancient Assam.)

STONE INSCRIPTION FROM GĀCHTAL

सीमा[1] एरिया यवन[2] डवाकत गयत। [शक[3]] १२८४[4] वेदास्त राशि[5] गणन। इति श्रीविष्नुवासधर शैलकार। शकत म्लेच्छ इथान उयासाँ। देखहुँ शतात्रिश वईर वङाल वहुकार्य (त)[6] इहात फण्ड। वहाख जल। तोसभ[7] सञ्जात यास। दिजल श्री। पंञ काथ्य[8] वाद्य रोल जल-सेनाइ वैरीक भाथि जलान्तशेक[9] खदावि[10]।

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[1] शिमा in the original.

[2] यवान in the original.

[3] The word is missing in the original.

[4] The figure is indistinct in the original.

[5] रासी in the inscription.

[6] The syllable is not found in the original.

[7] This should be तोसव।

[8] The word may be पण्यकाव्य।

[9] Dr. Chowdhury prefers to make it शेष।

[10] खेदाबि is the word used in modern Assamese.

KĀMARŪPA ŚĀSANĀVALĪ

PART III

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarmā

This cave[1] (-temple) of the effulgent Lord Balabhadra[2] is constructed[3] by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Surendravarmā.[4]

---

[1] The word is read as गुहम् and cannot be गृहम् ।

[2] The word in the original appears to be स्वामिनाय: ।

[3] The word कृतम् appears to have been written as कृत्य in the original.

[4] The impression of the dedication of a cave-temple consisting of the image of the Lord Balabhadra to a worshipful anchorite of the same name is also suggestive of the inscription itself.

Bargaṅgā Inscription of Bhūtivarmā

May weal be (to you all), Avaguṇa the district governor raised this *āśrama* (as a religious retreat) for the longevity of the exalted[1] and highly erudite[2] Śrī Bhūtivarmā, the paramount king performing a horse-sacrifice and dedicated to the worship of *Parameśvara*.[3]

---

[1] The word पादानाम् used at the end of a word implies honour and therefore we have translated it by the word "exalted".

[2] The word भट्टारक has denoted the sense of "a learned scholar".

[3] The word परमदैवत has been used to mean most likely "who was like the supreme deity to his people. "देवता एव इति स्वार्थेऽण् । परमं दैवतम्" ।।

But then the masculine gender cannot be accounted for. So the following explanation appears better—परमः परमेश्वरः देवताऽस्य इति परमदैवतः साऽस्य देवता इति अग् ।।

Nālandā Seal of Bhāskaravarmā[1]

Śrī Gaṇapativarmā, in (his queen) Śrīyajñavatī[2] Śrī Mahendra Varmā, in (his queen) Śrī Suvatrā Śrī Nārāyaṇavarmā, in (his queen) Śrī Devavatī[3] Śrī Mahābhūtavarmā, in (his queen) Śrīvijñānavatī Śrī Candramukhavarmā, in (his queen) Śrī Bhogavatī[4] Śrī Sthitavarmā[5], by him in Śrī Nayanaśobhā[6] Śrī Susthitavarmā[7], in (his queen) Śrī Syāmālakṣmī[8] Śrī Supratisthitavarmā[9] and Śrī Bhāskaravarmā.

[1] It is noticed that the genealogy unlike in the plates is traced only from the king Gaṇapativarmā stated elsewhere as Gaṇendravarmā.

[2] Yajñavatī in the Nidhānpur plates and Yajñadevī in the Ḍubi.

[3] Devavatī................Devamatī................

[4] Bhogavatī..........; not mentioned...........

[5] Sthitavarmā............and Sthiravarmā in the Ḍubi.

[6] Nayanadevī............and the name is not found in the Ḍubi; the lines here are not decipherable.

[7] Another name given in the Nidhānpur plates is Mṛgāṅka.

[8] Śyāmādevī in the Nidhānpur plates and Dhruvalakṣmī in the Ḍubi.

[9] Another name in the Ḍubi plates is Aridamanendra.

Dubi Plates of Bhāskaravarmā

1. ....*[1]

2. He, by whom, the kind-hearted, assuming the form of a boar, this earth in ancient times was protected by lifting up for the existence of the subjects through love and was entrusted to his grand-son had an excellent son Naraka by name who was a mighty paramount lord of the kings and who was powerful (enough) to chastise the beings feeding on nectar.

3. He who with an arm as ostensibly tough as the trunk of the guardian elephant snatched the pair of *Kuṇḍalas* from Indra's mother by defeating him in the van of battle, had a son named Bhagadatta.

4-5. His son Vajradatta by name was a great king of Vajradhara's (Indra's) power, who having studied the four Vedas with their *aṅgas* and all the *Vākyas* and *pramāṇas*,[2] in due course and being conversant with the method of training and rearing up of elephants,[3] the breed, nature and nourishment of the horses and the doctrine of the preceptors of the gods and the demons in their real purport, performed horse sacrifices of great munificence.

6. In his family a number of kings of equal glory with the moon (or Kubera) having passed away, Puṣyavarmā, similar to and having the strength of Indra and annihilating the strength of the enemy became king.

7. Attaining him as husband as if he is second Viṣṇu, the goddess of fortune, wedded like a chaste woman, became steady.

8. Do you not see the fruits of his actions piled up through the growth of merit and enjoyed by those born in his family (incomplete)

9. After performing innumerable meritorious deeds, he attained a son who along with Indra became......the king of the gods (incomplete).

---

[1] The verse No. I of this plate is the same as the verse No. I of the Nidhānpur plates.

[2] वाक्य may imply here आप्तवाक्य which includes the *smṛtis*, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* also, considered as authoritative evidence. cf. Raghu X. 28.

आप्तवागनुमानाभ्यां साध्यं त्वां प्रति का कथा ।

प्रमाण has alluded to the testimonies in the systems of *Darśanas* and therefore has stood for the *Darśanas* themselves, the parts denoting the whole. The word समया means "in due time, seasonally, appointed period".

[3] गजानां विनयोन्नय etc. Evidently study of the science of elephant-taming and its use in the day-to-day life of man are referred to. This is possibly due to a long tradition of the science of elephantry, the *Hastyāyurveda*, propounded by Pālakāpya-muni in the eastern region.

10. Having remembered him, kings.....his arms became such as to cause lamentations to the enemy women.

11. When he went to the other world, the illustrious Samundravarmā, who was akin in prowess to his father like an ocean and powerful with the association of merit and knowledge, became king.

12. Unfathomable, clear and deep, waited upon by the ferocious and the gems (alike), the king became similar with the ocean through greatness and association of coolness.

13. Having ruled over the entire earth adorned with unsullied gems for a long time, that self-controlled one, worshipped by the assembly of kings and endowed with virtues and killing the darkness in the shape of the enemies, passed away to heaven being engrossed in *Yoga*.

14. Manifested in Dattavatī of great strength, lustrous, virtuous due to a series of causes for the stability of his desired end and endowed with the characteristics of a sovereign king, he (Balavarmā) became the king by dint of his qualities of wisdom.

15. As that powerful one, the ornament of the race of the Bhaumas, conquered the mighty enemy withstanding their fire-like arrows and ruled over the earth, he came to be known as Balavarmā.

16. Having ruled over the earth adorned with elephants and gems, and performed many liberal sacrifices and pruned the enemy of strength and honour, the benevolent one went to heaven through penance.

17. Kalyāṇavarmā, the benefactor carrying good fortune enmass through the remains of his father's fortune, became the King.

18. Sprung from Śrī Ratnadevī, he was magnanimous, bent on the realisation of the only joy of imparting benefits to creatures, powerful like Indra, the exterminator of the enemy sides, had a face as beautiful as the moon, and was of great strength.

19. Having performed many auspicious works, slaughtered the enemy powers and enjoyed many pleasures attendant on good actions, he in course of time became the guest of Indra (i.e., departed to heaven).

20. (Only a part of the verse is available) Then king Gaṇedravarmā like a flash of light in the darkness of enemies was born in Gandharvavatī.

21. That Gaṇendravarmā who was endowed with the excellent results of his power like Śiva attained a son who was to the kings in respect of enemy prowess like salt to the sore.

22. Having ruled over the world he appeared like his father on the surface of the earth, akin to Janaka in strength, and having assigned the kingdom to his meritorious son, passed off to heaven.

23. That moon-like lustrous son of Yajñadevī, Mahendravarmā (by name) who was the conqueror of the enemies and had the valour equal to Indra's, enjoyed the kingdom and fully protected the subjects like his own son.

24. Conquering the earth as far as the ocean, subjugating the enemies by dint of his power, that king performed sacrifices like Indra and attained Śrī Suvratā as his consort.

25. That lady resorted to that moon-like king, the mirror for viewing the limits of good conduct of the earlier kings, as if she was a beam of light.

26. As Cakrapāṇi was born in Aditi, Nārāyaṇa, assuming human form in her, became the king by that very name as if to obliterate the vices of the people generated by the *Kali* age.

27. Lustrous Devamatī attained the status of a wife to that Nārāyaṇavarmā as Padmā in relation to the lord Nārāyaṇa.

28-29. As the Lord of Creatures (Śiva) begot Kārtikeya in the daughter of the mountain for the welfare of the people, so also he, the residence of good qualities, begot Mahābhūtavarmā, the abode of prosperity, in Śrī Devamatī and a bestower of honour as he was, crowned him king—he who was like a second great element and famous for his armour of strength.

30. Having undergone profuse enjoyments to his heart's fill and giving away to people to the satisfaction of their desire, that king, though gentle by nature, yet a terror to the enemy, passed away through *yoga*[4] leaving behind his own body.

31. Attaining the kingdom of his father that intelligent and reputed one who was like Indra, who was famous for his strength and was of unlimited wealth, conquered by the dint of his own arm all the circle of enemy kings taking up weapons of all varieties and having produced in queen Vijñānavatī a son with a face similar to the moon and performing a horse-sacrifice went over to heaven.

32. Then he known by the name of Candramukhavarmā attaining successive victories and adorned by prosperous kings became the lord of the earth.

33. He became the cynosure of the city damsels with the corner of their eyes moving about in playful sport of love in a spirit of mutual jealousy.

34. As he occupied the throne that wise one, causing delight to the eye, shone like the sun with radiant splendours of the gems.

35. Being himself delighted and happy he, the cause of delight of the people, begot a son in the queen Bhogavatī.

36. That king, when he saw that son growing up with learning, wealth and victories through righteousness previously acquired, became very much delighted.

37. Having quickly disposed of the pride, in accordance with the

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[4] In case of Yoga, सौम्य means शमस्वभाव and रिपूगाम् means षड्रिपु। "Both शमत्व and रिपुञ्जयत्व are essential pre-requisites of *Yoga*.

injunctions in the *śāstras* (science of polity), of the powerful enemies, conquered the earth as far as its sea-shores, frequently celebrated horse-sacrifices, pleased the suitors with gifts and his friends with the bestowal of wealth, that powerful lord of the earth went over to the region of Indra after placing his son in (charge of his) kingdom.

38. As king Daśaratha of yore in heaven was with the king Rāma, so also he was delighted with that son though staying in the other world.

39. Having pleased the manes and the gods according as it behoves and pacified fully the citizens, that lord ascended the throne like a lion in the appointed hour marked with all the attributes of auspiciousness.

40. Then accompanied by the sound of conch-shells and drums with propitiatory rites according to the *śāstras*, that king, like Indra, underwent a coronation ceremony in which the *Brāhmaṇas* performed the rites for the stability (of the king).

41-43. These three verses together seem to have formed one component known as *guṇavatī* in Sanskrit *alaṁkāra Śāstra*. The last verse being incomplete it is not possible to render it into English so as to give out a full sense. The verses together seem to have referred to a certain city that surpassed the glamour of Indra's capital, warded off the evils like stealth and famine and was overcrowded with a teeming population.

44. The opinion that there is no blameless object in this world is refuted by the removal of the chain of vices through its own virtue.

45. Just as the moon makes the mountain caves gloomy and dark, so also the other kings were put to shame by him because he was devoid of attachment.[5]

46. He was created by the creator on the surface of the earth with a character pleasing to the world and with a kingly strength the essence of which was limited only to (a number of) excellent royal families.

47. In the separation from his companionship kings appeared to be dead though living. Association of the learned with good people is said to be an embelishment and protection.

48. The feet of that self-controlled one assumed the lustre of a land-lotus as they became red with the ray of light coming from the crest-jewels of various frontier kings bowing down (at his feet).

49. That effulgent one Śrī Sthiravarmā by name after having passed a few days in that city caused the erection of a city on the bank of the holy river by his friends and city employees.[6]

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[5] The word नृप: secondarily means also चन्द्र: but this चन्द्र is devoid of redness वीतराग and therefore the other चन्द्रs are कलङ्कयुक्ता: ।।

[6] Evidently the reference is to the old capital of the dynasty which was not near the Brahmaputra. The capital city of the Bhauma Naraka Kings was at a little distance south of Gauhati as indicated by the rampart known as the *Narakāsura Gaḍ* in the region of the mountain of the same name. This clearly formed the northern boundary of the

50. That king who was like the moon to the families of lotus-like enemies, who was commendable in the race of the Bhaumas, who had his intellect rest on sure grounds of words and senses of various scriptures, who studied the Vedas, whose birth and chivalry were noted, who was the alleviator of the desires of the afflicted, had as his beloved queen a beautiful lady with mental sensitiveness and with a form as graceful as that of the goddess Lakṣmī.

51. The readings of this verse are in parts deciphered. Therefore the meaning is not clear. It appears the description of the queen above mentioned continues in this verse.

52. This is also incomplete and the construction therefore appears to be irregular. The sense of the available portion is however like this:—Just as the great fire of the sacrifice is bred in the Vedas, a great aptitude is bred through a thorough study of the *śāstras* and a great inclination for pious ideas is bred through an association with good people, so also an Indra on the surface of the earth to hold aloft the earth was born in her.

53. She was always made happy by the meritorious and strong Susthitavarmā having the lustre of the full moon and extirpating the circle of enemies as Gaurī by Kārtikeya, Aditi by Indra, Devakī by the effulgent Lord Kṛṣṇa, the enemy of the demons.

54. The father who was the support of the worlds and lord of the earth having in course of time departed to heaven to enjoy the desired fruits of his own good deeds, as he was of the same complexion as Indra, this one (Susthitavarmā) with his feet illumined by the crest jewels on the heads of kings subdued by his valour gave protection to this earth by dint of his own qualities like Pṛthu.

55. Himself unconquered by the gust of (adverse) logic he crossed the ocean of *prakaraṇas* to be learnt in which *vyākaraṇa* is the water, state policy is the whale, *sāṅkhya* the great alligator, the *Mīmāṁsā* philosophy is the loud warbling of many *sārasa* birds, the commentaries are the waves very much impenetrable through a successive tradition which is infested with foams in the shape of logical purport (and which is accompanied by intelligence in the shape of the streams).[7]

56-58. The readings cannot be determined in the major portions of these verses and therefore no translation is given though what is intended to be spoken is apparent.

59. The construction of this verse also seems to be irregular. The translation may be on the following lines—Institution of human happi-

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city which was possibly at a distance a few miles south. This king erected a new city right on the bank of the Brahmaputra and shifted his capital to this new city.

[7] The portion within bracket is rendered into English by supplying the reading, स्रोतो विज्ञानान्वितः ।

ness was adorable to him as he adored the lord of the world *Śaṅkara* who pacifies endless troubles.[8]

60. That powerful one had a wife known in the world as Dhruvalakṣmī as Lakṣmī of Viṣṇu for the prosperity of the radiant people.[9]

61. Staying over the mass of numerous vast and brilliant jewels she appeared to that lord of the kings like the shore to the ocean.

62. That self-controlled paramount lord had in that lady two auspicious sons adored by the world like Kārtika and Gaṇeśa of Śambhu by whom with multitudes of other qualities were illuminated the faces of women coming from various directions like the sun and the moon with the extension of their rays illuminating the faces of women in the shape of the various quarters.[10]

63. Of these two reputed in the world for their own virtues and distinguished by the kingly characteristics, one adorned with the splendid name[11] Aridamanendra was of a feroceous look in battle and pleasant like the moon in the midst of friends.

64. The illustrious Aridamanendra was like another moon with its disc not waning, a delight to the lily-like good people and a compression[12] to the lotuses in the shape of wicked men.

65. One with beauty was known as Supratiṣthitavarmā and the other with splendour as Bhaskaravarmā who were both beloved in the line of the *Varmaṇs*.

66. (The verse is incomplete and the meaning therefore cannot be fully established.) The elder one was of an excellent face, had the arms shaped like the trunk of the chief elephant, the eyes like those of the deer, shoulders like the lion's, the lower part of the body with beautiful thighs, the (bodily) form with a height remarkable, complete with essence of

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[8] The construction of the verse may be split up on the following lines चेतसा भक्तिभूतेन शमिताशेषदूरितं लोकेशं शङ्करं यद्वदाराधयति तद्वत् तस्य नृशङ्करमाराध्यम् । Śaṅkara in one sense is Lord Śiva and in the other शं सुखं करोति इति अच् शङ्करणमित्यर्थः which we have rendered as "institution of human happiness."

[9] भ्राजिष्णुः=Viṣṇu; चक्र=disc; This may be construed with Viṣṇu—as Lakṣmi of Viṣṇu was for the prosperity of the *Viṣṇu cakra*. But this may appear as tautological. Therefore "as Lakṣmī of Viṣṇu was for the prosperity of the shining disc" seems better.

[10] नाना दिग्वनितामुखानि-नाना दिक्षु स्थितानां वनितानां मुखानि in case of the two sons; नाना विभिन्नाः दिशः ता वनिता इव, तासां मुखानि the directions of the quarters appearing like various ladies.

[11] We have rendered into English replacing the reading प्रतोभी by प्रशोभी=adorned.

[12] The word संकोष may be derived from √कुष=कुष्णाति, to tear, to extract, to pull or draw out. Though the word अब्ज is used to retain its coherence with the word संकोष still its use with the word दुर्ज्जनमनुज vitiates the समास because कमल, पद्म etc. are used in compounds to denote exaltation.

nectar easily attainable through various learnings......was known for his wide fame.

67. (This verse is also incomplete) whose self had also been adorned with a character beautiful in its form and as long as fragments of memory persisted in this world in the van of the multitudes of human minds of splendid memory by him with a lustre vying with the rising moon. (The sense is obscure).

68. These two, though tender in age, of a great challenging valour, were crowned king in order of seniority according to *śāstric* injunctions after the death of their father and when the army of the king of Gauḍa strong in the waters arrived, marched ahead with a small army through an ardent zeal like Balarāma and Acyuta.[13]

69. Having taken up positions in the battle-field, these two, arrogant like those two whose strength of the arm remained unconquered in the battle against Baṇāsura, pierced easily through the innumerable army of the excellent elephants as if it was the range of the Krauñca mountain with arrows (of their own) as sharp as the thunderbolt of Indra aimed quickly from the level of the ear as also with those arrows of the numerous enemies killed.

70. These two agitated and overwhelmed the army of the enemy by means of sharp blows from various weapons like arrows, javelins, discs, and swords brandished with a clicking sound; alas! all on a sudden being covered thickly by sharp missiles of the enemy fell into a swoon and were overtaken from behind by the enemy by means of a large array of wild elephants.

71. Through luck again they were taken to their own land by the enemy (themselves) owing certainly to their good qualities. Having arrived at their own kingdom within a very short time, these two, returning, caused excessive delight to their paternal kingdom.

72. The verse is incomplete and possibly alludes to the death of Supratiṣṭhitavarmā.

73. Completely effaced excepting four words.

74. The meaning of this verse is not clear, because the construction as at present appears to be irregular. However the translation may be on the folllwing lines—Having received learning and faculty of poesy in all schools of poetry with beautiful word-compositions and ornaments from those whose intellect disseminated the knowledge of the various scriptures along with the significance of the *śāstras* and everything (reputation) in the assembly of good people along with a lustre of those thwarting darkness, the banner signifying his victory in the quarters was unfurled atop by him.

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[13] See for a proper exposition of this verse "General Introduction" after footnote no. 84.

75. By whom virtue deviating (from the right path) was again restored after destroying the *Kali* age; glory falling into the trap of wicked persons was freed and let loose like a deer from the net; the fortunes were accepted after purification with the principles leading to invigoration[14] and the policies of a great king with the glow of extensive power.

76. The famous charter that was issued by Bhūtivarmā was re-written because it was effaced and issued by Bhāskaravarmā to those very Brahmins for the same purpose.

The names of the *Brāhmaṇas* are as follows—

1. Priyaṅkaraghoṣasvāmī the learned scholar of the *Kauśika gotra* and the *Vājasaneyi Śākhā.*
2. *Bhaṭṭa* Devaghoṣasvāmī of the same *gotra* and *śākhā,* the occasional visitor to the royal court or the Scholar in retirement (for whose maintenance this land was granted)[15]

Their share-holders or inheritors are the following:—

1. *Bhaṭṭa* Priyaṅkaraghoṣasvāmī
2. *Bhaṭṭa* Parāśaraghoṣa Svāmī
3. *Bhaṭṭa* Visṇughoṣa Svāmī
4. *Bhaṭṭa* Yajñaghoṣasvāmī
5. *Bhaṭṭa* Rudraghoṣasvāmī
6. *Bhaṭṭa* Vājighoṣasvāmī
7. *Bhaṭṭa* Dhruvaghoṣasvāmī
8. *Bhaṭṭa* Bhūmaghoṣasvāmī
9. *Bhaṭṭa* Dakṣaghoṣasvāmī
10. Śreyaskaraghoṣasvāmī
11. Maudgalya Bṛhaspatisvāmī
12. Māṇḍavyo.....

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[14] क्षीवविलासनीतविधिना etc. The sense is doubtful. Lakṣmī of *Prāgjyotiṣa* that was under the enemy occupation might have been in the possession of the way-ward and the drunkard. In this case Kāmarūpa might have been under the occupation of the Gauḍa house. This appears to be the proposition of Dr. Sarkar. But in this case नीत should have been नीता। At the same time he has accepted the reading नीत which preserves the metre without any reservations. Therefore it can be said that the state policy महेश्वराश्रयनय was guided with a display of the halo of royal power which was actually lacking in the days of Supratiṣthitavarmā, so also the विधि adopted for the purification of the royal fortunes was for the resuscitation of the entire economy which dwindled during the interim period of the Gauḍa war and Bhāskara's take-over.

[15] These two evidently the original donee in whose favour the deed was enacted by Bhūtivarmā. But in course of time, however, their inheritors increased in number requiring king Bhāskarvarmā to take notice of the increasing number of claimants in the fresh enactment.

13. Kauśika Kabhaṭṭasvāmī
14. Ātreyo......

SEAL

(Translation)

Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Puṣyavarmā, over-lord of Prāgjyotiṣa, a descendant of the lineage of Bhagadatta and Vajradatta born from Naraka, —his son *Mahārājādhirāja*—Śrī Samudravarmā, his son *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Balavarmā born of Dattadevī, his son born of Śrī Ratnadevī was *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Kalyāṇavarmā,—in Śrī Gandharvavatī was born Śrī Gaṇapativarmā,—in Yajñavatī was born Śrī Mahendra[16] who performed horse-sacrifices twice, in Śrī Subratā was born Śrī Nārāyaṇavarmā, in Śrī Devamatī was born Śrī Bhūtivarmā, in Śrī Vijñānavatī was born Śrī Candramukhavarmā, in Śrī Bhogavatī was born Śrī Sthitavarmā, the performer of two horse-sacrifices,—his son born of Śrī Nayanadevī was Śrī Susthitsvarmā,—his sons were Śrī Supratiṣthitavarmā and Bhaskaravarmā.

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[16] For the correctness or otherwise of the performance of horse-sacrifices by the kings see "General Introduction."

Nidhānpur Copper Plates inscription of Bhāskarvarmā

1. Om. The letters of the burned *Śāsanas* pertaining to the properties of the affluent Brāhmaṇas have been rebrightened (re-written) here after paying salutation to Mahādeva who is the god to be meditated upon and whose body is bedecked (besmeared) with dusts of ashes.[1]

Svasti. This Śāsana has been donated from his residence in a camp at Karṇasuvarṇa, which is associated with a big admiralty, elephantry, cavalry, infantry, and (therefore) replete with appropriate words of victory.

2. Victory to the unsullied form of *Maheśvara*, endowed with his own riches, the mere sight of whose loin-cloth fastened to the waist by serpent, dissipates Eros.[1]

3. Victory, to *Dharma*,[2] which is the sole friend of the world, which is the cause of the riches of both the worlds, which is benevolent (causes welfare to others) and invisible, yet whose existence can be inferred from the results accruing from its actions.

4. Cakrapāṇi the pseudo-Boar who was willing to deliver the world from the clutches of the ocean, had a son by the name of Naraka who was superior to all the monarchs.

5. This Naraka, who was immune from hell,[3] begot a son named Bhagadatta who was equal to Indra. He defiantly challenged in battle even the famous conqueror Arjuna.

6. This monarch, who was a slayer of enemies, had a son named Vajradatta who was as fast as lightning itself. He whose army was invincible (unchallengeable) could satisfy even Indra in war by his valour.

7. The monarchs of his dynasty having reached paradise after reigning for three thousand[4] years, Puṣyavarmā became the lord of the earth.

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[1] For a clear understanding of these two verses (1 and 2), see the portion on "Literary Importance of the Inscriptions" in our Introduction.

[2] Here Vidyāvinoda finds a reference to the Buddhist त्रिरत्न which is doubtful. On this point see Introduction.

[3] Naraka, being killed by Śrīkṛṣṇa himself, did not have to set his feet on hell.

[4] Vidyāvinoda says that Vajradatta and Yudhiṣṭhira were both contemporaries though the former is a little younger in age. The Mahābhārata battle was fought according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the year 653 of the Kali age cf.—

शतेषु षट्सु सार्द्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले ।
कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभवन् कुरुपाण्डवाः ।।—I. 51

The time of Bhagadatta may roughly be taken according to the above statement as 700 year of the Kali age. Adding 3000 years to this we get 3700 years. The present Kali age is 5070 roughly. Therefore the time of Puṣyavarmā is 1370 years before the

8. Samudravarmā was his son who was above tyranny,[5] bedecked with luminous gems, fast in duels and like the fifth ocean.[6]

9. Balavarmā, whose invincible army was his coat of mail, was the son of this king through Dattadevī. His army used to advance towards the enemies at ease.[7]

10. His queen Ratnavatī gave birth to a son named Kalyāṇavarmā who was the resort of not even the slightest blemishes.

11. By his queen Gandharvavatī, he begot a son named Gaṇapati who was born with the purpose of liquidating *Kali*, and was as munificent as Gaṇapati and adorned with innumerable virtues.[8]

12. Just as fire is produced by the '*Araṇī*' woods which are used in *Yajña*, so also his (Gaṇapati's) queen Yajñadevī gave birth to Mahendravarmā, an abode of sacrifice.

13. Suvratā gave birth from this monarch who was enlightened by the knowledge of the self, to a son Nārāyaṇavarmā who, like Janaka,

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present times i.e. Puṣya Varmā flourished in the year 602 A.D. This being the time of Bhāskaravarmā and considering the fact that Bhāskara was preceded by eleven kings, a period of 300 years is deducted to determine the age pf Puṣyavarmā as the beginning of the 3rd Century A.D. This is arbitrary.

The simple fact remains that the Mahābhārata war was fought in the year 3101 B.C. according to the orthodox view. Therefore Bhagadatta ruled in the later half of the 31st Century B.C. Vajradatta coming after him must have ruled in the beginning of 3000 B.C. Allowing a time gap of 3000 years, we can say that Puṣyavarmā must have ruled either by the 1st Century A.D. or the last part of the 1st Century B.C.

[5] The *mātsyanyāya* is well-known in works on Ancient Indian Polity. It means the oppression and exploitation of the weak by the strong through sheer force cf. *Kāmaṇdaka* II.

परस्परामिषतया जगतोभिन्नवर्त्मनः ।
दण्डाभावे परिध्वंसी मात्स्यो न्यायः प्रवर्त्तते ।।४०।।

The word has attained such a celebrity that Kauṭilya does not think it necessary to define it. cf. *Arthśāstra* I.4.13 and I.13.5.

[6] The jewels of the son were manifested whereas those of the ocean not. The king was expert in duels but the ocean showed multi-cornered battles by the clashes of its waves. The king did not encourage any exploitation whereas the big fishes devoured the small ones in the ocean. Therefore the king as the fifth ocean excelled the four oceans in many respects. The figure of speech is *Vyatireka* suggestively expressed.

[7] The strength was the coat of arms showing that his name was appropriate. The word अभ्यमित्रीया is formed by the *Sūtra* अभ्यमित्रात् छ च (Pāṇini V.2.17) अमित्राभिमुखं सुष्ठु गच्छति इति अभ्यमित्रीया सेना ।

[8] दान is used in the two senses, ichor and gift with the words गणपति and the king respectively. Similarly the word कलि is used in the sense of *Kaliyuga* and *Kalaha.*

was conversant with *Sāṅkhya-philosophy*,[9] and was destined to bring about stability on earth.

14. Just as *Prakṛti* procreates through *Puruṣa* the *Mahābhūtas* with a view to maintaining the continuous succession of *Guṇas*, so also queen Devavatī begot by that male being a son named Mahābhūtivarmā, who was like the sixth *Mahābhūta*.[10]

15. Just as the moon is adorned with all the (sixteen) collections of digits, so also his son Candramukhavarmā was adorned with all the qualities. Queen Vijñānavatī gave birth to him who was the dispeller of darkness,[11] in the same manner as the sky gives birth to moon, the enemy of darkness.

16. Just as Bhogavatī (a female snake-demon) was the cause of the affluence and happiness of the underground city of *Ananta Nāga* who held the earth in balance so also queen Bhogavatī was the cause of the birth of the prosperous King Sthitavarmā, who was the lord of the luxurious.[12]

17. Just as the moon emerged from the *Kṣīra Sāgara* which is the abode of Lakṣmī, the fathomless mine of innumerable gems, so also the unblemished Śrī Mṛgāṅka was born of that royal personage (Sthitavarmā) who was of a grave personality, owned fabulous riches and had a growing prosperity.

18. A son was born to him by Nayanadevī, the resplendent Susthitavarmā upholding the earth by dint of his own arm. He was famous as Śrī Mṛgāṅka.

19. Lakṣmī, who is endowed with endless splendours and is carried by Nārāyaṇa with pleasure in his bosom like a miser, was distributed by him among the suppliants like lands (trifles).

20. Queen Śyamādevī like Śyāmā born in the golden age gave birth through him to a moon-like son, Supratiṣthitavarmā for the removal of darkness.

21. Just as the loftiness of the *Kulācala* with well shaped peaks and inhabited by *Vidyādharas* and infested with herds of elephants, is meant for the benefit of others, so also the rise of that monarch, who was accom-

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[9] King Janaka was well versed in the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. Nārāyanavarmā was experienced in battle and proficient in economics—संख्यमेव सांख्यम्; अर्थ एव आर्थः, तयोरभिज्ञः।

[10] *Guṇa* means qualities with the queen and *sattva, rajas, tamas* with *prakṛti*.

There are altogether five *mahābhūtas* and he has become the sixth. cf. मूलप्रकृतिरविकृतिर्महदाद्या प्रकृतिविकृतयः सप्त—*Sāṅkhyakārikā* 3.

[11] *Kalā* means the 16 digits with the moon and the 64 branches of learning with the king. A similar idea of the son as the dispeller of darkness in Raghu X. 2.

सुताभिधानं स ज्योतिः सद्यः शोकतमोपहम्।

[12] For a real understanding of the double meanings of the words used in the verse, see General Introduction.

panied (surrounded) by the crest-jewels of the learned society and well equipped with an established army with elephant divisions in it, was meant for the benefit of others.[13]

22. His younger brother Śrī Bhāskaravarmā, who was as ever-rising and lustrous as the sun, was given birth to by this Śyāmādevī.

23. Though he was single as a person, he manifested himself in diverse images in the hearts of the people as one well reflected in a similar way before a cluster of clean mirrors.

24. Just as the image of the sun is reflected simultaneously in several vessels, so also the image (portrait) of him (i.e. Bhāskaravarmā), in view of his abundant brilliance, was invariably seen in the palace of every monarch.

25. He was bereft of ferocity, easily accessible, had plenty of good fruits in the shape of prosperity and had his feet surrounded by people taking shelter under the shade as a wish-yielding tree.

This is also true that he (the King) has been created by *Bhagavān Padmayoni* who is the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe, in order that he might make proper arrangements for the maintenance of the *Varṇāśrama Dharma* that is in disarray. Just as the sun, while rising, reddens its circle, so also he, the lord of the earth, has endeared his friend as well as enemy circles by his rise. Like the sun he has, by the appropriate application of his ray-like hands, overcome the darkness that is *Kali*, and has thereby displayed the light of the *Ārya-dharma*. He has made light of the valours of all the chieftains by his own prowess. He has determined the way to comfort and prosperity of his subjects after their traditional loyalty to monarchy having been over-filled with dignity, modesty and familiarity. He has been adorned with the colourful symbols of pure fame engraved in flowers of eulogy of various colours designed by hundred of kings conquered in battles. He engaged himself heart and soul, like king Śibi, to the task of charity for the benefit of others. Well known was his influence over others as if he was a second Bṛhaspati, due to the skill in applying and dividing at the right moment the different strategies[14] arising in due time. His mind was endowed with different qualities such as knowledge of the scriptures, prowess, forbearance, valour, good character etc. (Therefore), it was as though all his faults deserted him in view of their being given shelter to by the opposite party[15] and consequently being disowned (by him). The fact that the *Rājalakṣmī* of Kāmarūpa who is attracted by the unswerving and unceasing abundance of the sap of love (*Praṇaya-rasa*), embraces (favours) him, manifests (suggests) her affection towards his *abhigāmika* qualities.[16] He is the life breath of Bhagavān *Dharma* with his body being over-powered by the prowess of *Kaliyuga*. He is the foundation of morality, the abode of virtues, the undiminishing property of the lovers, the shelter of the terror-stricken and the receptacle of the riches. In view of his being an exalted scion of the son of earth (Naraka), his influence is manifest. *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Bhāskaravarmā thus commands the present and future *Viṣayapatis* and courts of justice of the Candrapuri Viṣaya—Let it be known to you that this plot of arrable land Mayūrasālmalāgrahāra coming under the above *viṣaya* was granted by King Bhūtivarmā through a copper-plate edict, having become taxable in view of the absence of the said edict, is hereby regranted to the *Brāhmaṇas* previously enjoying them, by giving orders, after informing the elder persons, for issuing another edict in pursuance of the *Bhūmicchhidra-nyāya*,[17] on condition that no tax whatever may be exacted thereof as long as the moon, the sun and the earth exist.

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[13] There is double meaning in the words विद्याधर and कटक। कटक means an army camp and a slope of the mountain; विद्याधर a learned person and a *Gandharva*.

[14] cf. "सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावाः षाड्गुण्यम्" इत्याचार्याः—Kauṭilya VII. 1.2.

[15] The word here has also the other connotation of the Pātañjala Yoga II. 33.

Serial No.	*Veda-paricaya*	*Gotra*	*Name*	*Part*
1.	Vājasaneyī (Yajurvedic)	Prācetasa	Sādhāraṇa Svāmī	2
2/3/4/5	,,	,,	Sri Vasu & his brothers	1
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

The right of ownership over the land that has expanded on account of the deposition caused by the Kauśika river is due, in proportion to the parts owned, to those *Brāhmaṇas* who are the grantees. But the land expanded by the Gaṅgiṇikā shall be equally divided among the above mentioned *Brāhmaṇas*. Its boundary—Śuṣka-Kausikā on the east. Gaṅgiṇikā is known on south-west as Ḍumbaricheda. The modern boundary on the west is Gaṅgiṇikā. On the north-west the boundary is the hole of the pot-makers (*Kumbhakāra-garta*) and on the east that curved Gaṅgiṇikā. On the north is the *Jātalī* tree. On the north-east are the pond of *Vyavahārī* Khāsoka and that Śuṣka Kausikā. Śrī Gopāla, the attainer of five great accolades,[18] is the executor of the hundred orders, Śrī Kṣikuṇḍa, the landowner of Candrapuri, is the marker of the boundaries, Janārdana Svāmī, *Vyavahārī* Haradatta Kāyastha, Dundhunātha etc. are the *Nyāyakaraṇikas* (Justices of the Peace). The maker and writer of the '*Śāsana*' is Vasuvarṇa. *Mahāsāmanta* Divākaraprabha is the store-keeper. *Dattakāra* Pūrna is the revenue collector, Kāliyā is the transliterator (engraver).

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[16] अभिगामिक qualities are referred to in the *Kāmandaka*, IV—*Prakṛtisampat Prakaraṇa*. They are—

कुलं सत्त्वं वयः शीलं दाक्षिण्यं क्षिप्रकारिता ।
अविसंवादिता सत्यं वृद्धसेवा कृतज्ञता ।।
दैवसम्पन्नता वुद्धिरक्षुद्रपरिवारता ।
शक्यसामन्तता चैव तथा च दृढ़भक्तिता ।।
दीर्घदर्शित्वमुत्साहः शुचिता स्थूललक्षता ।
विनीतता धार्मिकता गुणाः साध्वभिगामिकाः ।।
गुणैरेतैरुपेतः सन् सुव्यक्तमभिगम्यते ।
तथा च कुर्ब्बीत यथा गच्छेल्लोकाभिगम्यताम् ।।

[17] For this term see "Nature of Land-settlement" under "Political Conditions" in the General Introduction.

The grantor of land enjoys paradise for sixty thousand years. He who snatches away the donated land or violates the *Śāsana* suffers hell for an equivalent period of time.

He who forcibly takes away land donated by himself or by others, rots as worms of excrement in hell with his forefathers.

Because the letters of this *Śāsana* are different from those of the previous one which was burnt and on account of which this new *śāsana* had to be written, this *śāsana* is not a fraudulent (counterfeit) one.

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[18] Read the following for a clear grasp of the meaning of the word—

"The feudatories often claimed to have obtained the five great *śabdas*-(usually *samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda* or *prāpta-pañca-mahāśabda*) in which *śabda* means either "a title or a sound". Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV. 140-43, 512, 680) explains the five *mahā-śabdas* as the five official designations beginning with the word *mahā*, viz—(1) *Mahā-Pratihāra* (Superintendent of the King's chamber or of the gate and guards of the palace or capital city), (2) *Mahā-Sandhi-Vigrahika* (Minister for peace and war i.e. of foreign affairs), (3) *Mahā-śvaśāladhikṛta* (Superintendent of the stables), (4) *Mahā-bhāṇḍāgārika* (treasurer) and (5) *Mahā-sādhanika* (commander of the forces). This seems to be the meaning of the expression *pañcamahaśabda* as was current in most parts of North India although the designation may not have referred to the same group of five as mentioned above. In some West Indian records, the five titles appear to have been *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsāmanta* (feudatory), *Mahākārtākṛtika* (probably, a royal agent or remembrancer), *Mahā-daṇḍanāyaka* (commander of forces), and *Mahāpratihāra*.

In South India, however, the title seems to refer to the privilege allowed by the overlord to enjoy the sounds of five kinds of musical instruments."—from the "*Indian Epigraphy*" pp. 341-42.

Also compare— "...........The important feudatories were entitled to the use of feudal throne, fly whisk, palanquin, and elephants. They were also authorised to the use of five musical instruments, *Śṛṅga* (horn), *Śaṅkha* (conch), *bherī* (drum), *jaya-ghaṇṭā* (bell of victory) and *tamaṭa* (?), a privilege that was guardedly conferred by the imperial power. They were usually styled as *mahārājas*, *sāmantas*, *mahāsāmantas*, or *maṇḍaleśvaras*."—from the "*State and Government in Ancient India*" by Dr. A. S. Altekar, p. 303.

Copperbell inscription of Śrīkumāra

Śrī Kumāra who was like Indra[1], was the killer of elephants of the kings of gods and demons[2] and was the protector of the worship of him[3] (meaning Indra) gave this bell for the worship of the deities.[4]

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[1] Here is a suggestion that Śrī Kumārarāja who is himself like Indra and therefore the conqueror of many kings of the gods and demons, himself initiated the worship of the deity Indra. The word सयात्मना may be समात्मना showing his equality with Indra.

[2] Dr. Chowdhury has suggested देवयुवराज within bracket. We think when देवासुरराज serves the purpose, देवयुवराज becomes unnecessary.

[3] दध्यकाभूत्तच्य—The reading is not intelligible. तच्य may be तस्य meaning इन्त्रस्य ।

[4] The reading should be देवताकार्यादिका एषा......दत्ता...... As Dr. Chowdhury himself has admitted, the inscription together with the other finds including the icons will have to be thoroughly examined before something sure can be said on them. As the inscription with the icons could not be brought over to a convenient place for examination because the owners do not want to part with them, the readings etc. are all tentative and the pronouncement may be reserved for a future occasion.

COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF HARJARAVARMĀ

(Hāyuṅthal Grant)

1. Mighty and brilliant........

2. O the Lord[1] of the world,[1] for this reason your descendants will be known as *Mlecchhas*.

3. ......of King Bhagadatta......after this Śālastambha, the slayer of enemies, became the ruler of the world.

4. The most eminent among monarchs, having reached heaven (i.e. having died), the son, the mighty Vijaya, vanquisher of enemies, became the powerful ruler of the world.

5. That one of mighty arms having expired, Pālaka, the superior among all the protectors (*pālakas*), Kumāra and Vajradeva became kings respectively and disappeared (from the world).

6. Thereafter, a king named Harṣavarmā, who was famous, endowed with qualities and virtuous, protected his subjects like his own children, without ever oppressing them.

7. He having reached heaven, his son Balavarmā became the mighty ruler[2]. He, also came under the heels of death.

8. Alas! In that dynasty although that was as bright and luminous[3] as the lotus, moon and milk, were born two arrogant princes named Cakra and Arathi. In view of their being adept in defying the injunctions of their teachers, the son of the younger one (between them) took up the rein of administration of the kingdom.

9. Only she is blessed and only she is the abode of fortune by whom..

10. Whose pure fame is even now sung in the world, that Jīvadevī has her own birth....

11. Just as Yudhiṣthira was born of Kuntī and Abhimanyu of Subhadrā, so also Śrī Harjaradeva, who was the ruler-to-be of the world and was mighty and attractive as a lion, was born of her (of Jīvadevī).

12. Whose asylum the monarchs, desirous of conquering kingdom, sought for, for peace, after having been vanquished in war at different

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[1] Who is addressed here by the word पार्थिव is not known. But it is appropriate as it conveys the idea of a king as well as the offspring of the earth (i.e. relating to the family of Naraka).

[2] अलं नृपतिः has denoted a powerful king. Even he has (सोऽपि) been caught by the clutches of death.

[3] Whiteness is indicative of purity and fame, cf—यशसि धवलता वर्ण्यंते हासकीर्त्यो—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*.

parts lying near the hilly regions[4], in whom all the qualities resided together; and from whom moments not too dry due to their coming under a spell of discussions on topics of all-round welfare (to both sides) were secured.

13-14. That *Śrimān* Harjaradeva, after having ascended the throne, and surrounded by the obeisant monarchs like Indra surrounded by the gods, was coronated by the princes of good birth with merchants in their front with the holy water from the auspicious silver pitchers filled up with water collected from all the places of pilgrimage.

Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramamāheśvara Śrīmān Harjaradeva who follows in the footsteps of his parents and who resides in *Hatappeśvara (Hārupeśvara) Skandhāvāra* is in a prosperous state. Like *Lakṣmi* Mahādevī Maṅgalaśrī is manifesting her beauty and qualities (along-with him). *Yuvarāja* Vanamāla, who was born of the womb of that lady, who is like the fullmoon receiving the rays of the sun[5] and who is endowed with innumerable virtues, commands—be it known to you *Mahāsainyapati* Śrīgaṇa who is the source of pleasure for the whole world, Śrīgaṇa the War Minister, the ornament of the circle of subordinate kings, the Chief Customs Officer, Śrī Jayadeva, the Chief Collector of tolls Janārdana, *Mahāmātya* Śrī Govinda and Madhusudana and *Bhaṭṭa* Śrī Kaṇṭha the *Brāhmaṇa* in charge of sacerdotal functions.[6].........

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[4] These kings residing in the hilly regions of the neighbourhood came to the monarch of *Prāgjyotiṣa* for arbitration in their issues involved after being worn out in battles. This is indicative of the excellence of the suzerain of *Kāmarūpa*.

[5] Here Śrī Harjaravarmadeva the father and the reigning king is compared to the sun and the prince Śrī Vanamāla to the moon. That the moon receives its light from the sun was already known to the ancient people of India. cf. *Raghu III. 22.*:—

पुपोष वृद्धिं हरिदश्वदीधितेरनुप्रवेशादिव वालचन्द्रमाः ।।

[6] These technical terms are explained in the "General Introduction".

THE TEZPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF HARJARAVARMĀ

Invocation to the All Auspicious (supreme self in the form of) *Omkāra*. A dispute entirely legal in nature arose on the day of office of Śrī Sucitta, the frontier chief in command of the army in the kingdom extending through victories of Śrī Harjaravarmadeva, the supreme monarch, a paramount king with high erudition and devotion to Lord *Maheśvara*, conceited with a flushing strength of his own arm and staying in the city of *Hāruppevara*—one *Kaivarta* collecting the tolls (from the boats), the controller of the towing of boats, and the officeri-n-charge of Nākkajosa—these three were the parties to the dispute; but the controller of the towing of boats had not formally joined the party of complainants. These army-chiefs, Sāvarṇī, Citragharadakṣa, Bhaṭṭajiu, Lāhilī Jhā, Dalākavavā and others living in the south, Somadeva and others, the son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa of the *pañcakulas* who brought the *sāmanta* of Śilākuṭṭa under their own control have fixed the four boundaries (of this plot of land) in the following manner—in the east the hilly region merging into the waters of the salt area, in the west the Nākkajosa, the *pravara* land on the south and *Abara* mountains on the north—those plying their boats otherwise than outside this boundary will be fined five *vutikās* (i.e. 100 *Kaḍis*)[1].

Gupta 510

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[1] Almost all the readings of the entire epigraph excepting a few words of the first four lines and therefore their meanings are doubtful, the text being determined almost in all its words imaginatively. Though the language used appears to be Sanskrit, prakṛtirsms and *Prākita* names have been abundantly used; this together with orthographical mistakes has made the inscription unintelligible. Even then some sure meanings could have been extracted out, had the writings been clear as in the other inscriptions. We try below to explain some of the words in line with the scholars making pioneering attempts to read the inscription. The number within bracket before the words explained refers to the line in the inscription.

TEZPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION

(1) कैवर्त्त नौ (कु)क्षि स्वभक्षसाधनी—Dr. Śāstrī has rendered it as—toll-collecting *Kaivarttas*. This appears better than the explanation given of this phrase by Vidyāvinoda. (See *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, p. 188).

(2) नौरज्ज—This is taken for नौरज्जु, towing rope. If this be the correct sense, why the उकार is dropped at both the places and how even then it can be used in the sense of controller of towing? Therefore Vidyāvinoda has suggested that it is a proper name. But the attempt to avert a difficult situation by explaining unintelligible word as proper names is also amusing.

(3) शुद्धव्यवहारः—We have rendered it as pure and simple legal dispute. This has been made by Śāstrī as "uncomplicated". Then the epigraph reduces itself to a "much ado about nothing". It is to be considered whether शुद्धव्यवहार may mean a "civil suit", because the word शुद्ध may be contrasted to दूष्य used in the sense of "treasonable" in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

(4) प्रविस्तः—The reading is extremely doubtful. If the tow man is actually affected in the towing of his boats, why should he withdraw from the dispute? Again when the boat-movement is through towing of ropes they move by the side of the bank. How the towmen be ordered to move their boats midstream is not intelligible. Or is it due to some such anticipation of the final outcome of the judgement that the towman withdrew?

(5) सावर्णी etc.—This entire line is not being read properly, because जीउ जी लाहिली झा are titles the prevalence of which is extremely doubtful at the time, the same not being traceable in the earlier or later inscriptions of *Kāmarūpa*. Mm. Śāstrī has imagined them to be some south Indians settled in Kāmarūpa. But if दक्षिणदिग्वासी be the correct reading, it is a समानाधिकरण (?) of दलाकववा and not of the above mentioned words. Vidyāvinoda has again stated that these are proper names under prākṛtistic iṇfluences.

(6) सामन्तशिलाकुट्टकवलेया—The meaning gleaned up by Śāstrī and others is—these generals raged to the ground the frontier chief of शिलाकुट्टक. But in this case शिलाकुट्टकावलेया would have been better. But the readings of the inscription are all doubtful.

(7) पंचकुलशङ्कर—This reading is extremely doubtful, because what is read here as पंच is पञ्च in the 9th line. According to Vidyāvinoda, Mr. Śāstrī has confused the word पंचकुल with पंचसार of the Dacca district and पञ्चखण्ड of Sylhet district. This word does not appear to have referred to some *Brāhmaṇa* family, because N. N. Bose has read भट; in the ninth line also Mr. Bose reads वुटिका instead of वुट्टिका।

(8) भूचतु—It is not known how the question of the demarcation of the boundary in four directions of a particular river arises; only two directions should suffice.

(9) सीमाकृत—The whole expression भूचतुर्दिक्सीमाकृत appears to be a wrong reading, because the boundaries in the west and east only are clearly stated by the use of the two words प्राक् and पश्चिम्यां (पश्चिमायां). If याम्यां be the correct reading it appears that a wide land area to the north limited in the east and west by the above two places might have also been protected for the navy. Whatever it is, the whole position is confusing and we cannot definitely say what was the dispute about.

(10) सलिलक्षारभक्षभूभृद्भाग—This is also confusing. In Assam there is nowhere any salt area. This may mean possibly an area of marshy land with corrosive alkaline water near a mountain range with alkaline rock or soil.

(11) प्रवरभूमित्यवरप(र्वत उत्तरा)—This reading is also doubtful. Something is bounded on the north by the Abor hills. The idea is—the प्रवरभूमि bounded on the south by the bank of the Brahmaputra and perpendicular to it by the track of land merged in saline water on the east and *Nākkajosa* on the west. Even then from the site of the stone slab, Abor hills area is at a great distance north-east and now forms what is known as Siang frontier Division or District of Aruṇācal Pradeśa. (See in this context "General Introduction".)

(12) वाहकात् च्यवनं करोति—वाहक is a horseman or a coachdriver. च्यवन is movement or departure. Therefore the idea appears to be likely that the movement on horse-back or by carriages was restricted within the area bounded on the south by the north bank of the Brahmaputra, the saline watery region on the east, the *Nākkajosa* on the west and the Abor hills on the north. Thus the inscription may not refer to a dispute over the rights of navigation on the Brahmaputra stream and a certain area might have been set apart for reasons unknown for the movement of people on horseback or of carriages which could not overcross it.

(13) पञ्चवुट्टिकां गृहीतव्यामिति—This reading is full of mistakes. पञ्चवुट्टिका ग्रहीतव्यश्चेति is the correct reading. Even then वुटिका is the proper Sanskrit word.

TEZPUR PLATES OF VANAMĀLAVARMADEVA

Weal be to the paramount monarch Śrī Vanamālavarmadeva of haloed glory of the lineage of the kings of *Prāgjyotiṣa.*

1. May bliss attend (you). May that river[1] *Lauhitya* protect you—river the waters of which have been reddened by the flowers of the tree of the lord of heaven falling down from the hands and locks of the best of the celestial women (well ornamented) while playing in the midst of (its) water—river that has moistened the group of travellers in the aerial region by means of its showers stirred as it were by a friction against the huge masses of golden stones of the beautiful *Kailāsa* mountain, and therefore appearing as so many rays of frost mixed with a paste of gold.

2. May that deity with a bow (*Śiva*), on whose head the waters of the Ganges thrown about by the *recaka*[2] wind have assumed the beauty of a mass of stars, purify you.

3. The primeval being in the form of *Varāha* had, from the earth at the time of her deliverance, a son Naraka by name who stole away also the glory of Indra with the act of wresting the ear-ring of Aditi.

4. After he had been killed, his two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta by name were set free[3] by Kṛṣṇa, being moved at heart by the pitiable lamentations of his wife.

5. Bhagadatta after gaining the over-lordship of prosperous *Prāgjyotiṣa* came over there and with great modesty worshipped Lord *Mahādeva* through penance.

6. Being pleased he offered to him the suzerainty of *Uparipattana* and also to his family the overall sway of *Kāmarūpa* for (all) time.

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[1] The *Lauhitya* is mentioned here as a सिन्धु. Though the word सिन्धु may mean a river, still it might mean the sea-like extensiveness of the Brahmaputra or it might be reminiscent of the epic times when the extent of the *Prāg-jyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa* kingdom was as far as the ocean which then made a dent into the area now South Bengal. Such a description of the *Lauhitya* as वारिधि in the charters of Balavarmā, as सिन्धु in those of Ratnapāla and as सरिदधिपति in those of Indrapāla is noteworthy.

[2] रेचक has referred to the wind diffused from the exhalation of breath through one of the nostrils in *yoga* or *prāṇāyāma.* This is in opposition to पूरक which is inhaling of breath. कुम्भक is suspension of breath.

[3] The word सृष्ट is used in the sense of विसृष्ट i.e. परित्यक्त । For a similar use, cf.

शीघ्रमेव गुड़ाकेशः कृतास्त्रः पुनरेष्यति ।
साक्षान्मघवतां सृष्टः संप्राप्स्यति धनञ्जयः ।।

Vanaparva. CLXII. 31

Where Nīlakaṇtha has explained the word सृष्टः as विसर्ज्जितः ।

7. In his family was born, as the lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, a king with the peculiar name Prālambha, the extirpator of enemy heroes, whose foot-stool was radiated with the lustre of rubies of the crowns on the heads of kings.

8. He along with his predecessors led by Sālastambha and ending in Śrī Hariṣa blazed the horizon by means of the colour of his apt royal virtues (created a loyalty in the quarters by his attachment for the appropriate kingly virtues).

9. One brother of this king Āratha by name, surpassed all other kings by his valour and benevolence and braving the enemies alone departed to heaven.

10. He had a queen, Jīvadā by name, who was after his heart and who like early dawn was adored by many and was the mother of great splendour.

11. In her was begotten by that king a son Harjara by name, the best of sovereigns, whose feet were worshipped by the heads of kings and who was embraced by the goddess *Lakṣmī* herself.

12. He was Yudhiṣṭhira in the exposition of righteousness, a Bhīma in the midst of enemies, and a *Jiṣṇu*[4] in war; though one, thus united with many, he attained supremacy in polity in various ways.

13. Deserting the chest of *Viṣṇu* whose mind was delighted by the *gopies* like a disagreeable woman, goddess *Lakṣmī* assuming all the grades of womanly beauty came over to this place.

14. "Whereas he has borne with him innumerable virtues starting from the complexion of my husband Cakrapāṇi of immeasurable strength, I have not been lowered in the public estimate".—

15. Thus thinking *Lakṣmī* became the chief consort of that sovereign in the name of Śrīmattarā, the best jewel among women and follower of his disposition.

16. To that king, whose foot-stool was rubbed by the headgears of innumberable kings, was born, through that queen, a lustrous son known (later on) as king Vanamāla in the world: being adorned by the garland of precious jewels in the shape of kingly virtues, he was, like the moon, the source of delight to the entire world.

17. "He is worthy of the overlordship of the earth flanked by the rows of wild forests on the sea-shore"—with this idea the creator imparted to him the name of Vanamāla.

18. He behaved as the sun by dispelling the extensive mass of darkness in the shape of the arrays of tuskers of the formidable enemies in the battle-field.

19. In the clear firmament of the kings born in the royal family of the son of the earth (Naraka), he was like the noon destroying the mass of darkness in the shape of the enemy.

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[4] There are double meaning in the words युधिष्ठिर, भीम and जिष्णु ।

20. Who by destroying the innumerable hosts of kings, that were like thunderbolts to the mountains in the shape of the enemy squads of highly defiant heroes, by means of the extra-ordinary valour of his sword made *Lakṣmi* devoted to one husband for good.

21. Through the fear of his might some of the kings even though they conquered many enemies all on a sudden took to (various) directions; others moved towards the sky (i.e. ascended to heaven after death).

22. Those other kings who hurled very sharp arrows (not missing their targets) in the battle-field ever since, through fear from him, left their own kingdoms at a distance.

23. Those kings who for the feat of valour faced the enemy with extensive arrays of tuskers had all stood before him with folded hands.

24. He bore the burden of Nahuṣa through a sense of devotion by rebuilding, with endowments of innumerable villages, men, elephants, and courtesans, the Himālaya-high temple of Lord *Hāṭakeśvara* at whose feet bow with devotion the host of the best of gods.

25. The all-pervasive glory of that king even now moves in a ceaselessly beautiful stream laughing to scorn as it were the excessively white lustre of *Ananta* of the nether region, the watery crystals produced by the breaths of the *Diṅnāgas* in various quarters, the wonderful mass of white rays of the full moon in the sky.

26. In truth, depth, height, power, sacrifice and valour he excelled (ad seriatim) the son of Dharma, the ocean, the mountain, the Sun, Karṇa and the son of Vāyu.

27. When it saw with its own eyes that the earth was whitened by the moon-like fame of his, the moon rose bashfully as it were.

28. Temples by the sound of music, various pleasure gardens by the sound of incantations and the beautiful ponds bedecked with lotuses are still proclaiming his unsullied fame.

29. Many a time, he made gifts of many excellent things like gold, silver, elephants, horses, women etc., and due to an unrestricted use of words (of gift), he became a garrulous talker, though a man of measured speech.

Where all people of the *Varṇāśramadharma* are satisfied, where countless fortunate saints and learned men have their residence, where big highways are occupied by great kings coming and going for the service of the king riding on numerous elephants, horses and palanquins, where quarters have been besieged as it were by innumerable elephant, horse and foot soldiers; from such a city of *Hāruūpeśvara* protected by the *Lauhitya* foremost among rivers, waters wherein have been rendered fragrant by the odour of flowers falling down from trees trembling through the hissing sounds of serpents frightened by the shrill note of the moving peacocks nestling in the house-like tall trees growing on the mountains of the eastern sea, which bears the current of fragrant waters (deposited) by the rows of clouds formed with the smoke of black aloes burnt by the forest conflagration blazing up in the pleasure gardens of the city, the places on the bank of which have been sweet-smelling through the musk of musk-deer feeding upon the sprouts of leaves growing on the mountains of the border regions of the east-musk-deer that graze about alone at some of the places, particular groups driven by the motive of love move about in flocks of their kins at other places, and the musk-deer being killed at different places by herds of tigers have been abandoned as meat for consumption; the stream of which was filled up with holier water due to its constant washing of the sides of the *Kāmakūṭa* mountain on the peak of which *Śrī Kāmeśvara* and *Mahāgaurī* with their feet placed on the foot-stool glowing with the mass of rays from helmets of the gods and demons are residing; the waters of which have been rendered black and fragrant by the musk anointed on the skirts of the pitcher-like breasts of amorous women plunging into them; and the flanks of the two banks of which are decorated by ships that have their constituents adorned and (therefore) clear like the limbs of harlots, that are fitted with jingling girdles as in tender-aged maidens, that have their speed augmented, when blown, like Karṇāṭaka women, that are adorned with chowries like whores, that are red in colour, and have broad teeth like the ladies in Rāvaṇa's harem, that have a great speed like the aerial maids, please the mind of everybody like the beautiful ladies of *Daluha*, throb like the dancing maids when overpowered by the dancing youths, always desire a high level like the afflicted gods, His Majesty the king Vanamāladeva, Śaiva to the core, with his mind devoted to *Parameśvara*, following in the foot-steps of his parents wishes to secure bliss.

30. There was a benevolent and holy Brahmin Vijjat by name with all the attributes of a *Brāhmaṇa*, conversant with the import of the Vedas, who was as it were the lamp of the Brahmins of *Śāṇḍilya* family and who studied the *Yajurveda* with all its branches.

31. His wife of the name of Sabhrāyikā, born of a good family and endowed with attributes of a pure *Brāhmaṇa*, was married (to him) after the Brahmanical rites.

32. Their son by the name of Indoka was a noble Brahmin versed in the Vedas; Śrī Vanamāladeva made a gift of a village to him to acquire religious merit for his parents.

33. This is called Abhiśūravātaka lying on the west of the three-streamed river, consisting of both watery and dry land and surrounded by eight boundaries.

On the east, the boundary co-exists with *Daśalāṅgula*, on the south-east *Candrapuri*, on the south *Abāri*, on the south-west the pond, on the west *Naukubā*, on the north-east *Daśalāṅgula*—these are the limits in the eight boundaries: regnal year 19.

THE PARVATĪYĀ PLATES OF VANAMĀLAVARMADEVA

(The Parvatīyā plates of Vanamālavarmadeva have the same text as his Tezpur plates. There may be minor differences in the readings of certain words which do not make any difference in meaning. We have pointed out at relevant places the omissions in the charter from the Tezpur plates. Therefore a separate translation is given only of those portions which with the different readings carry an altogether different sense or which are not to be found in the Tezpur grant.)

The readings in verse 5 of this charter are noteworthy, because while the readings adopted in this verse in the Tezpur grant create a confusion in meaning, those adopted in this charter yield a clear-cut meaning and give a new historical information. Therefore the translation of this verse is given below:—

5. As Bhagadatta attained the overlordship of the glorious *Prāgjyotiṣa*, the other also (Vajradatta) going over to the forest propitiated *Īsvara* (*Śiva*) by penance.

(From उत्तरकूले स्वल्पमङ्गोक etc. in line 48 to the end)—Having made the village called *Hāposagrāma* attached to the circle of *Svalpamaṅgoka* in *Uttarakūla* made free of the excess levy on agricultural produce and (therefore) the entrance to it of the minor police officials such as *Catas* and *Bhatas* barred as far as those eight boundaries—*Akṣidāhikā* on the east, the tank of *Caṇḍikā* on the southeast, *Dīrghāṅga* on the south, the banyan tree on the south-west, the bamboo-grove on the west, the *Śālmalī* tree on the north-west, the big embankment on the north, the bank of Dhavala on the northeast.

26. There was a great *Bhaṭṭa* named Jejjaṭa in the *Kali yuga* who was munificent, had truth as his wealth, was beneficent to others, honest, respected by good people, whose intellect was satiated with the nectar of the meaning of the scriptures, who was the sole repository of the three *Vedas*, who belonged to the *Caraṇa* of the *Sāman* and the *Śāṇḍilya-gotra* who was engaged in the study of the *Vedas*, was a receptacle of virtues and was esteemed by the kings.

27. These sons were born to him—Cūḍāmaṇi, Deṭobhā, Garga, then the noble-minded Śambhu who were endowed with good qualities, adept in activities for the illumination of their own family, whose minds were given to the welfare of the creatures alone, who were modest, united and were not separated from one another for fear of the loss of virtue.

28. Then the king being pleased is ceding especially this village of *Hāposā* through the special orders of a writ to the eldest *Brāhmaṇa* Cūḍāmaṇi on an auspicious day—

for the increase of merit and fame of his parents and of himself; therefore it should be approved by all.

29. Land has been gifted by many kings like Sagara and others. Whosoever is the owner of the land at a particular time receives the merit (of that gift) at that time.

30. He who grabs the piece of land donated by himself, or by others becomes the worm of the soil and harnesses the forefathers with bad effects.

INSCRIPTION ON THE SŪRYA IMAGE FROM KĀKI

English translation—

May it be all well (with us). This image of the Sun-god[1] is given over[2] to *Bhaṭṭa* Ravi,[3] the grand-son of Vaśiṣṭha in the reign of Śrī Vanamāladeva.

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[1] The reading आदित्य प्रत्मेतिह is spilt up into आदित्य प्रतिमा इह। The ति of प्रतिमा is made the last syllable with a trace of its त् in प्रत्म।

[2] The word दत्ता is understood.

[3] भट्टरविः वशिष्ठस्य पौत्रः Though we have made those words प्रथमान्तs in the text, still for a rational meaning, these should be वशिष्ठस्य पुत्राय भट्टरवये।

INSCRIPTION ON HARIHARA IMAGE FROM DEOPĀNĪ (No. 1)

Salutation to the *Oṅkāra*[1] (the manifestation of the Supreme self). In the kingdom of *Mahārājādhirājā* Śrī Jīvara, one Balabhit by name, the the son of the fully dedicated female *Śaiva* ascetic given to the severe penance of the sun[2] and singing the name of Nārāyaṇa and Śankara, the spouse of Gaurī is the engraver (of this inscription) on this piece of stone.[3]

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[1] The word नमः seems to have been connected with some object of adoration which is the *Oṅkara* here.

[2] Here Dr. Chowdhury's reading is entirely different and seems to be more plausible—कुमारावधिस्वधर्म्माविपन्न—not swerving from own religion from her childhood.

He has read गुरुः in place of सूंजः (सूर्यः), गुरोः would have much improved upon the text. Though the inference is that a certain image was ceded, still to whom it was given is unknown unless we take the reading गुरोः to a certain preceptor.

[3] We have given here the English translation in pursuance of the text adopted by Sri P. D. Chaudhury. It is seen here that there is no reference to the gift of an image in the translation though an inference can be drawn to that effect. If we accept the reading गुरोः (and not गुरुः as done by Dr. Chowdhury), we can make an अध्याहार to the effect प्रतिमा दत्ता। But then all the प्रथमान्त words up to कीर्त्तनः will have to be changed into षष्ठ्यन्त words, and this becomes a far-fetched proposition. At the same time it is not possible to imagine that the engraver engraved something on the body of the image just to record his own name without marking any other occasion.

INSCRIPTION ON HARIHARA IMAGE FROM DEOPĀNĪ (No. 2)

Salutation to *Oṅkāra* (the Supreme Being)[1]; may it fair well (with all). In the kingdom of the paramount monarch Śrī Dīglekhavarmā[2] the image of *Harihara* was given to the son of Kākhya after muttering the hundred names of Hari.[3]

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[1] This *oṅkāra* is missing in the text of Dr. Chowdhury. Unless this ऊँ कार is given नमः becomes superfluous.

[2] The reading commonly accepted by both the scholars is महाराजाधिराजः though in the original it is महाराजाधिराजन् which with the elision of न् approaches the correct text. Anyway the reading महाराजाधिराजः conveys no sense and syntactically incorrect. The real meaning appears to be महाराजाधिराजस्य श्रीदिग्लेखवर्मणः राज्ये इत्यादि ।

[3] The two texts as determined by the two scholars differ widely in the second line. Where in the original काख्यापुत्र is traceable तृतीयान्त पुत्रेण is not impossible. The rest in both the texts is disputable. After the text of Sri P. D. Chowdhury, the translation of the second line stands as follows—An image of *Harihara* the lord of Rāma was given by Hari, the son of Kākhya.

COPPER PLATES INSCRIPTION OF BALAVARMĀ
(Nowgong Plates)

1. May bliss attend you. May the lustre of Rudra that splits the darkness of the earth conduce to the peace of the world. . . . all things are changed.

2. May the water, spotted (like the plumes of the peacock) through the discharge of ichor by the divine elephants and fragrant with the musk of the deer residing in the plateau of the *Kailāsa* mountain, of the ocean-like *Lauhitya* remove your sin.

3. *Viṣṇu* in the form of a boar, the deliverer of the earth, merged in the sea of dissolution, had a son by the name of Naraka, the friend of demons.

4. He, by stealing away the pair of ear-rings dangling on the cheeks of Aditi, stole away Mahendra's fame that was high on account of the conquest of the three worlds.

5. That king who conquered the country of *Kāmarūpa*[1] took up his abode in the city known by the name of *Prāgjyotiṣa* in *Kāmarūpa.* The areca nut trees in that city were entwined by betelnut creepers and the trunk of black aloes covered by cardamom.

6. While staying there, in the pleasure gardens of which the peacocks danced to the tune of the flapping of the ears of the tuskers mad with rut, he struck by the discus of *Viṣṇu* in battle went to heaven eager for battle (with the gods).

7. His son named Bhagadatta became the sovereign (after him) whose foot-stool was kissed by the gems of the helmets of kings; he attained celebrity through the governance of his subject, was the controller of all *varṇa* and *āśrama* and the foremost of heroes.

8. He having ascended to heaven, his brother with a pure devotion to *Mahādeva* became the king; the wise called him Vajradatta.

9. In his dynasty Śālastambha became the monarch after many kings reigning over the earth with forests serving as walls and the seas as moats passed away.

10. Harjara, the annihilator of the enemies, appeared as the king-like moon on the surface of the earth after the predecessors like Pālaka, Vijaya etc. of his family passed away.

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[1] Evidently there is श्लेष in the word जितकामरूप. He conquered the country of *Kāmarūpa* and also excelled Kāmadeva in beauty.

For similarity of certain verses of this inscription with a certain number of verses of the Raghu in words and ideas, and for suggestive ideas or *dhvani* in verses 9 and 10 see the portion "Literary Value of the Inscriptions" in our "General Introduction".

11. The gems on the helmets of kings that vied with one another in doing obeisance (to him) in the assembly being enveloped by the lustres of the nails of his red feet were paled into dimness like lights surrounded by the sun's rays.

12. His son Śrī Vanamāladeva, a devotee of *Mahādeva* was ruling for a long time; his chest was broad, waist slim and round, neck well-formed and arms were like iron bars.

13. His countenance did not undergo any change either in anger or in laughter; he did not listen to the talk of the low-minded; nor did he utter any unwholesome word; his character was (therefore) always esteemed.

14. He constructed a row of such palaces which though unparalleled are provided with pedestals; which though spacious are divided into numerous rooms; and which though not made wonderful are provided with good scenery paintings.[2]

15. To him was born a son named Śrī Jayamāla Deva like the cool-rayed moon from the milky ocean. His mass of fame of equal splendour with the *kunda* (flower) and the moon is still moving about uninterrupted.

16-17. That lustrous king Vanamāla with eyes like a lotus, when he saw his son (Jayamāla) learned and attaining youth, offered to him the royal umbrella fitted with a pair of moon-white chowries and having observed the vow of abstinence from food and drink merged himself in the glow of *Mahādeva* in the manner of a hero.

18. After acquiring the kingdom Jayamāla under the name of Śrī Vīrabāhu married a lady named Ambā equal to him in family, beauty and age.

19. That king, versed in the usages, begot in that lady like fire from sticks of wood a lustrous son famous by the name of Balavarmā endowed with all the qualities.

20. His eyes were tremulous like the petals of the blue lotus, the neck was well-formed; arms were beautiful, and his lustre was like that of a lotus freshly blooming under the rays of the newly rising sun.

21. After the expiry of the ordained period (for his activities) at a particular moment, an unknown disease, beyond the efforts of medical men, overtook him firm like a pillar in battle as a result of his accumulated *karma*.

22. Thinking the world to be unsubstantial and the human life fickle like particles of water, Vīrabāhu thought of (his) ultimate duty.

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[2] There is विरोध in the verse. Though the palaces were not endowed with various pictures still they had good pictures. This विरोध can be eliminated by taking the word विचित्र as wonderful i.e. though the palaces were not wonderful, still they had good pictures.

23. Therefore, in an auspicious day, the king installed his lion-cub-like son of a tall physique on the throne after due formalities of law.

24. Then Balavarmā after the attainment of the extensive kingdom exterminated the darkness in the shape of the *ripus* (enemies and the *ariṣaḍvargas*) and shone all the brighter like fire poured with profuse ghee.

25. That (king) had that ancestral city as his capital[3] which stood on the bank of the river *Lauhitya* of pure water the rows of waves whereof were tottering against the temples of victory elephants.

Who residing in that beautiful city known by the name of *Hārūpeśvara* conquered all the quarter circles by dint of his arms blackened by the glaze of his brandishing swords, who was steady in war, fearful of stigma, fierce against an enemy, soft towards the elders, truthful, not inconsistent (in talks), void of self-commendation in deeds, highly benevolent, sinless through following in the foot-steps of his parents, that supreme Lord, that paramount monarch, the venerable Śrī Balavarmadeva attain his own welfare.

There is a tract of land known as *Heṅsivā* in the *Dijjinā* division on the south bank[4] yielding four thousand measure of paddy. He has with due respect honoured his subjects like the Brahmins, district officials, and law officers residing on the sides of the road in its neighbourhood, also (vassal) kings and queens and others related to the army chieftains,[5] also the future citizens of this place and has explained and issued (this) command to them—"know ye this particular thing—this place, extending to each one's boundary line, according to its demarcation after residential area, agricultural field, grazing land, watery region, foot-path, marshy land etc. is not admissible to trouble-shooters such as queens, princes, warriors, king's friends, old women-stewards of harem, those employed for tying elephants and mooring boats and recovering stolen property, inflictors of (royal) punishments, police-men, excess and agricultural tax collectors and tax-collectors of the protected houses."

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[3] Dr. Hoernle has translated this portion as:—"there stands that ancestral encampment of his.

कटकोऽस्त्री नितम्बेऽद्रेर्दन्तिनां दन्तमण्डले ।
सामुद्रलवणे राजधानीवलययोरपि, इतिमेदिनी ।।
कटकस्त्वद्रिनितम्बे बाहुभूषणे ।
सेनायां राजधान्याञ्च इति हैम ।।

Therefore the sense of a capital city is what is intended here.

[4] Though we have rendered दक्षिण as south, still it is doubtful whether दक्षिणकूल has actually meant the south bank instead of the right-hand bank. On this point see the *Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*, p. 85 fn 1.

Also see for a correct appreciation of the locality of *Dijjinā* Dr. P. C. Chowdhury, pp. 242, 250.

[5] See our "General Introduction" for an estimate of the proper meanings of these terms and functions discharged by these officers as well as those whose names are immediately enumerated below.

26. There was a learned and accomplished teacher Mālādhara by name, the light of *Kapila Gotra*, following the recension of *Kāṅva;* he destroyed all his faults by means of his discriminating power attained through his wealth of learning and penance.

27. That pure-souled one had a son, with a well-merited birth, Devadhara by name, the beloved of the gods; as a *yajurvedic* priest he performed without any effort as it were all vedic sacrifices according to their divisions.

28. That learned (man) with a name significant in its meaning and a noble mind, closely intent on entering into domestic life, was united with his wife Śyāmāyika like the sun with the morning lustre.

29. This couple continuous like day and night and intimately connected attained a son destroying blemishes like the earth receiving light from the sun destroying the night.[6]

30. "Being educated in due course of time he will bear all the vedic lores fully"—with this idea his father made him known in the world by imparting (to him) the name of *Śrutidhara.*

31. After his return from his preceptor's house, that gentle and righteous one versed in history intended to take to the worldly life and arrived (before the king) as a suitor on the *viṣuvat* day.

32. After ablution, I have donated to that *Brāhmaṇa* this (plot of land) in a state of mental composure. May my parents and I myself reap its fruits in the other world.

Its boundary—on the east, the *Koppā*[7] and the lane for transhipment of cows; on the south-east, the jam and the wood-apple tree; on the south, the trunk road and the *suvarṇa dāru*[8] tree; on the south-west, the mango tree; on the west, the trunk road and the *Śimalu* tree; on the north-west, the big banyan tree and the *Diddeṣa* lake; on the north, half the portion of Seva pond; on the north east, the tank and the fig tree: this in the regnal year eighth.

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[6] There is *śleṣa* in नाशितदोषं; दोषा is night with आलोक and vice with the son.

[7] कोप्पा is possibly the name of a stream or a rivulet.

[8] सुवर्णदारु is identified with पीतदारु (दारुहरिद्रा) by Vidyāvinoda. He says that it may be even *Devadāru* or the *Sarala* tree, though these are generally not seen on the boundary lines of the plain lands.

It appears he was not able to notice the Assamese name सोणारु given to a species of trees growing abundantly in Assam.

HAWRAGHAT COPPER-PLATES GRANT OF BALAVARMĀ

1. (*Siddham* symbol) May it be well with you! Let the energy of *Rudra* which manifests itself fully at the end of the night of universal destruction and dispels the darkness of the world bring peace to the world.

2. Let the pure water of the river *Lauhitya* where the moon-shaped circles are formed by the ichor of the heavenly elephants and which is made fragrant by the musk of the deer roaming on the ridges of the mount *Kailāsa* remove your sin.

3. Lord *Viṣṇu* who assumed the shape of a Boar and rescued the earth submerged in the ocean at the dissolution of the world had a son Naraka by name who was a friend of the demons.

4. The fame of Indra, elevated by his conquest of the three worlds was wrested by him who snatched away the pair of ear-rings of Aditi oscillating over her cheeks.

5. Having conquered the country of *Kāmarūpa* (or surpassing the god of Love in beauty) he (king Naraka) settled in the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* of *Kāmarūpa*, where the areca nut trees were twined round by the betel pepper creepers and cardamom plants were settled on the branches of black aloe trees.

6. Having lived in that city in the pleasure gardens of which peacocks were dancing to the noise of flapping of the ears of the intoxicated scent-elephants, he, desirous of battles, was struck by the discus of *Murāri* (*Viṣṇu*) and ascended heaven.

7. He had a son Bhagadatta by name, the altar of whose feet was kissed by the gems of the crests of kings; he acquired fame by delighting his subjects, was the guardian of the (four) castes and stages of life and was an unparalleled hero.

8. After his departure to the region of gods, his brother, who was sincerely devoted to *Śiva*, became the ruler of the kingdom; the wise called him Vajradatta.

9. The kings of that dynasty having disappeared after enjoying (or protecting) the earth fortified by the forests and entrenched with the seas, king Śālastambha was born in that dynasty.

10. After Pālaka, Bijaya and other kings who were born in (his) family had gone to the other world, king Harjara, who was like the moon on earth, and a subduer of his enemies, was born.

11. In his royal assembly the gems in the diadems of kings who were desirous of paying homage to him in a spirit of emulation were made lustreless by the extension of the rays of the nails (of his feet) like lamps in the sun-shine.

12. His son Vanamāladeva was always devoted to *Śiva*; he was of broad chest, slim round waist, light neck and arms like bars for shutting gates.

13. His face was not distorted in anger, he did smile, did not listen to the words of debased persons, did not utter any harmful words and his conduct was always worthy of respect.

14. He had constructed a row of palaces which were unmatched in the world and were supported by massive pillars (the palaces, though incomparable could be compared), which were spacious and had a large number of compartments (the palaces though without compartments had many compartments) and which were wonderful and decorated with pictures (palaces though without pictures were decorated with pictures).

15. *Just* as the moon came out of the ocean of milk, so he had also a son, named Śrī Jayamāladeva born of him; his fame, resembling *Kunda* flower and the moon in lustre steadily moved forward.

16-17. That lotus-eyed heroic king Śrī Vanamāladeva, seeing his son disciplined and coming of age offered him the white (royal) umbrella along with the pair of chowries, and resorting to fast became absorbed into the energy of Lord *Śiva.*

18. Having obtained the kingship, king Vīrabāhu (Jayamāladeva) married a girl Ambā by name who was his equal in pedigree, beauty and age.

19-20. That king who was versed in the Scriptures, begot in her a son named Balavarmā like fire in the fire-producing wood, who was famous, handsome and endowed with all the good qualities, whose eyes were like the moving petals of a blue lotus, who had a stout neck and a pair of well-formed arms and whose appearance was like that of a fresh lotus just blooming at the touch of the rays of the newly rising sun.

21. As time rolled by, that king who was steady in the battle was attacked by some disease defying physicians as a result of his actions.

22. King Vīrabāhu, considering the world to be transitory and human life like bubbles of water thought about his last duty.

23. Then, on an auspicious day, he duly installed his son who had a strong physique and was like a lion-cub, on the throne.

24. Then Balavarmā also, having obtained that vast kingdom blazed forth like fire having profuse ghee, by destroying the darkness in the shape of the entire host of enemies.

25. His capital was that ancestral city near the sacred *Lauhitya* sea (river) the waves of which were obstructed by the frontal globes of the victory-giving elephants.

The most powerful, the most respected sovereign monarch Śrī Balavarmadeva residing in the capital city called *Haḍapeśvara* has conquered all the circles of quarters by his arm becoming dark-blue with the lustre of his drawn sword; he is steady in battles, afraid of ill-repute, ferocious towards enemies, very gentle to his superiors, truthful, uniform in words and deeds, not boasting of his actions, and generous; he has washed off his sins by meditating on the feet of his parents.

In this plot of land set apart from the *Bappadevapāṭaka* land within the jurisdiction of the district of *Vārāsepattana*, (King Balavarmā) respectfully commands the Brahmins and officers, departmental officers, lawyers, prominent citizens, and others also related to the king, the queen and the chieftains, *kṣatriyas*, princes, favourites of the king and other people who are duly present here, as well as all the future inhabitants of the place—"You should know that this plot of land consisting of home-steads, cultivable land, dry land, marshy land, grazing fields, places for dumping refuge, extending up to its own boundary duly earmarked has been made free from all kinds of oppressions from officer-in-charge of elephants and boats, officers for rescuing stolen property, police officers, tax collecting officers and other officers harassing (people) under various pretext as well as from grazing of elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and other animals, and incorporating it in a grant.

26. There lived a Brahmin, Garga by name who was versed in all the Vedic lores, attained special distinction by performing sacrifices, belonged to the family of *Upamanyu* and *Kāñva* school (of the *Yajurveda*) and was an abode of the *Mantras* of the *Yajurveda* and he departed to heaven.

27. He had a son Gobhiṣṭhira by name; he studied the *Ṛgveda*, the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurveda*, attained proficiency in sacrificial rituals and sciences and performed sacrifices.

28. His wife Garbheśvarikā who was born in a noble family, was sanctifying like the *Soma* creeper, was devoted to him like the wife of *Vasiṣṭha*, was like Śacī of Indra and was as patient as the earth.

29. They had a son named Śyāmadeva born to them for the good of the *Brāhmaṇas*; he is endowed wish piety, versed in the Vedic lores, sweet in speech, renowned, a giver of wealth and a great ascetic.

30. In the annual *Śakrothhāna*[1] worship during the fifth year of my reign I have duly given (this plot of land) as a special gift to this learned *Brāhmaṇa* for the religious merit of (my) parents.

Boundary—In the east there lies the earthen mound of Vaikaṅka; in this south-east there is a silk-cotton tree; in the south there is a *Tripatraka* tree; in the south-west there is a *Kadamba* tree; in the west there is a *Vetasa* tree standing on the embankment of the cornfield; in the north-west there is a *Pippala* tree standing on the earthen mound of Niśi, in the north there is a black berry tree; in the north-east there is a *Svarṇadāru* (*Sonāru*) tree.

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[1] For a detailed discussion on this शक्रोत्थान festival, see "The Bhatheli" under "Religious Fairs and Festivals of Assam" by Dr. Dimbeswar Sarma, in the Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. XVIII, 1968.

THE BARGAON GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA
(Charter No. 1 of Ratnapāla)

1. May it be well (with us). May that *Śaṅkara*, who though one like the Supreme self shines forth with extensive qualities in various forms in the world through his conscious will,[1] who becomes manifest with the revelation of his auspicious *tāṇḍava* dance incessantly like a cavalier on a horse of good breed[2] showing out his movement, who is the witness as it were to the wealth of his own dancing performance through images reflected on his own nails[3] protect for prosperity.

2. Does here flow the lustre of the moon embodied? Or is it a melting of the crystals? (Or is it a crystalline stream?) Or is it the auspicious power of *Śaṅkara* engaged entirely on the annihilation of the column of sins—may that river *Lauhitya*, forming such ideas about the stream of which people become blessed, extirpate all sins and protect the world.

3. Hari who was the retriever of the Earth from the ocean in the shape of a boar had a son, of demonic descent, Naraka by name who behaved like the moon to the beauty of the lotuses in the shape of the divine damsels.[4]

4. Who after completely vanquishing the gods let loose Aditi thinking "she is feeble, old, frightened, stupefied, separated from her kith and kin, afflicted" and took away her two ear-rings, the very essence of the topmost fame and splendour of the gods.

5. He enhanced the prosperity (of his kingdom) well moving about with the pride of his arm and residing in the foremost city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* appearing like a multitude of suns through (its association

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[1] Conscious will is used for प्राकाम्य which is one of the ऐश्वर्यs, the divine faculties of omnipotence, omnipresence etc. which are eight in number, cf—

अणिमा-लघिमा-प्राप्तिः प्राकाम्यं महिमा तथा ।
ईशित्वञ्च वशित्वञ्च तथा कामावसायिता ।।
प्राकाम्यम् इच्छानभिघात इति शब्दकल्पद्रुमधृतामरटीका ।

[2] A breed from an excellent pair of horses is सौवश्च. (Panini VII.3.3.)

[3] Herein two features of the Vedanta philosophy are brought out—
(*i*) The supreme one who is the द्रष्टा has become दृष्ट ।
(*ii*) He is the witness to his own performances and is not touched by them. See also the first verse of the *Gāchtal Copper Plates* of Gopālavarmadeva. There the word दूर is used to denote such a characteristic.

[4] Like the beauty of the lotuses waning with the moonrise, the beauty of the divine ladies lost splendour with Naraka's ascendancy.

with) hosts of heroes and numerous moons through the faces of beautiful women.[5]

6. "Though shining with virtues, (my) father has become old"—thus thinking when he was moving about slowly, Hari mercifully disposed of him to heaven. Alas, where is the reckoning of friendship by men bent on extending their power!

7. After him, his son named Bhagadatta bore the burden of the earth. Steady, excellent, immensely wealthy, he kept the world loyal to him and covered the quarters with the fine cloth of his fame.

8. As fire receives effulgence after sun-set, so also that powerful Vajradatta acquired that kingdom after his brother('s death). He conquered the enemies as *Indra*, was lustrous like a big piece of diamond and attained fame by conquering the world through his own powers and forthright nature.

9. Śālastambha, the lord of the *Mlecchhas*, occupied through a divine dispensation, the kingdom of the kings of the race of Naraka ruling dynastically over the entire earth. In his family were also born famous kings like Vigrahastambha and others that were differentiated by the number twice ten.

10. Having seen their 20th king Śrī Tyāgasiṅha by name departing to heaven without an issue, his subjects thinking, "we have again the necessity of a king of the dynasty of Naraka" elected Śrī Brahmapāla their king who was (deemed) capable of bearing the burden of the earth through kinship (with the race of Naraka).

11. He conquered the enemies in battle single-handed—what is strange in it; because example here is provided by *Hara*, *Hari*, *Bhīṣma* and others? While thus deliberating his warriors who saw that the king was stationary in his own place and the enemies were fleeing in (all) the eight directions were always astounded.

12. Inspired by a desire for the enjoyment of worldly luxuries afforded by wealth he accepted the hand of a certain lady who assumed the name of Kuladevī, the shelter as it were of the goddess of fortune of the kings of that dynasty due to the devotion of their subjects.

13. In her was born a son "Śrī Ratnapāla" by name; "This king by dint of his qualities will lord it over persons as highly adorable as pieces of gems"—his subjects could very well realise (the truthfulness of) this statement and made him famous by that name.[6]

14. Being scattered with beads of elephant pearls driven as it were

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[5] There is the figure of speech व्यतिरेक suggesting the excellence of the earth over heaven in as much as the latter had one sun and one moon and the former had a multitude of suns and numerous moons.

[6] The word संकीर्त्तन has meant here a name or designation and not "reputation" as understood by Dr. Hoernle.

by the force of the current of the streams of blood flowing from the temple of the elephants of the irresistible enemy and the traders in the shape of the heroes, his war-fields assumed the splendour of the mass of rubies[7] and appeared like market-places.

15. Then that stainless hero[8] (Brahmapāla) having seated him, the sun to the lotuses of the race of Naraka, on the throne passed off to heaven. The noble-minded ones conversant with the worldly virtues and vices can rise equal to timely behaviour.

That king lived in a city of the significant name *Durjayā* situated in the kingdom of *Prāgjyotiṣa* and revered by multitude of kings—city where by the drops of ichor flowing from the temples of the intoxicated elephants presented by hundreds of kings conquered by the strength of his arms hardened by nets of rays issuing from the sharp words was the heat tranquilized, which though full of forests infested with branches in the shape of arms of the skilful warriors coveting for the rampaging of all enemy camps is suitable for the abode of a noble person, where the disc of the sun's rays is shrouded by the summits of thousands of palacial buildings whitened by the lime-white smiles[9] of the intoxicated damsels, which is the shelter of hundreds of luxurious persons as the sandal tree growing on the soils of *Malaya* mountain is of hundreds of serpents,[10] which is adorned by the *kāvya* of *Budha* and *Guru* like the heaven's path decorated by *Budha*, *Guru* and *Kāvya* (Śukra),[11] which is the abode of *Parameśvara* like the peak of the *Kailāsa* mountain, and served by the lord of wealth (*Kubera*)[12], which is like a strong cage to the play-bird in the shape of the Śaka kings, a distress to the lord of the *Gurjaras*, an elephant-fever[13] to the indomitable king of *Gauḍa*, bitumen to the king of *Kerala*[14], a trepidation to the *Vāhikas* and the *Tāyikas*[15], a pulmonary consumption to the Deccan kings, and whose skirts have been surrounded by a rampart as if it is a shroud on the chest-panel of the kings out to annihilate enemies, which is the pacifier of the fatigue, grown out of love-sport, of the damsels climbing the turrets of the palacial buildings sprayed by the wave-particles slowly fanned by the breeze fascinating with the sounds of cackling swans, which is like a silken banner to the elephants on the *Kailāsa* mountain, and shining with the *Lauhitya* ocean appearing like a jewelled mirror with the dancing postures of innumerable divine damsels (reflected on it).

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[7] In the original the word is पाद्मराग which has समूहार्थे अण् meaning a mass of rubies. The other meaning is पद्मा, तस्या अयम् इति पाद्मः स्वार्थे अण्; पाद्मः रागः attachment or devotion of the goddess of fortune indicated by the elephant pearls lying scattered in the battle-field weltering in pools of blood.

[8] Vidyāvinoda has detected *śleṣa* here, which is doubtful, because the बहुव्रीहि समास cannot properly be rendered into its constituents with गण्ड in the sense of a hero.

[9] Laughters of damsels and fame are conventionally described by poets as white, as white as lime or the rays of the moon etc. यशसि धवलता वर्ण्यते हासकीर्त्त्योः—साहित्यदर्पण।

[10] There is double meaning in भोगी—luxurious person and serpent.

[11] The expression अवाप्तबुधगुरुकाव्यालंकारम is *śliṣta* here. In the case of नभोवर्त्म, काव्य means *Śukra* and the compound can be split like this अवाप्ताः बुधगुरुकाव्यानाम् अलङ्कारा यस्मिन् तत्–which has been endowed with the beautiful formation of the planets *Budha*, *Bṛhaspati* and *Śukra*.

In the case of the city, it means the city was famous for the ornate poetry of the learned men and the *ācāryas* (गुरु).

[12] *Parameśvara* means *Śiva* with the mountain and *Śiva* temples secondarily; the supreme monarch in the case of the city, the last sense being the most appropriate. Similarly वित्तेश means *Kubera* and rich persons.

Where there was chillyness[16] in the necklaces not in the senses; fickleness in the monkeys[17], not in the mind; fragility in the frowning of the eye-brows and not in the promises; there were changes in root senses due to a preposition[18] but not calamities in the people; crooked nature[19] only in the women, swerving[20] only in the movement of the sensuous women intoxicated with drinking of wine, want of covetousness[21] only for the criminal perpetrations, fondness for the continuous sucking[22] of honey by the bee alone, excessive following (gratification) of the beloved by the ruddy geese[23] alone, eating of flesh only by the beasts of prey,—living in that city vying with the city of *Indra*, may Śrī Ratnapālavarmadeva who like the moon enhanced the shore-like character of the ocean of the circle of subordinate kings[24], who stole away the lotuses[25] from the lakes in the shape of the enemies, who placed his feet on the heads of kings like the sun setting its rays on the peaks of mountains, who was eager to sink up lakes for blooming lotuses[26], who though a *parameśvara* was delighting to the form of Kāmadeva[27], who though a descendant of Naraka was an exhilarator of the enemy of the demons[28], who though the best of persons was not the *Janārdana*[29], who though motionless goes against an elephant in rut[30], whose form pales the beauty of *Manmatha*, whose gravity surpasses the gravity of the ocean, whose fortitude is indicative of the conquest of the world, whose strength beats the strength of *Skanda*, who is like *Arjuna* in fame[31], *Bhīma* in battle, the god of death in anger, the forest conflagration in the creeper-like enemies, the moon in the sky of learning, the *malaya* breeze over the flower-like good people[32], the sun in the darkness-like enemies, the *Udayācala* mountain in cases of rising prosperity of his friends keep on well.

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[13] कूटपाकल means a bilious fever to which elephants are subject. This is called also हस्तिवातज्वर।

[14] शिलाजतु is translated here as bitumen. But शिलाजतु actually means a sort of exudation from the body or stones of the mountain. Possibly the idea is that as a man trembling with fear perspires so also the lord of Kerala perspires through fear of this city.

[15] For a detailed discussion on *Vāhikas* and *Tāyikas* see "Political and Cultural History" portion in our "General Introduction".

[16] From this onwards the figures of speech like परिसंख्या, अतिशयोक्ति, रूपक based on श्लेष are consciously worked out in imitation of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. जड़ता coolness with necklaces, dullness with senses.

[17] Monkeys being notorious for their fickleness, this sense of the word हरि is accepted to the exclusion of other senses.

[18] उपसर्ग a root prefix and calamities or diseases.

[19] वामता is crookedness. Women are also called वामा or beautiful because they look obliquely. The people in general were all void of crookedness.

[20] स्खलन is पदस्खलन in case of women—intoxicated with wine. But there was no swerving on the part of the people in general from the path of virtue.

[21] By implication it follows that there was covetousness for religious performances.

[22] मधु means wine with other people.

[23] The ruddy-geese alone were attached to their beloved, the other people were not excessively attached to their relatives, i.e. they were not selfishly disposed.

In the plot of land yielding 2000 measure of paddy in the *Labukuṭi* region accompanied by a cultivable land of lower variety[33] of the *Vāmadevapāṭaka* coming under the *Trayodaśagrāma viṣaya* on the north bank.

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[24] As the moon brings the line of the sea-coast into prominence by sudden spurt in its water-level so also this king brought the circle of kings into lime-light by allowing their good characters to grow.

[25] पद्मा here has meant lotuses, wealth as well as the goddess of wealth.

[26] The other sense of कमला here is copper. कमलाकर therefore means coppermines also.

[27] There is विरोध in it. *Parameśvara Śiva* cannot be delighting to the form of *Kāmadeva*. But he as a supreme king was pleasing to *Kāmarūpa*.

[28] Naraka as an असुर cannot be delighting to the सुरs. But this descendant of Naraka was a devout worshipper of the gods.

[29] There is विरोध। The best of persons पुरुषोत्तम is जनार्द्दन (विष्णु)। But he is the best of persons but not *Viṣṇu*. The विरोध is eliminated by taking the word in the sense of "not an oppressor of people".

[30] There is also विरोध here. वीर means one motionless (विगत ईरो गतिर्यस्य)। *The* विरोध is eliminated by the sense of a hero.

[31] Here is *śleṣa*. अर्ज्जुन means white also. Similarly in the next word भीमसेन the second *Pāṇḍava* brother and accompanied by a fierce army.

[32] Just as the *malaya* breeze diffuses the odour of flowers so also he was the expositor of the intellectual faculties of the good people.

[33] See foot-note No. 88 of the section "Political Conditions" in the General Introduction.

(After this beginning from यथायथंसमुपस्थित etc. in line 53 of the inscription to शासनीकृत्य the last word in line 58, the contents being almost in common with the previous inscriptions, no separate translation of the portion is given.)

16. There was a Brahmin in that place named Devadatta of the *Parāśara gotra*, foremost of the *Vājasaneya* school of the *Kāñva* recension; the three Vedas deemed themselves worth-while as it were by having acquired him.

17. He had a meritorious and good son of laudable character named Gaṅgadatta worshipping the domestic fire; people began to repose credence in the character of Bhṛgu and others when they saw him.

18. He had a chaste wife named Śyāmāyikā endowed with good character and merit who shone like the sharp digit of the moon dispelling darkness with a pure disposition.

19. In her was born a son named Vīradatta, who was afraid of sin and was foremost of all knowing the *śāstras*. He, the resort of piety and sharp intellect, having been born, *Kaliyuga* almost came to be overlooked.

20. "For the sake of fame and merit of my parents as well as those of my own the plot of land (under reference in this edict) is donated to him by me in the 25th year (of my reign) on the day of zodiac termed *Viṣṇupada*."[34]

The boundary—on the east the silk-cotton tree on the big embankment; on the south-east the silk cotton tree on the steep bank, the boundary encircling (the area of) anchorage[35] of the *Rūṣis*; on the south the plum tree forming the boundary of the same anchorage; on the south-west the *Kāśimbalā* tree of the same; on the west the banyan tree on the high bank; on the curve to the north-west the embankment of the cultivated land and *Kāśimbalā* tree; the *Hijjala* tree on the embankment of the crop land on the north-west; the embankment of the cropland and the silk-cotton tree on the north-east bend; again on the curve on the south-east the embankment of the crop land and the two *Kāśimbalā* trees; the embankment and the two silk-cotton trees on the curve slightly bent towards the east and south; the *Kāśīmbalā* tree growing on the road to the north; the cane bush on the road to the north-east.

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[34] The days of conjunction heralding the advent of the months of *Jyaiṣṭha*, *Bhādra*, *Agrahāyana*, and *Phālguna* are known as *Viṣṇupadī saṃkrānti*. From this therefore the month of actual gift cannot be determined. But when gift is enjoined as meritorious in the movement of the sun in the northern hemistiche, either *Jyaiṣṭha* or *Phālguna* might be the months of the actual donation.

[35] The word पाट is translated by Dr. Hoernle as "anchorage" which we have retained, but we have translated the word as "block". Possibly both meanings are appropriate, because a ward or a block of a certain community could be arrived at from a certain anchorage when it has waters on all sides. cf. the *Dakṣiṇapāṭa*—a monastery still existing at *Mājulī*, surrounded by water and to be reached from the anchorage from the south.

(The text of the seal with the elephant's head.)

Svasti, Śrī Ratnapālavarmadeva, the supreme lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*.

THE ŚUĀLKUCI GRANT OF RATNAPĀLA

(Charter No. II of Ratnapāla)

(Only the portions in which the *Śuālkuci* Grant differs from the *Bargaon Grant* are translated)

In the plot of land of lower variety yielding three thousand measures of paddy falling under the *Viṣaya Kalaṅgā.*

16. There was a scholar endowed with modesty and knowledge of the *śāstras* known by the name of *Bhaṭṭa* Baladeva of the *Vājasaneyi* school of the *Kāṅva* recension and belonging to the *Bharadvāja gotra.*

17. He had a son Vāsudeva by name who repelled *naraka,*[1] whose pair of feet was adored by many a scholar and eyes were like fully-blossomed lotuses.

18. He had a beloved and chaste wife known by the name of Cchep-pāyikā[2] who was adorable to the people like the goddess *Lakṣmī,* was vowed to chastity and who was beautiful with the ornament of (physical) complexion.[3]

19. A son was born to them on this earth who surpassed the body of Kāmadeva in power and loveliness, and whose moon-like-white fame having adorned the sky in various ways ceaselessly roamed about in the entire world.

20. "For the sake of merit of my parents as well as my own and attainment of fame the plot of land (under reference in this edict) is donated to him by me in the 26th year of my reign."

Its boundary—on the east, the root of the *Śarkarā*[4] and the lopped mango-tree on the brick-kiln, the common boundary with Candenauki; on the south-east, the cane-grove co-existing as the boundary of Dakṣapatinauki; on the south, the *Hijjala* tree existing as the common boundary with Sadhavanauki; on the south-west, the tree of the name of *Bhadrākṣa*; on the west, the silk-cotton tree planted recently on the common boundary with Candenauki; on the north-west, the southern block of the towmen of Kalaṅgā; on the curve to the east, the *Coraka* tree in the southern ward of the towmen of Kalaṅgā and Sadhava; on the southern bend, the northern ward of the Kulasonta towmen; and on the curve existing on the east, the *Varuna* tree in the northern ward of the Sadhava and the Kulasonta towmen; on the northern bank of the Diyambāra *jola*[5] on the north ward curve, the *Hijjala* tree; the cane tree on the street-end on the north-east.

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[1] There is श्लेष in the two words नरक and विबुध. As Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) was the killer of Naraka, had many gods as the worshippers of his feet and was lotus-eyed, so also this Vāsudeva was one who could keep away from *naraka* by his pious activities, was adored by many a learned man for his scholarship, and had lotus-like eyes.

[2] Vidyāvinoda has tried to trace the origin of this name from the Sanskrit श्री पायिका । This is unnecessary in view of the fact that the process of Assamese word-formations began possibly from very earlier times.

[3] Ladies present a charming appearance by putting on ornaments of very bright colour; but this woman did not put any and was beautiful by the good complexion in her physique.

[4] शर्करामूल the tuberous root of a class of creepers generally growing on dumps of hard soil. Therefore it is likely that it may grow on stacks of broken bricks. It may be used as a boundary mark on account of its growth on a high level. This may again be a class of reeds growing on ant-hills or brick-stacks. Another meaning of शर्करा is pebbles or pieces or block of stones.

(The text of the seal with the elephant's head)

Svasti, Śrī Ratnapālavarmadeva, the Supreme lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*.)

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[5] जोल might be a pool of water or a place where due to depression large accumulation of water takes place.

FIRST COPPER-PLATES GRANT OF INDRAPĀLA

(The Gauhati Grant of Indrapāla)

May God bless (all)—

1. "Oh gambler, I have today won in gambling all your belongings such as the club, the axe, the bull, the crescent moon and the like, but I return to you all these; only let Gaṅgā remain as my slave for fetching water".—Let the head of *Śiva*, defeated by the skill of the game of dice, bent low by these words of *Gaurī* be triumphant.

2. Let the Great Boar, the Lord of the beasts, the Sovereign Monarch over created beings of honoured bodily glory[1] be victorious; let also the goddess Earth, the mother of the Bhagadatta family and the support of the countless kings (be victorious).

3. Let *Lauhitya*, the son of Brahmā and the lord of the rivers in whose water was washed the mudlike coagulated blood of the axe of Paraśurāma which severed the branch like necks of the (tree like) kings, wash off your sins peculiar to the age of *Kali*.

4. Hari, incarnated as a Boar, shook the nether region which is the abode of terrible serpents with His bouncing hoofs and rescued the Earth which was steeped in muds of the nether region as its oceans broke their boundary at the end of the cycle of time.

5. The glorious king Naraka whose foot-prints were worshipped by the (whole) world was the son of that *Viṣṇu* whose mind became languid with pleasure accumulating due to enjoyment of the embrace of the Earth raised up by His sprout-like tusk.

6. That king of unparalleled fame lived in the city of *Prāgjyotiṣapura* which was bright with gems, a storehouse of wealth and the charming suburb of which was bedecked with rows of woods and which was as it were the second bosom of his father (*Nārāyaṇa*) which is flooded by the lustre of the gem (*Kaustubha*), the resort of *Lakṣmi* and bearing the *Vanamāla* (garland of wood flowers) shining near the neck.[2]

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[1] The word पशुपति means *Mahādeva* but coming as it does with महावराह it means the lord of the beasts. He is the lord of the created variety and is non-distinct from *Isa* and *Dhātā*, the creator, cf

Again पिताह्मस्य जगतो माता धाता पितामहः । etc. Gita IX. 17
परं भावमजानन्तो मम भूतमहेश्वरम् ।। Ibid. IX. 11

The purpose behind the introduction of a second benedictory verse is to show the complete identity of these three deities.

[2] The adjectives are applicable both to the वक्षःस्थल of *Viṣṇu* and the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa.* This is clearly shown in the translation itself. The figure of speech is श्लेषानुप्राणितोत्प्रेक्षा ।

7. He had also a son Bhagadatta by name in whom all the qualities of his father reposed. Although he possessed exceeding strength and vitality and destroyed the host of his enemies, he showed partiality for the weak.

8. He had a son Vajradatta by name who snatched away the fame of his enemy. He was firmly established in the high position of the kings of Naraka dynasty, was foremost among the victorious kings of the world and propitiated Indra by the strength of his thunder-bolt-like arms.

9. Brahmapāla was a king of this lineage. His son Ratnapāla became famous in the world as a destroyer of enemies and a self-controlled king. The greatness of this king who was the treasure-house of priceless merits beggars description. The commendable deeds of *Rāma* or *Kṛṣṇa* had an extended application in him.

10. He filled up the earth with white-washed temples wherein the images of *Śiva* were installed, the houses of the *Brāhmaṇas* versed in Vedic lore with wealth of all kinds, court-yards of the sacrificial halls with sacrificial posts, the sky with the smoke of ablations, the ocean waters with masses of dust particles raised in (battle) marches and all the quarters with pillars of victory.

11. His son Purandarapāla was of illustrious fame, bountiful, enjoyer (of life), pure, proficient in fine arts, a hero and a renowned poet.

12. He who was fond of hunting performed many a time also in the battle the feats of great delight by confining the eminent kings of the enemy camp to the cages formed in a moment by arrows.

13. He became indeed the husband of a worthy wife, having obtained Ḍurlabhā, a rare woman in the world born of the royal dynasty ruling over the extensive territory conquered by the strength of the arms of *Paraśurāma*.[3]

14. She was his devoted wife just as *Śacī* was of *Indra*, *Pārvatī* was of *Śiva*, *Rati* was of *Madana*, *Lakṣmī* was of *Nārāyaṇa* and *Rohiṇī* was of *Candra*.

15. King Indrapāla was born of them; he was the illuminator of the eastern region, visible ornament of the earth, extirpator of the foes, self-controlled and the foremost among the statesmen, and the refined people. The paved floor of the audience-hall looked like (a tree) covered with fruits on account of the scattered jewels falling from the crests of the kings who bent their heads at their own will and were with folded hands in order to pay respect to him after he ascended the throne.

16. He dived deep into the rivers of all learning which were very

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[3] See fn. no. 128 and after in the "General Introduction" for a detailed discussion on this point. The word कलत्रवान् has implied प्रशस्तकलत्रयुक्तत्वम् (प्रशस्यार्थे मतुप्)। The word कलत्र also means a royal citadel. It therefore rests to be established whether Ratnapāla actually acquired a fortress in the region for consolidation of the kingdom.

large and swift with currents in the shape of *Vyākaraṇa*, *Mīmāṅsā*, *Nyāya* and *Tantra*[4] and reached the (other) bank (attained mastery over them).

17. His father, having gone to heaven and been transformed into a body of fame, the royal fortune was handed over to him, the grandson, personally by the pure-minded king (Ratnapāla) strong as a lion and advanced in age, considering him to be worthy of it.

18. When he (Indrapāla) who was self-controlled and powerful became king, the earth where the duties of the four *āśramas* and castes were properly divided was again the delighter of the subjects, yielded all their desires and was very prosperous as in the time of Pṛthu.

19. The city of *Śrī Durjayā*, full of elephants, horses and jewels, unconquerable by the host of kings was the capital of that king endowed with befitting qualities.

His Exalted Majesty, the most respected sovereign monarch Śrī Indrapāla Varmā, who was blessed by His Exalted Majesty, the most respected sovereign monarch Śrī Ratnapāla Varmā, famous as the Lord of *Prāgjyotiṣpura*, of unchallenged authority, destroyer of the entire host of foes and a descendant of *Varāha*—orders with due respect to the divisional officers, lawyers, prominent citizens, other people related to feudal kings, (their) queens, and chieftains, *Kṣatriyas*, princes, and favourites of the king who are present in the plot of land yielding four thousand (*Droṇas* ?) of paddy which has been set apart from the '*Kāsī-Pātaka Bhaviṣā Bhūmi*' in the District of *Hāpyoma* on the right bank as well as the future citizens of this people. Please note that this plot of land extending up to its boundary duly marked, including dwelling place, corn fields, dry land, marshy land, pasture ground, places for refuse, has been made free of (harassment from) elephant-keepers,[5] boat-keepers, officers restoring stolen property, police officials, officers who oppress people while collecting rents and for other reasons. It has also been made free from all oppressions like grazing by horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and the like and has been made a grant of—

20. There lived a Brahmin, of the lineage of *Kāśyapa*, Haripāla by name who was very pure in conduct, devoted to his friends, follower of the *Yajurveda* and reservoir of all merits.

21. He was a devotee of *Śiva*; he had a son Śavarapāla by name. Śavarapāla was a renowned Brahmin, foremost among the respected and free from jealousy towards the good.

22. He who practised the code of conduct of the good had a wife Saukhyāyikā by name who ministered to his comfort by her services, followed the customary rules, was accomplished and devoted to her husband.

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[4] पद=व्याकरण; वाक्य=मीमांसा; तर्क=न्याय; तन्त्र=आगम ।

[5] See in this connection the portion "Other Officers Mentioned" under "Political Conditions" in the "General Introduction".

23. They had a son born to them; his name was Deśapāla; he was wise and a repository of innumerable good qualities and maintained their affectionate relatives and friends.

24. On the eighth year of my reign, I give away this land as grant to that self-restrained Brahmin of austere vows.

(Third plate)

Its boundary—On the east are the western side of the *Koṣṭhamākkhiyāna* pond and the boundary embankment of the arable land *Makūtimākkhiyāna* owned by *Kūla* and *Kūntavita Khambhava*. On the south-east, are that land and the big boundary embankment lying between the two plots *Kūntavita Lākkhāvabhoga* and *Kāsīpāṭaka*. On the south, are the big embankment on the boundary of that land, the tank of the *Svalpadyuti Kaivartas* on the north-western bend of the river and the embankment on the boundary of the corn field known as *Koṣṭha Bhūmi* and three bamboo groves. On the south-west, there is the river *Dirgummā* on the boundary of that land, the same river flows on the northern bend also. On the north-eastern bend there is the boundary embankment of the land known as *Koṣṭha Kāsīpātaka*. On the western bend, there is the embankment of the dwelling place on the boundary of that land. On the west, there flows the river *Dirgummā*; the same river is there on the north-west also. On the north there is a *Śākhotaka* tree on the embankment of the cultivable land lying on the boundary of *Bhaviṣā* land given as grant to *Āditya Bhaṭṭāraka* by *Tathāgata*[6] as well as the southern bank of the tank caused to be excavated by Paśupati and an embankment of the cultivable land. On the north-east is that land, as well as the western side of the *Koṣṭhamākkhiyāna* pond and *kūla*.

(writing on the seal)

May God bless Śrī Indrapālavarmadeva, the sovereign monarch and the lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*.

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[6] The word तथागत found here has led to wild speculations on the existence or prevalence of Buddhism in *Kāmarūpa*. But nothing can be said with certainty on this point. Vidyāvinoda has opined that the word तथागत might refer to King Ratnapāla; from the text itself it appears likely that the king himself made a donation of land for the purpose of a Sun-temple near which the land of the present gift lies.

SECOND COPPER PLATES GRANT OF INDRAPĀLA

(The Guākuci Grant of Indrapāla)

(The text of the plate from the first to the nineteenth verse, as well as the six prose lines up to the word कुशली is the same as in the First Grant of Indrapāla.)

His majesty Indrapāla Varmā orders with due respect to the divisional officers, lawyers, and other prominent citizens, and others connected with the (feudal) kings, (their) queens, and chieftains, *kṣatriyas*, princes, favourites of the king and others, who are duly present in this plot of land yielding two thousand (*Droṇas*) of paddy, set apart from the '*Paṇḍari Bhūmi*' in the district of *Mandi* on the right bank (of the Brahmaputra), as well as all the future citizens of this place. May you all know that this plot extending up to its boundary and including dwelling places, arable lands, dry lands, marshy lands, pasture lands and areas for refuse has been freed from all kinds of oppressions of elephant keepers, boat keepers, officers employed for recovering stolen properties, police officers, tax collectors, people harassing others under various pretexts, elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and the like and has been incorporated in a deed of grant.

20. In *Sāvathi*, there is a village called *Vaināma* which is indwelled by Brahmins and which is a fortress as it were for the shelter of *Dharma* (piety) apprehensive of *Adharma* (impiety).

21. There lived in that village a pious Brahmin named Somadeva who belonged to *Kāśyapa* lineage, was a follower of the *Kāṅva* branch of the *Yajurveda* and was an incarnation of *Brahmā* as it were.

22. He had a celebrated son Vasudeva by name. Just as the supreme Lord (*Kṛṣṇa*) was gracious to Nanda the friend of Vasudeva, he was also propitious to Vasudeva the delighter of his friends.

23. He had a wife Anurādha by name who was a lady of pure conduct like Arundhatī the wife of Vaśiṣṭha, who came of a noble family and who removes the sin of *Kali* age as the river Ganges.

24. He begot a son in that wife, called Devadeva who was espoused by fame and kindness and was a benefactor of the kings just as *Kṛṣṇa* the well-wisher of the cowherds was begotten in Devakī (by Vasudeva) and was accepted by Yaśodā as her son.[1]

25. On the twentyfirst year of my reign, this land yielding two thousand (*Droṇas*) paddy is donated to this Brahmin.

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[1] There is श्लेष in the words गोप and यशोदया having two meanings—cowherd and kings; Yaśodā and यशः and दया।

Its boundary:—On the east are the jackfruit tree standing on the embankment of the dwelling place along the border of '*Markamyīkokva*' *Mahā-Rājaputra Pātcka* and *Paṇḍarī Bhūmi* incorporated in the grants of *Mahāgaurī* and *Kāmeśvara* and the embankment of the arable land; in the western bend are that land, *Makuti* (*kumyarā*) incorporated in the grant of Vîra and the embankment of the cultivable land lying on the border of *Paṇḍarī Bhūmi*; in the southward bend, are the embankment on the boundary of that land and the northern bank of *Hāhāravi Jola;* in the southwest, is the extremity of the embankment of the cultivable land lying on the border of that land; in the west, are that land, the embankment of the cultivable land lying on the border of *Paṇḍarī Bhūmi* incorporated in the grant of Vasumādhavadeva and the *Jiṅginī* trees; in north-eastern bend, are the *Śākhotaka* tree on the boundary of that land and the embankment of the field lying to the south of the *Jola*; in the north-west, is the extremity of the field lying on the boundary of that land; in the eastward bend, is the southern side of *Jola* on the boundary of that land;

Third Plate

in the north, east and northward bend, is the embankment of the dwelling place lying on the border of that land; in the north-east * * * is the mango tree standing on the south (of the *Jola*); in the north, that land lies on the south bank of the *Srotasī Jola* which is on the border land of the village *Pīdaka* (and the village *Savṛddha*), in the northern and eastern bends are the south-east, and south banks (of the *Jola*); in the north-east of that land, are the land incorporated in the grant of *Mahāgaurī* and *Kāmeśvara* and the embankment of the dwelling place on the border of the *Paṇḍarī Bhūmi*.

These are the thirtytwo names of his exalted Majesty (Indrapāladeva):—

1. *Kīrtikamalinī Mārtaṇḍa*—The sun of the lotus of fame.
2. *Lakṣmībhārodvahanācyuta*—Like *Acyuta* (Lord *Viṣṇu*) who bears *Lakṣmī* on his chest, he is the supporter of royal fortune (*Rājalakṣmī*) and unwavering in duty.
3. *Sakalalokaśaṅkara*—Doer of good to all the worlds.
4. *Karuṇājīmūtavāhana*—Kind hearted like *Jīmūtavāhana*.
5. *Saṃgrāmastambha*—Steady in battles like a pillar.
6. *Arasikabhīma*[2]—Terrible to those who lack in taste.
7. *Apratihataśaktikārtikeya*—Of unobstructed power like *Kārtikeya*.

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[2] There is श्लेष in भीम। King Indrapāla was भीम—like but unlike भीम who served as a cook under king Virāṭa while living in his kingdom incognito, he was never a cook. The word रसिक therefore has the second sense of a cook. cf.

वल्लवो भीमसेनश्च पितुस्ते रसपाचकः ।। Virāṭaparva VIL. 5.

8. *Vipakṣabalabhit*—Destroyer of the enemy forces (or, powerful over the enemies like *Indra*).
9. *Narasiṃhavikrama*—As powerful as *Narasiṃha* (the Man-Lion incarnation of God).
10. *Kalikālajaladhinimajjad Vasundharādivarāha*—The Ādivarāha to rescue the earth plunged in the ocean in the Kali Age.
11. *Sāhasaikasahāya*—Whose only resort was valour.
12. *Dhanurdharaikapārtha*—An unparalleled archer like Pārtha.
13. *Anatakṣatravaṃśabhārgava*—*Paraśurāma* for the host of unbending *Kṣatriyas.*
14. *Uddhatabhūbhṛdaśanipāta*[3]—Like the fall of thunder-bolt over the haughty mountains, he was the subduer of the insolent kings.
15. *Antaḥpurabhujaṅga*—An indulger in sexual pleasure in the harem, but self-controlled outside.
16. *Sarasvatīnijanivāsa*—Own dwelling place of the goddess of learning.
17. *Suhṛnmānasarājahaṃsa*[4]—Like a swan in the *Mānasa* lake that supreme monarch also delighted his friends.
18. *Kāminīmanomohanaikamantra*—The most efficacious spell in infatuating the minds of women.
19. *Anavadyavidyādhara*—The receptacle of huge knowledge, or, like a blameless *Vidyādhara.*
20. *Samarasāgaramṛgāṅka*—The moon (agitating like the moon) in the ocean of battles.
21. *Prajñābadhūvallabha*—The favourite of wisdom resembling a woman.
22. *Kalāvilāsinīsubhaga*—The darling of the damsel of fine arts.
23. *Arthijanamanorathakalpadruma*—A wish-yielding tree of the desires of the supplicants.
24. *Mitrodayaprabhātasamaya*[5]—The cause of prosperity to the friends like the time of sun-rise.
25. *Dharmavirodhivartmabhīru*—Timid to the path of impiety.
26. *Sadguṇākarṇāvataṃśa*[6]—Whose good qualities were the ear-ornaments (of other people).

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[3] भूभृत् means a mountain or a king. As Indra caused the thunderbolts to fall upon the flying mountains to cut down their wings, so also the advent of Indrapāla was like the falling of thunder-bolts on the kings behaving in an adverse manner.

[4] मानस means mind as well as the Mānasa lake ; राजहंस is a king-swan as well as the best of kings.

[5] मित्र—the sun and the friends ; उदय—rise and prosperity. The king was the beginning of the rise of prosperity of his friends like the morning time when the sun rises.

[6] i.e. his story was pleasing to the ears of others as a repository of good qualities.

27. *Saccaritacandanamalayagiri*—He was the shelter of good conduct resembling sandal paste like the mount *Malaya* which is the abode of sandal wood.
28. *Medinītilaka*[7]—Like a mark on the forehead (an ornament) of the earth.
29. *Pracaṇḍanaragaṇḍa*—Subduer of the violent men.
30. *Taruṇītaraṇḍa*[8]—A raft (place of shelter) for the youthful women.
31. *Turaṅgarevanta*—A skilled horse-man.
32. *Haragirijācaraṇapaṅkajarajorañjitottamāṅga*—Whose head was tinged with the pollen of the lotus-feet of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*.

Śani
Dhani
Ani

The pictures are drawn by *Śrī* Aṣṭaka

(writing on the seal)

May God bless Śrī Indrapālavarmadeva, the sovereign monarch and the lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*.

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[7] This has implied the भर्त्तृत्व of the earth.

[8] The sense of an attraction for the damsels is more prominent than a shelter.

THE GĀCHTAL COPPER PLATES INSCRIPTION OF GOPĀLAVARMADEVA

1. This is not rendered into English, because the meaning is not clear. The readings adopted are also not beyond doubt. Evidently it is an invocation to the God *Śiva*.

2. That Deity springing up a lotus in His navel with his prowess ignited beyond restraint by the air from the breaths of the divine (demon) women prevails from a distance in the manner over the seed of the world,[1] the forepart of whose curved and white teeth while he assumes the form of a boar conquered at ease the digit of the moon released by the clouds.[2]

3. May that ocean-like *Lauhitya*, that with its beauty soiled by the pollens of the flowers fallen from the trees on its brink becomes formidable by its revolving whirlpools[3] with its arms[4] (banks) stirring with bil-

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[1] That Lord *Viṣṇu* as the *Paramātmā* is not touched by the creation and therefore he is above creation; the expression. दूरादेवं स जयति जगद्वीजम् implies such an idea. *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* aided by the three qualities have brought about creation and the Paramātmā is beyond them, cf.—

सर्व्वयोनिषु कौन्तेय मूर्त्तयः सम्भवन्ति याः ।
तासां ब्रह्म महद्योनिरहं वीजप्रदः पिता ।।४।।
सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणाः प्रकृतिसम्भवाः ।
निबध्नन्ति महाबाहो देहे देहिनमव्ययम् ।।५।। Gītā. XIV.
यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ।।१८।। Ibid. XV.
Again— सर्व्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं सर्व्वेन्द्रियविवर्ज्जितम् ।
असक्तं सर्व्वभृच्चैव निर्गुणं गुणभोक्तृ च ।।
वहिरन्तश्च भूतानामचरं चरमेव च ।
सूक्ष्मत्वादविज्ञेयं दूरस्थं चान्तिके च तत् ।। Gītā. XIII. 15-16.

[2] The idea is—the tremendous force with which the earth was submerged into the ocean sent forth patches of clouds and water foams into the sky which completely covered the moon. But the tusk of the boar was so curved and long that it could not only restore the earth to its position but also remove the layers of cloud over the moon and could unveil it to shed lustre on the earth.

[3] This *śloka* has referred to the tremendous nature of the Brahmaputra while flowing in full splendour as well as to the nature of the Lord *Śiva* in *Tāṇḍava*.

आवर्त्तभ्रान्तिभीमः—ferocious with the revolving whirpools in the case of Brahmaputra but ruthless in the revolving postures of his dance in case of Lord *Śiva*.

Similarly the dance was so powerful that the flowers from the side-way trees were falling down with their pollens obscuring the beauty of the Lord while annointing his body.

[4] बाहु means the river-bank on the one hand and the arms of the Lord. The banks

lows engulfing by the force of its speed (current) the caves of the frost-covered mountain, that emits a grinning laugh[5] with its foam spreading like the rays of the moon assuming the postures of shining trees[6] in the beginning of its dance, be victorious.

4. The all glorious primeval male being *Hari* in the form of the great boar relieved[7] this earth submerged in the quagmire of the deep nether region and with the shore of its oceans stuck to the sea of dissolution.

5. A son Naraka by name whose foot-stool was (later on) rubbed by the jewels on the heads of kings was born to the goddess earth whose love was aroused through amourosness grown out of the contact with the body of the best of persons (*Viṣṇu*) through a dallying sport flashing at the moment.

6. Being unable to bear in great battles whose heat flaming out from power, the warriors of the army of Lord *Indra* went away with their bodies stripped of the mass of jewels as if they were emitting a mass of glowing charcoals.[8]

7. By whom being dispossessed of the two ear-rings the mother of the gods with the lobes of her ears remaining vacant attained the state of the sky bereft of the moon and the sun.

8. He had a capital known as *Prāgjyotiṣa* rivalling the (capital) city

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were shaking with large billows, and the arms were tremulously moving with a billowing sound.

[5] The moon-like white foams assumed the appearance of a grinning laughter and with *Śiva* his grinning was like a laughter as white as the foams.

[6] The Brahmaputra while it had a tremendous rush in its waters was absorbing big trees that were revolving about by the force of the current and therefore their flowers with their pollens were all absorbed in the current making it dirty. At the same time there is the suggestion that the Brahmaputra in full vigour assumed the gait of Lord *Śiva* in his *tāṇḍava* postures.

Again the postures of Lord *Śiva* were like those of a tree tossed about in the current without any stability.

[7] उद्धरन् is the reading which does not complete the sense; at the same time उदहरत् which completes the sense does not conform to the metre as उद्धरन् ।

[8] The word प्रताप is very significantly used, because it has denoted power on the one hand and extreme heat on the other which has assumed the forms of the tongues of fire-flames. At the same time, it has suggested that he was already in the summit of his power. The warriors of *Indra*, it is suggested, tried to devour up this flame of his power but being unable to consume emitted it in the shape of glowing charcoals to add to the majesty of that fire. The words उद्गीर्ण and वमन्त: are used in their secondary senses. cf.—

निष्ठूतोद्गीर्णवान्तादि गौणवृत्तिव्यपाश्रयम् ।
अतिसुन्दरमन्यत्र ग्राम्यकक्षां विगाहते ।। Kāvyādarśa I. 95.

of the lord of the gods carrying a high rampart acquainted with (flooded by) the mass of waves from the eastern ocean, where the full digit of the moon kissing the turrets of crystal-white mansions spreads out at night[9] the rising lustre having the splendour of a golden pitcher.

9. As *Kumāra* of unlimited strength was born as a son of *Śambhu*, so also from him was born a king Bhagadatta, the delighter of the good-hearted, because he had the full satisfaction in accepting taxes from the earth of the king only when it had an agreeable prosperity.[10]

10. The purport of this verse is not clear and therefore we have desisted from rendering it into English.

11. Whose family ornamented by high-born and noble kings weighty with virtues like Bhagadatta and others conquered the cover extensive under the sky (i.e. the earth) with the help of the powerful swan-like kings[11] white (with fame) like the rays of the moon, as the muscular king of the swans as white as the rays of the moon overpower the red colour of the sun's rays spread under the sky (or the saffron flowers grown under the sky i.e. the earth).

12. Brahmapāla of pure birth creating softness and pleasure, who was born as the moon of the lords of men, became the jewel of artpieces in the ocean of his family.[12]

13. The readings in the third *pāda* of the verse are not properly established, because the metre that appears to be *sragdharā* in the verse is not maintained here. If we take the word *yajñe* as *jajñe* and *rajñām* as *rajñaḥ* then the translation of the verse may be as follows:—

> To that king was born a son who was of expansive fame like the moon, who exterminated the enemy forces, whose feet were decorated by the sprouts of the jewelled knots of the helmets from the rows of heads of the sovereigns, who encircled the earth by means

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[9] The word श्यामा has been used in the sense of night.

[10] Render भूभृद्भुवः अभिरामभूतेः करपरिग्रहपूर्णकामात् सुमनसाम् आनन्दनः—pleasing to the good-hearted, because of the full satisfaction of accepting taxes from people of agreeable prosperity of the earth or kingdom of that king.

[11] There is श्लेष in the word राजहंस meaning a swan as well as the swan-like king. Similarly शशधरकरगौरैः will mean "as white as the rays of the moon" and "white (with fame) like the rays of the moon". पाटलम् means saffron flowers, or the red colour in the case of the swan and the cover or the veil: पटलमेव पाटलम् स्वार्थे अण् ।

[12] This whole *śloka* is an excellent example of श्लेष । कलानिधि art-jewel as well as the moon; उदय prosperity and rise; सौम्यशीतलकर creating softness and pleasure, of agreeable and cool rays. As the moon was churned out of the ocean, so also from that ocean-like family was sprung that art-jewel. The ocean churned by the gods and the demons yielded heaps of jewels.

of the fire of his formidable power, and who was like Nābhāga having the extensiveness etc.

14. When in the awe-inspiring and fierce sacrifice marked by the arrows piercing through the temples of elephants, the rows of enemies falling down with their white umbrellas thrown here and there rise up again at will, he makes the lines of their heads an obsequy of water (in those white umbrellas themselves) placed in a silver platter as-it-were.[13]

15. Who having the pride of his arm in the van while he conquered by means of his pair of arms Rājyapāla, the king of *Gauḍa*, engaged in battle, made, I fancy, the *Mandākinī* with its waters made dense with (moon-shaped black) drops of ichor of the big elephants appear like the daughter of *Kalinda* (i.e. *Jamunā*).

16. He who was born famous with the name of Purandarpāla was the very receptacle of virtue (order) like the second lord of the day (the Sun) whose power glowed with the tears of the wives of his adversaries as the submarine fire with the waters of the ocean.

17. The fame of that king which is like the digit of the moon in the ocean of fierce battles, the end of the tusk of an elephant of great prowess and the queen-swan in the midst of the faces of good men, whitened the worlds.[14]

18. From him, King Indrapāla, the repository of virtues, earning his prosperity through fortitude attendant on modesty and courage was born, from whom those very enemy warriors received the removal of the itching sensation caused in their strong arms through excessive pride in the van of the battle.

19. When that king of lion-like valour was moving towards decripitude and his son of pure fame was ascending heaven he placed his own grand-son in-charge of the kingdom and engaged his mind in *Paramātmā* as its object for all time to come.

20. When this strong king of *Vaṅga*, Kalyāṇacandra, son of Śrī Candra, with indomitable arms intoxicated with the pounding of the *Gauḍa* army when he arrived at the outskirts of the war-field placing here his naval forces covered by chowries and jingling golden discs

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[13] Here the whole operation of a battle is described as a sacrifice, in which the heads of enemy warriors were cut down and an obsequial offering was made to them for the peace of their souls in the white umbrellas thrown by them here and there in utter confusion as if these white umbrellas were the white plates suitable for making such offers.

[14] The poetic convention that fame is white and that it whitens the whole world when commendable is fully worked out here. The कीर्त्ति of that king was churned out from the ocean of fierce battle as the moon from the ocean of white water. It was also like a queen-swan in the midst of lotus-like face of beautiful persons.

was conquered by him, the poor fellow was destroyed in the same place alone with his fame.

21. By whom while constructing rows of temples of Lord *Śambhu* white with spotless (clear) liquid lime was constructed a mansion of granites from the *Kailāsa* mountain on the surface of the earth as it were.

22. He had a queen Rājyadevī by name the spring of beautiful women born in the ocean-like (great) family of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* kings as *Lakṣmī* the mine of lotuses is of Lord *Puruṣottama*.

23. From them two, bearing the burden of the earth, Śrī Gopāla whose nails of the feet were touched by the rays from the helmets of kings, who was the sole ocean of modesty and enterprise, a friend of the learned, who conquered the earth, was true to his promise, a good warrior, intelligent, fierceful to the enemy, and a resort for rest of the endless number of virtues was born.

24. When, after a long time, his father attained to the abode of Lord *Maheśvara*, the earth acquired by strength, while it resided in his victorious arms, remembered the suzerainty of *Rāma* over the worlds after Daśaratha's departure to the region of gods.[15]

25. Who was the ordainer of battles in which the quarters were deafened by the sound of drums mixed up with (that of) jingling anklets rolling about in confusion of divine damsels tremulous with a thirst for heroes, which were a festival for the vultures pleasing to the mass of evil spirits, waited upon by jackals growing bulky (being fed) with bloody flesh and which had the sky (over it) encircled by creeper-like (fine) weapons with sharp edges.

26. By the streams of water, though scanty, flowing from the sword of him conquering the force of his adversaries, the power of his enemy warriors growing like a burning fire was extinguished, the dirt of (their) pride was also washed away, the thirst for blood in a battle was profusely alleviated, and the rivulets of hope of the friends were filled up to their fill so-much-so their creeper of fame was nurtured.

27. That the curious gazes of those having fickle eyes like the mass of gods, gazes that are tremulous with the waves of amazement through unrestricted love, gazes that fall obliquely again and again, gazes that get stifled in the direction of their movement through ardour of love, crawl his lotus-like face as beautiful as the lotus of sport (in the hand) of goddess *Lakṣmī* is by itself a gluttonous pastime.

28. Whose fame is shining forth laughing in (the midst of) rows

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[15] A similar verse is to be seen in the *Ḍubi Plates*

स पुत्रेण तेन मुमुदे लोकान्तरगतोऽपि सन् ।
रामेणेव पुरा राज्ञा स्वर्गे दशरथो नृपः ।।३८।।

of swans, playing in the club of elephant tusks and also blooming fully in the lustre of the moon.

29. When that king was ruling, there was no restriction on the wheels (of the chariots) at night (there was no restriction at night to the royal army), there were no thorns in the lotus stalks (he wielded a white parasol unimpeded by enemies), there was no damage caused to the self-respect of the wealthy (there was no extortion of money from those people who following the disposition of the king were themselves benevolent).[16]

30. May the lustrous Gopāladeva, the repository of virtues, the ornament of the world, acquiring a station in the heart of the heroes by means of his jewel on the diadem, the dart of grief to his enemies, a magnificent friend of the learned, an adamantine cage for those taking shelter, the god of love for the female lovers, the lord of the kings, and a wish-yielding tree to the suitors be victorious.

31. That good king had a holy city *Haḍapyakā* by name like *Amarāvatī* of the lord of gods lived in by good people, having beautiful conduct like those of the gods and shining with women having their forms like those of the heavenly nymphs.

32. There was a noble *Brāhmaṇa* Sambhrama by name of the *Parāśara* family proficient in rhetorics. His son of the name of Balabhadra composed this panegyric of the king.

(After this *śloka* from the middle of line 60 to 68 of the plate)—May it be all well with the Lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, the illustrious Gopāladeva, the supreme monarch, the best warrior, the paramount overlord following in the foot-steps of the lustrous Indrapālavarma, the supreme monarch born in the family of *Viṣṇu* in the guise of a boar, the great warrior, the overlord exterminating innumerable enemy confrontations by means of his army. He issues this command with due respect to those present such as the officer-in-charge of the district office, the officer-in-charge of law, and other countryside officers and those to be present in the future such as subordinate kings, queens, *rāṇakas*, feudatory chiefs, princes, and people dear to the king in the plot of land of inferior grade yielding 8000 measure of paddy of the village *khārikoṇā* falling under the *viṣaya-Bārāsra-jambubā*,—"Let it be known to you that this plot of land with residential area, agricultural field both water-logged and dry, grazing area, fallow land, as far as its fixed boundaries, is ordered to be made free of all oppressions by people such as the tax-collectors of the elephant stables, the officers of the ports, those for detection of theft, police men, the *auparikaras*[17] and others to realise agricultural levies and also ordered to be made free of all movements by the keepers of elephants, buffaloes, goats etc.

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[16] The figure of speech, परिसङ्ख्या, is loosely worked out and with the aid of श्लेष that is आक्षिप्त here other meanings are suggested. The word चक्र may mean the army or the circle of associate kings i.e. राजचक्र i.e. राजमण्डल। But the sense of an army appears more likely, because he did not overwork his army; there was no thorn in the stalks of the white lotuses—this is apparently a विरोध eliminated by the sense of a white parasol or पुण्डरीक।

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[17] For notes on these technical terms see the section "Other Officers Mentioned" under "C—Political Conditions" in the "General Introduction".

KHONĀMUKH PLATES OF DHARMAPĀLA

The text of this inscription is exactly same with that of the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* charter up to कुषलिनः in line 29. Then the following line only is different.

पुरुजीविषयान्तःपातिदिगलण्डीभूम्यपकृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकमेरुपाटकभूमौ ।। which translated in English stands as follows—

In the plot of land known as *Merupāṭaka* yielding two thousand (measures of) paddy separated from the area of *Digalaṇḍī* coming under the *viṣaya puruji*.

From this line onwards up to शासनीकृत्य in line 35 the two inscriptions fully agree in words. The rest from verse 16 disagrees and is separately translated below.

16. There was a *Brāhmaṇa* Ummoka by name versed in all the *śāstras* coming from the *Madhyadeśa* who was a sacrificer, was proficient in the *Vedāṅgas*, was an ascetic and a charioteer.

17. That great sacrificer of the family of *Kāśyapa* and following the *Yajurveda* in its *Kāṇva* recension sacrificed, it is said, in very many ways with sacrifices like *Agniṣṭoma* etc.

18. In him[1] the sacrificing *Brāhmaṇas* were put to shame again and again for a long time, because the parrot, the reservoir of learning as massive as a river[2] (i.e. with learning massively flowing like the current of a river) being confined in the cage of sport, was teaching again and again the Brahmins whose reading (of the sacrificial incantations) was excessively discordant and mutilated through sacrificial smokes reminding[3] (at the same time) the *sārikā* birds (of the same *mantras* of the sacrifice).

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[1] The sense of the word तस्मिन् is not clear here; it may refer to the *Brāhmaṇa* or the sacrifice. We have translated it as "in him" meaning "by him" and connected it with the word लज्जिताः in the fourth *pāda*. He was so proficient in the recitation and application of *Vedic mantras* to the sacrifices that his parrots even learned correctly the *Vedic mantras* and their application to the sacrifices. Therefore the sacrificing Brāhmaṇas were put to shame.

[2] The word सरिदुरुप्रज्ञानिधानः can be explained as follows—सरिद्वत् उरुः तादृशी प्रज्ञा, तस्याः निधानः। The comparison is very much appropriate, because like the river having its waters flowing, the parrot was also constantly imparting lessons to the *Brāhmaṇas*, whenever they faultered, with its constant flowing *Vedic mantras*. Here the word निधानः is not used as विधेयविशेषण and therefore does not anticipate the proposition of the width of knowledge of the parrots which is so self-evident. Again the word वटु used here is in direct contrast to such a versatile parrot.

[3] There is a suggested similarity of the शारिकाs with the वटुs because they were as imperfect in the recitation of the *Vedic mantras* and were as constantly to be reminded by the parrot as the latter.

19. He had a heroic son known by the name of Viṣṇu, like a second *Viṣṇu* on earth, adept in the use of missiles and versed in the *Śāstras*.

20. He had a beloved of the name of Manoramā alias Manasvinī as *Gaurī* was of *Śambhu* and *Lakṣmī* was of *Hari*.

21. From them two, a son was born known by the name of the lustrous Mahābāhu with his mind banishing the least of blemishes by a study of the *Mīmāṁsā*.[4]

To that twice-born was given the (plot of) land yielding six thousand measure of paddy by the king Dharmapāla in the 1st year of his reign.

Its boundary—On the east the land of *Hākkevaṭṭi* and *Pheṭṭasimali* in *Digalaṇḍī* in *Merupāṭaka* yielding six thousand measure of paddy enjoyed by *Bhaṭṭa* Mahābāhu. On the east of *Purujī*[5] the boundary marked by the embankment of the tillage and the banyan tree co-existing on the land of the village *Śaṃkhu;* on the south the boundary is marked by the Halāvana along the curve of the village Arjjāpāṭakī; * * * boundary on the south—the land on the big embankment with the boundary marked by the *Aśvattha* tree; on the west the big embankment, the boundary in common with the land of the *Khanṭāpāṭaka* village, along the land the Jatodīpa and the embankment of the tillage forming the common boundary with the land of Svayambhūdeva; on the north the *Aśvattha* tree forming the common boundary with the land of Devanātha[6] given through a writ, and along that bend there is the common boundary with the *khāgāli bhūmi*; to the north of this place the pool of water known as *Jaḍamakā* in the land of *Pañcapāṭaka* and the southern village; similarly boundaries are formed by the *Merupāṭaka* in the other portions of the *Digalaṇḍi* area; on the east the *Paścimapāṭaka* decreed by Kumāra in the *Cokkāpāṭaka* area having the boundaries marked by the banyan tree, the lake and the jack-fruit tree; the southern village (of the name) of *Pannāvāṇa* and the pond of Bhavadeva along that curve; to its north the northern village and the big embankment on *koñcalīviḍi*; on the west the big embankment forming the common boundary of the land donated to Madhu and Mathana, the common boundary of the banyan tree further south; the northern village with the pool of *Sarola* in the *pañcaka bhūmi* still further south; on the east the lake of Balabhadra forming the boundary co-extensive with the northern village; to the east of it the big embankment of the western village along the pool on the boundary of the land of the village *Cokkāpāṭaka*; the Sāhaḍājoṭaka tree; on the west one part—[7]

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[4] The word मीमांसाभ्यासनिःशेषदोषप्रोषितमानसः may be resolved like this—निर् नास्ति शेषः येषां ते निःशेषाः, निःशेषाश्च ते दोषाश्च, मीमांसाया अभ्यासेन निःशेषदोषैः प्रोषितं मानसं यस्य सः whose mind was freed of the slightest blemishes by the study of the *Mīmāṁsā śāstra*.

[5] *Merupāṭaka* was a plot of land carved out of a bigger area called *Digalaṇḍī* belonging to the district of *Purujī*. This is mentioned also in the पुष्पभद्रा grant of Dharmapāla, see line 46.

[6] देवनाथसत्क etc.—In the original the reading is शत्क। To bring it in line with the शुभङ्करपाटक grant of king Dharmapāla, we have made it सत्क which is translated by Vidyāvinoda as अधिकृत। But this meaning is doubtful as of many other words used towards the end of this inscription.

May it be all well with *Srī* Dharmapālavarmadeva the lord of *Prāgjyotiṣa* and a paramount monarch.

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[7] This last line is partially left out without being translated, because the meaning is not clear. As a matter of fact the names of trees given here are not identifiable and as such their validity as boundary-marks cannot be established. Again the demarcation of the boundary itself is not intelligible, because some of the directions, say the eastern direction, are mentioned twice or thrice at different places. This possibly is due to the size of the plot and its peculiar situation.

THE ŚUBHAṆKARAPĀṬAKA GRANT OF DHARMAPĀLA

1. May it fare well (with all). I bow down to the prime God manifested as half male and half female[1], who has a tie on his neck of a blue lotus (on one side) and the crest jewel of a serpent (on the other side); whose high and expanded breast has been smeared (on one side) with saffron dye and (on the other) with ashes and who (therefore) appears as it were the single embodiment of the sentiments of love and wrath.

2. *Viṣṇu* in His Boar incarnation begot a son in Earth; his name was Naraka and he became a king. Having lived in the city of *Prāgjyotiṣa* he conquered the guardians of quarters headed by *Indra* and ruled over his kingdom for a long time.

3. He had a son Bhagadatta by name who was exceedingly powerful and pair of whose feet was rubbed by the crowns of kings; Bhīma of unlimited power got exhausted by toil in fighting with him when fainting like beloved embraced him and saved his life.[2]

4. In that royal dynasty, there flourished a king bearing the illustrious name *Śrī* Brahmapāla who resembled the principal mountains (*Kulācala*) and was like the lord of the eastern direction (*Indra*). He was looked upon (respectively) with fear and love by the enemies and virtuous people.

5. A son of great splendour, not inferior in prowess, was born to him with the significant name *Śrī* Ratnapāla; he was a conqueror of battle and royal splendour flourished in his very feet decorated by the garlands of the heads of the circle of kings.

6. He gave birth to a son Purandarpāla by name who was the only support of power and of pious acts; but on account of (evil) turn of fortune, he had intimate union with his forefathers (died) even when he was a crown prince (i.e. in his youth) after having given birth to a good natured son named Indrapāla.

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[1] अर्द्धनारीश्वर is a form of *Śiva* half male and half female. Here in place of अर्द्धनारीश्वर, अर्द्धयुवतीश्वर is used. This is a दोष according to Vidyāvinoda. But we have pointed out that this दोष has turned into a गुण (for this see 'Literary Value of the Inscriptions' in the General Introduction).

[2] The translation given here is evidently after Vidyāvinoda. But this is not happy. Instead of establishing the समानाधिकरणत्व of the words यत्सङ्गरश्रमविषीददसीमशौर्यम् and भीमम् in the २या the former should be made the subject, because his unlimited शौर्य though bordering on exhaustion could be described as rising equal to the occasion to save the life of Bhīma as if it was his beloved fainted but regaining consciousness at the moment to save his life scenting an imminent danger. A chivalrous warrior is not capable of fighting against an adversary fainting at the moment. In that case मूर्च्छा should have been मूर्च्छिता and can be explained by the dictum—"कृदभिहितो भावो द्रव्यवत् प्रकाशते ।"

7. The king (Indrapāla) duly ruled over his kingdom for a long time; he conquered his enemies by means of his prowess widely made known by his three-fold regal power (power of personal majesty, power of good council and power of energy); he was the foremost among the pious men by virtue of his performing a large number of sacrifices which pleased the subduer of Bala (*Indra*) ; and he was like the god of love with respect to women.

8. A son, Gopāla by name who was of incomparable heroism, and an illuminator of the royal family was born to him; he occupied the summit position amongst the people rich in valour, the meritorious, the bountiful, the generous, the pious and the learned.

9. He had a son *Śrī* Harṣa by name who was the delighter of his parents and was praised by the good people. Having obtained him, a man of good conduct, this goddess of learning enjoyed for a long time the pleasure of taking ambrosia of friendship with the goddess of wealth.

10. He gratified the demons with the foreheads of elephants rent by the incessant stroke of his weapons in the battle field, (for) the thirsty demons quickly drank off the blood mixed with profuse foam while it was hot all around (the battle field).

11. Like *Pārvatī* (who was the consort) of *Mahādeva*, that king had also a wife Ratnā by name who was the foremost among the chaste women and came of a high family like his own; she was endowed with fame by virtue of her manifold pious acts and appeared as it were chiselled out of the moon.

12. They had a son, Dharmapāla by name, who became the lord of the earth girt by oceans and was an adornment of the three worlds; though he was devoted to *Dharma* (Dharmapāla), he devoted himself to pleasures and wealth also, having observed (proper) time[3].

13. In the battle field which was made attractive by a collection of flower-like pearls shed by elephants pounded by the blow of swords, king Dharmapāla won single-handed victory over his enemies to sport with (royal) *Lakṣmī*.

14. He alone was wedded to the earth under one royal umbrella and was the only support of those who sought shelter; may that king, Dharmapāla, the conqueror of the host of enemy heroes and well-known throughout the world for his fame be victorious.

15. This spotless panegyric of *Śrī* Dharmapāla has been composed

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[3] In the Nidhanpur plates there is also a reference (line 4) to *Dharma* which is explained by Vidyāvinoda as one of the त्रिरत्नs of the Buddhists. This particular line, however, does not support the above contention.

by the poet Prasthānakalasa who is conversant with the letters and measures of speech.[4]

May it be well (with all).

His most exalted majesty *Śrī* Dharmapāla-deva, the blessed and most venerable sovereign monarch who enjoyed the affection of his majesty the most venerable sovereign monarch *Śrī* Harṣapāla Varmā, a scion of the celebrated *varāha* dynasty, an unfailing ruler, a destroyer of countless enemies and famous by his sovereignty over *Prāgjyotiṣa*, respectfully commands the departmental officers, lawyers, prominent citizens, other persons related to kings, queens, chieftains, and others such as *kṣatriyas*, princes, and favourites of the king who are duly present here in this *Kañjiyābhiṭvi Subhaṅkarapāṭaka* land yielding one thousand (*droṇas ?*) of paddy, set apart from the *Olinda Bhūmi* in the district of *Dijjinnā*, as well as all future citizens, "You should know that this land inclusive of residential area, cornfields, dry land, marshy land, mines, pasture land extending up to its well defined boundary has been made a grant of and made free both in land and water from oppressions of all kinds of persons in charge of elephants and boats, officers entrusted with recovering stolen property, police officers, tax collectors, others (officers) causing panic under various pretext as well as from grazing by elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep etc.

16. There is a village called *Krosañja* in *Śrāvasti*[5]. Sins of *Kali* (age) could not enter this village being blinded by the smoke of sacrifices performed by the sacrificers.

17. Rāmadeva, a Brahmin foremost among all the Brahmins born in that village, generous, most prominent among the Brahmins belonging to the *Kauthuma* branch, comparable to *Śri Rāma*, invincible among the Brahmins belonging to the *Śāmaveda*, and of *Śāṇḍilya Gotra* was born in that village.

18. He had a son Bharata by name who overcame sins and was like the *Śākya* prince (Gautama); he was the only source of self-composure and self-restraint; being an expert in the six-fold duties (of a Brahmin), he could abstain from all kinds of evils. He was refined and foremost among the noble and virtuous people.

19. He had a wife Pāukā by name who was accomplished and good-

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[4] गो=वाक् or वाक्य both prose and poetry; वर्ण=अक्षर (letters); मान=परिमाण (measure) of long and short syllables; वैद्य=विद्वान्, अभिज्ञ. One who is fully conversant with the process of application of short and long vowels according to the measure of the metres used in both prose and poetry. Such a measure is also to be determined in prose literature also, cf. उत्तरकादम्बरी, मङ्गलाचरणश्लोक—गद्ये कृतेऽपि गुरुणा तु तथाक्षराणि यन्निर्गतानि पितुरेव स मेऽनुभावः ।।५।।

[5] For a detailed discussion on श्रावस्ति see after fn. 145 in the General Introduction.

natured like *Rohiṇī*, (the wife) of the moon, and *Pārvatī*, (the wife) of *Śiva*, the destroyer of *Andhaka*.

20. They had a son called Himāṅga who was dearer than their lives,[6] and became a chariot warrior. He was highly skilled in acts like aiming at the targets,[7] was habituated to the performance of wonderful, tough and difficult tasks,[8] and had experience of the movement of arrows hurled, their fall and results.[9]

21. The king, in the third year of his rule donated to him the *Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka* land yielding six thousand paddy which forms part of the *Kañjiyākabhiṭvī* land lying on the boundary of *Olinda Bhūmi*.

Through this grant was given by the same king a plot of land yielding two thousand paddy to Trilocana, the uterine brother (of Himāṅga).

The boundary of this land is—on the east is the —ka[10] tree on the boundary of the land belonging to the twentyfour weavers and the *Śākhoṭa* and *Ākhoṭa* trees on the boundary of the land granted to Kūrma (nātha), on the south-east,[10]......is the embankment of the corn-field granted to Vīra; on the south there were the *aśvattha* tree and the river *Dijjinnā*; on the south-west, the same river; on the west the *aśvattha* and the *locana*[11] trees standing on the boundary of the land donated to and occupied by Kūrmanātha; on the north-west, are the (newly) planted Silk-cotton tree, the embankment of the field and the Oriamma tree on the boundary of this land.

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[6] प्राणाधिक means अधिकशक्तिमान् also; cf:—शक्तिः पराक्रमः प्राणः (अमर)।

[7] पदप्रभृतिक्रियावान् here the word पद means लक्ष्य ; see the *Mahābhārata*—पदं पदसहस्रेण यश्चरन्नापराध्नुयात्—Virāṭaparva, LXVIII, 69. See Nīlakaṇṭha on this—पदं वाणनिपातस्थानं पदसहस्रेण लक्ष्यसहस्रार्थं। By प्रभृति here is meant the circle of kings of the enemy holding siege. cf—ततो-विराटस्य सुतः सव्यमावृत्य वाजिनः।
यमकं मण्डलं कृत्वा तान् योधान् प्रत्यवारयत्॥ Virāṭ, LVII, 42

Therefore the sense is that this *Brāhmaṇa* was skilled in hitting at the target and could array the army troops in their proper positions.

[8] अभ्यस्तचित्रदृढ़दुष्करकर्ममार्ग piercing through the army formations of the enemy in battle; occupation of the enemy forts, protection of one's own army against enemy attack and holding on of one's own fort—these and such other activities which were not easy for others were his *forte*.

[9] नाराचमोक्षगतिपातगुणप्रवीणः—नाराचमोक्ष=मुक्तनाराचाः कृदभिहितो भावो द्रव्यवत् प्रकाशते। तेषां गतिपातगुणेषु प्रवीणः—well-versed in the nature of the movement of arrows discharged, their hitting or piercing and their qualities.

[10] The corner of the plate being broken here, the reading could not be determined and therefore no translation is given of this portion.

[11] By the word "*locana*" "*rocana*" might be meant (रलयोरभेदः); रोचन denotes numerous trees such as कूटशाल्मलि (अमरा in Assamese), आरग्वध, करञ्ज, दाड़िम्ब, also जम्वीर। Here कूटशाल्मलि in the sense of काशिमुला cannot be accepted because the latter is mentioned at many places separately. The other sense that might be intended here according to Vidyāvinoda is आरग्वध (सोणारु in Assamese). But this has possibly come by a separate name स्वर्णदारु or सुवर्णदारु at many places of the Kāmarūpa Inscriptions.

Similarly, the boundary of the other plot of *Kañjiyabhiṭvi* land lying on the boundary of *Olinda Bhūmi* is—on the east are the *Locana* tree standing on the boundary of the land belonging to *Oraṅgi* weavers and the *Hijjala* trees along the bend; on the south-west is a Silk-cotton tree; on the south there are *Kaṇṭāvakkaḍa*[12] tree on the boundary of the land under occupation of *Vijayaśrī* Navy, a bamboo groove, *Oracoṣa Jola*, an embankment of the corn-field on the northward bend, an *Aśvattha* tree on the westward bend, a bamboo groove, *Lahuca* tree and *Ḍumbarī Mastaka*, on the south-west, is Dhūmāradeva[13] on the boundary of *Bhallābhithi* land; on the west, there are a *Jhari Pākati* tree and a bamboo enclosure; on the north-west, there is a bamboo groove on the boundary of the land under occupation of *Vijaya Śrī* Navy; on the north, there are an embankment of the corn-field and a Silk-cotton tree; by the bend are *Oracoṣa Jola*, a *Kāśimbalā* tree on the boundary of the land belonging to Bṛhadrāvā,[14] a banyan tree and an embankment of the corn-field; on the north-east there are a *Bahuāla* tree on the boundary of *Oraṅgi* weavers and an ant-hill.

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[12] *Kaṇṭavakkaḍa* tree is not intelligible. *Kaṇṭā*=jack fruit and when it is followed by *Vakkaḍa* it may mean a species of wild jack fruits. There is an Assamese word "*Vakarāni*" meaning jungle or marshy land. Therefore the variety of jack-trees known as "*Cām kaṭhāl*" in Assam might be meant.

[13] It might be the place of installation of some local deity.

[14] It may be a proper name of some person. Vidyāvinoda imagines it to be a Sanskrit version of the word Rābhā and attributes the meaning "some prominent person from the Rabhā community".

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THE PUṢPABHADRĀ GRANT OF DHARMAPĀLA

1. May it be well with all. May that (*Nārāyaṇa*) incarnated as a Boar who struck the earth with His tusk, threw up the mountains with His snout, trampled upon the mud of the nether region with the ends of His two hoofs and whose breath surpassing the wind arising at the time of dissolution of the universe by its velocity frequently took in and released the (waters of) the oceans with their distressed whales and shirks, be victorious.

2. There was a king Naraka by name who was the son of the Earth by the *Gaḍura*-bannered Deity incarnated as a Boar; from him was born the celebrated king Bhagadatta whose lotus-feet were kissed by the host of royal personages.

3. Who can describe the merits of those most excellent kings, Brahmapāla and others who were born in that noble dynasty which was the abode of statesmanship? For, we who are dazed by the stories of their boundless glory possess only one tongue, and not a thousand. Moreover our intellect also does not flourish in expression.

4. In that dynasty was born a king Gopāla, righteous and affirming faith in *Dharma*, who consumed the forest-like enemies with his prowess resembling fire. Even today, the flow of the divine Ganges is obstructed by his virtues and it appears as though she is inflicted a smashing defeat in battles and lies overpowered with foams.[1]

5. That king of celebrated power had a wife Nayanā by name who was of honoured fame; *Śrī* Harṣapāla, a lamp of the Pāla dynasty, whose fame was sung in the three worlds, was born of them.

6. Of him was born King Dharmapāla devoted heart and soul to *Dharma* with an agreeableness in virtues sung all over the world. Goddess of learning lived in him for a long time being lured as it were by the fragrance of pollens of his lotus face.

7. Oh kings of the future, please listen to this courteous entreaty of king Dharmapāla—this vain self-conceit about the kingdom unsteady like the flash of lightning should be shunned; but *Dharma* which leads to constant happiness should never be shunned.

8. King Śrī Dharmapāla, the sun of the lotus of the Pāla dynasty, the crest-jewel of the circle of poets, the ocean of the gems of good qualities, who has mastered all the fine-arts and who is of spotless fame has composed this panegyric.

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[1] His pure white fame spread as far as heaven and arrested the flow of current of the celestial Ganges. It is therefore fancied that the whiteness of the fame and the current of the celestial Ganges came into conflict; the latter being defeated emitted foams from its mouth, a sign of complete discomfiture.

Blessings (to all). His most exalted majesty, highly respected soverign monarch, blessed *Śrī* Dharmapālavarma, a descendant of the *Śrī Varāha* dynasty, widely known as a ruler of *Prāgjyotiṣa*, of unchallenged authority, and a destroyer of countless hosts of enemies—, on the plot of land under *Guheśvara Digdola Vṛddha Grāma*, occupied by *Śrī* Madhusūdana—respectfully commands the departmental officers, lawyers, prominent citizens, other persons related to kings, queens and chieftains, *kṣatriyas*, princes, favourites of the king and others who are duly present, as well as all the future citizens, "Let it be known to you that this land containing dwelling places, fields under water, dry land, marshy land, pasture land, land for dumping refuse and the like, extending up to its defined boundary has been freed from the entry of officials in charge of keeping elephants, boats, officials employed to recover stolen property, police officers, officers collecting taxes from tenants, officials harassing (people) under various pretexts, and others as well as from elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep, freed from all kinds of oppressions in water, land etc. and has been made a grant of—

9. There is an excellent village *Khyātipallī* by name, adorned by good Brahmins wherefrom irreligion has been banished. It has been as it were built up by the creator with great care like a temple of justice.

10. In that village, as the circle of smoke arising from the sacrifices of the sacrificers ascended the sky, the peacocks, mistaking it to be dark clouds, staged the show of untimely dance by raising their crests upwards.

11. The sound of recitation of the four *Vedas* by the Brahmins who were the leading travellers along the path of good conduct and who destroyed their sins by muttering pacificatory hymns at the time of bath, daily in the morning, at noon and in the evening, swelled like the rising waves of the Jumna and the Ganges at their confluence and made the place reverberate with loud noise.

12. There lived in that village Brahmins, who were the followers of the *Mādhyandina* School of the *Yajurveda* and of *Maudgalya* lineage and who had *Utathya*, *Mudgala*, and *Aṅgirā* as their noble ancestors.

13. Their good qualities, resembling nectar obtained in highly condensed form, (being mentioned) in assemblies, homes, forests, crossways, roads, market-places, terraces, sacrificial places and temples, are resounding the universe.

14. Bhāsvara, the best among Brahmins, who was of disciplined conduct, wealthy, had mastery over all fine arts and was the son of Naravāhana, was born in that family. His intellect was nourished by the *Mīmāṁsā* system of philosophy and was the repository of the jewel (celebrated work) of *Cāṇakya* ; he was the devout follower of the path

of *Śruti* and *Smṛti* and became like the brightest gem of the family.

15. There was a girl, named Jīvā, of noble birth, attractive beauty and commendable appearance; he held her hand having the nuptial string with his hand wearing the marriage string in order to lead the life of a house-holder.

16. A son, celebrated, modest, praiseworthy, handsome in physique Sutanu by name, was born of them; desisting from the wrong path he was of charming conduct due to good behaviour, endowed with good qualities, and was engaged in giving away all his wealth.

17. He had a wife, Netrā by name, who was like the beautiful coral shoot growing on the jewel-mountain of beauty, like a tender lotus stalk growing on the mud of grace, like a small creeper growing from the bulbous root of joy and possessing a pair of eyes like that of a fawn.

18. They had a son born to them, named Madhusūdana, who was glorious and illuminator of the entire Brahmin class; he offered copious worship at the lotus feet of *Mādhava* for a long time right from his childhood.

19. He had a lawful wife, Patrā by name, who shared his pure love. She was an indescribable creation of womanly form of the Creator. Her petal-like eyes were as tremulous as those of a startled female gazelle and the face was like a blooming lotus.

20. There was a king in the city of *Kāmarūpa* bearing the significant name Dharmapāla (guardian of *Dharma*). The swan of his fame, confined within the worn out cage of the world, appeared splendid.

21. King *Śrī* Dharmapāla made a gift of the plot of land known as *Digḍola Guheśvara*, yielding ten thousand (*Droṇas*) of paddy, by a grant to *Śrī* Madhusūdana who was endowed with excellent qualities and pure-minded.

22. *Śrī* Aniruddha has composed this panegyric out of greed for religious merit through the praise of (persons of) a good family, and not because of his knowledge of figures of speech, poetic virtue, skill in the choice of words and the like.

Śrī Vinīta, the engraver, has engraved it.

The land, yielding ten thousand paddy, set apart from *Guheśvara Digḍola Vṛddhagrāma* land * * * * within the jurisdiction of *Pūraji* district. The boundary of the land is—on the east, there is the embankment of the cornfield known as *Nokkaḍebbarīpālagovābhabhoga Alipaṇā* * * * *; on the southward and eastward boundary of that land are the western bank of the *Sovvaḍi* tank, the western side of *Khaggāli Camyalā* Joli and the southern bank of the river *Jaugalla* which flows eastwards; on the southern boundary of that land are the *Nekkādeuli Joli* and the *Siṅgaḍi Joli;* on the south-eastern boundary is *Dijjarati Haḍī*; to the south is the dry river Bekka; on the south-western boundary is *Khaggāli*; on the western boundary, there are *Thaisādobbhi*, *Cākkojāna* and branchless trunk of a *Pārali* tree along the boundary of the *Avañca* land under occupation of *Avañci kaivartas*; on the north-western boundary of that land are three bamboos; on the northern boundary of that land, there is a branchless trunk of *Suvarṇadāru* tree standing on the southern bank of *Dijamakkā Jola;* along the northward and westward bends is that land; and the mid-stream of *Dijamakkā Jola* lying on the boundary of the land under occupation of *Māno* and the land called *Nokkataḍā*; on the north-east is that land, and the mid-stream of *Dijamakkā Joli* lying on the boundary of the two plots of cultivable lands *Nokkadevvaripāla* and *Bhoga Alipaṇa*, as well as the branchless trunk of a Madhura-Asvattha tree.

KĀNĀIBARAŚĪ ROCK INSCRIPTION

Śaka 1127[1]

The Turks[2] coming into Kāmarūpa were completely annihilated on the 13th day of *Caitra*[3] of the *Śaka* year 1127[4].

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[1] The date put first in numericals is confirmed by words also.

[2] The word used here is तुरुष्काः। Possibly this was a general term used to denote the Tartaric race. Anyway as stated in the introductory notes to this inscription this must have referred to the invasion of Kāmarūpa by Bakhtiyar. According to the Muslim sources, Dr. Chowdhury opines that the contemporary king of Kāmarūpa was Bartu or Pṛthu (see Dr. Chowdhury, p. 255; also EHK, p. 198) who not only destroyed the Muslim forces led by Bakhtiyar in the year 1206 but also completely routed Sultan Ghiasuddin in A.D. 1226.

[3] मधु means वसन्तकाल but when it has referred to मास, चैत्र is meant.

[4] तुरग=अश्व i.e. number seven from the seven horses of the sun's chariot.
युग्म=two
ईश=eleven (from eleven *Rudras*).

STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAPĀLA (FOUND AT ĀMBARI)

This powerful Satra institution with residential establishments, of which Yogihātī is one, and with ritual functions was within the kingdom of Samudrapāla who was like the Sun God. The *Sannyāsins* say[1] that both piety and gift are co-existent.[2] This was issued in the *Śaka* year 1154 and was composed by one Mūḍha.[3]

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[1] बोले—This word is of so frequent use in mediaeval Assamese literature as not to warrant any explanation.

[2] सज—In strict Assamese sense the word implies "good". In this case it may be a modification of सत्। But here this appears to have been an abbreviation of सहज meaning "born together".

[3] *Mūḍha* might not have been the real name of the composer, who hiding out his real name through a sense of humility might have given it out as such.

STONE INSCRIPTION FROM GĀCHTAL

The Yavanas after having crossed the boundary[1] proceed[2] towards Ḍavāka in the *Śaka* year 1284. The scribe is Viṣṇu Bāsadhara. A strong army[3] of the *Mlecchas* (Muslims) has started in the eastern direction[4] from this place[5] (Gāchtal). See[6] the enemy from Bengal numbering 3,000 has been encircled[7] here through various actions. Be it known[8] to you the river[9] (Kapili) has been flooded by the rains in the month of *Vaiśākha*.[10] Let the five musical instruments[11] go on playing and the navy drive[12] away the enemy beyond the waters in the west.[13]

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[1] Which boundary it is unknown. Possibly it has referred to the boundary of the *Kāmarūpa* kingdom of which *Ḍabāka* was a tutelary.

[2] The word used is गयत from the Sanskrit root गम् । Its use is derived from Maithili language through *Maithili Prākṛta*.

[3] The word शकत in Assamese is of common use and it means chubby or plump. Possibly it is from the Sanskrit word शक्त which means "capable". The idea associated behind the word is—one capable must be very fatty and strong.

[4] उयासाँ—This word clearly indicates the evolution of the Assamese language from a period much earlier than the times of this inscription, for this word is not only a precursor of the modern Assamese word उजाइछे but also points to its origin.

[5] इथान means this place.

इथान < एहि स्थान < एइथान > इथांन ।

[6] देखहुँ seems to be an earlier form of देखह ।

[7] फण्ड from which the later Assamese word फाण्ड written as फान्द in Modern Assamese.

[8] सञ्जात lit. pedigree cf. Assamese सँजात । Here it is used in the sense of being conversant with (the fact).

[9] दि means also water in Baḍo Language. It is in a secondary sense used to denote a river.

[10] वहाख is an evolution of Sanskrit वैशाख and is a forerunner of वहाग in modern Assamese.

[11] पंथ काश्यवाद्य has referred to the five musical instruments all possibly made of wood and has a parallel to the word पञ्चमहाशब्द used in the Nidhānpur plates. Evidently these were musical instruments sounded at war-times to stimulate the army and were in the use in the army under an officer of some ranking.

[12] खदावि is very common in modern Assamese in the form of खेदा > खेदाबि > खेदोवा etc.

[13] Dr. Chowdhury prefers to make it शेष । But in that case अन्त becomes redundant. The reading भाथि is better here than भावि ।

KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ

PART IV

ASSAMESE TRANSLATION

কামৰূপশাসনাৱলী

চতুৰ্থ খণ্ড

অসমীয়া অনুবাদ

কামৰূপশাসনাৱলী

সুৰেন্দ্রবৰ্মাৰ উমাচল পাষাণলিপি

এই গুহা(-মন্দিৰ) ভগৱান্ বলভদ্রস্বামীৰ অর্থে
মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্রীসুৰেন্দ্রবর্মাৰ দ্বাৰা নির্মিত।

ভূতিবৰ্মাৰ বৰগঙ্গালিপি

স্বস্তি! পৰমেশ্বৰৰ উপাসক[১], পৰম ভট্টাৰক[২], অশ্বমেধযাজী, মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্রীভূতিবর্মদেৱ-পাদৰ দীৰ্ঘায়ু কামনা কৰি বিষয়ামাত্য অৱগুণৰ এই আশ্রম[৩] (অর্থাৎ তেখেতে এই আশ্রম নির্মাণ কৰিছিল)॥

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[১] ইংৰাজী অনুবাদৰ পাদটীকা চোৱাঁ।

[২] ভট্টাৰকৰ দুই অর্থ হ'ব পাৰে—ভট মানে যুৱৰাজ; তাৰ পৰাও ভট্ট হ'ব পাৰে। ভট্ট মানে মহাৰাজ, অধীশ্বৰো হয়। আমি, 'মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ' শব্দ থকাৰ কাৰণে, ইয়াৰ 'পৰমপণ্ডিত' অর্থহে সম্যক্ হ'ব বুলি ভাবোঁ।

[৩] বিষয়ামাত্য এজন প্রধান অধিকাৰী। তেওঁৰ পক্ষে আশ্রমত থকাটো অবৈধ হ'বও পাৰে। গতিকে তেখেতে মহাৰাজৰ দীৰ্ঘায়ু কামনা কৰি এই আশ্রম নির্মাণ কৰাইছিল।

ভাস্কৰবৰ্মাৰ নালন্দা মোহৰ

শ্রীগণপতিবর্মা, (তেওঁৰ পত্নী) শ্রীযজ্ঞৱতীৰ গর্ভত শ্রীমহেন্দ্রবর্মা, (তেওঁৰ পত্নী) শ্রীসুব্রতাৰ গর্ভত শ্রীনাৰায়ণবর্মা, (তেওঁৰ পত্নী) শ্রীদেৱৱতীৰ গর্ভত শ্রীমহাভূতবর্মা, তেওঁৰ পত্নী শ্রীবিজ্ঞানৱতীৰ গর্ভত শ্রীচন্দ্রমুখবর্মা, তেওঁৰ পত্নী শ্রীভোগৱতীৰ গর্ভত শ্রীস্থিতবর্মা, তেওঁৰ পৰা শ্রীনয়নশোভাৰ গর্ভত শ্রীসুস্থিতবর্মা, (তেওঁৰ পত্নী) শ্রীশ্যামালক্ষ্মীৰ গর্ভত শ্রীসুপ্রতিষ্ঠিতবর্মা আৰু শ্রীভাস্কৰবর্মা।

ভাস্কৰবৰ্মাৰ ডুবি তাম্ৰশাসন

[প্ৰথম শ্লোকৰ অনুবাদৰ কাৰণে নিধানপুৰ ফলিৰ প্ৰথম শ্লোকৰ অনুবাদ দ্ৰষ্টব্য।]

প্ৰজাসকলৰ স্থিতিৰ কাৰণে পুৰ্বণিকালত দয়াপৰবশ হৈ যিজনে বৰাহৰূপ ধৰি পৃথিৱীখন উদ্ধাৰ কৰি ৰক্ষা কৰিছিল আৰু ইয়াক নাতিয়েকৰ হাতত সমৰ্পণ কৰিছিল সেই দয়ালু মানুহজনৰ ৰজাসকলৰো অধিৰাজ আৰু দেৱতাসকলকো শাস্তি বিহিব পৰা শক্তিশালী নৰক নামৰ এজন সুন্দৰ পুত্ৰ আছিল॥২॥

দিগ্‌গজৰ শুৰৰ দৰে স্পষ্টভাৱে কৰ্কশ হাতেৰে সম্মুখ ৰণাংগনত ইন্দ্ৰক পৰাস্ত কৰি তেওঁৰ মাকৰ পৰা কুণ্ডলযোৰ কাঢ়িঅনা তেওঁৰ ভগদত্ত নামৰ এজন পুত্ৰ আছিল॥৩॥

তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ মহাত্মা বজ্ৰদত্ত ইন্দ্ৰসমপ্ৰভাৱৰ ৰজা আছিল। সময়ত তেওঁ সাংগ চাৰিবেদ, সকলোবিলাক আপ্তবাক্য আৰু প্ৰমাণ অধ্যয়ন কৰি হাতীৰ শিক্ষা, পৰিপালনৰ ক্ৰম, ঘোঁৰাৰ জাতিগত স্বভাৱ, সিহঁতৰ সৌষ্ঠৱ সম্বন্ধে আৰু দেৱাসুৰৰ আচাৰ্য্যসকলৰ মতৰ তত্ত্ব জানি অতিশয় বদান্যতাযুক্ত অশ্বমেধযজ্ঞ সমাপন কৰিছিল॥৪-৫॥

তেওঁৰ পৰিয়ালত চন্দ্ৰৰ সৈতে সমান কীৰ্ত্তি থকা কেইজনমান ৰজা স্বৰ্গগামী হ'লত ইন্দ্ৰৰ সদৃশ আৰু ইন্দ্ৰৰ সমান শক্তি থকা, শত্ৰুৰ শক্তি নাশ কৰিব পৰা পুষ্যবৰ্মা ৰজা হয়॥৬॥

পাণিগৃহীতা হৈ চঞ্চল আৰু সাধ্বী লক্ষ্মীও দ্বিতীয়বিষ্ণুযেন তেওঁক পতিৰূপে পাই নিৰাকুলা হ'ল॥৭॥

পুণ্যৰ ফলৰ পৰা জন্মা তেওঁৰ কাৰ্যাৱলীৰ ফলবোৰ আপুনি নিশ্চয় দেখিছে, যিবোৰ তেওঁৰ বংশত জন্মগ্ৰহণ কৰা সকলে ভোগ কৰিছে॥৮॥

বহুত পুণ্যকাৰ্য সম্পন্ন কৰাৰ পিছত তেওঁ এজন পুত্ৰ লাভ কৰিছিল, যি ইন্দ্ৰৰ লগতে দেৱতাসকলৰ নৃপতি হৈছিল॥৯॥

তেওঁক সুৱৰ্ণি ৰজাসকলে......তেওঁৰ অস্ত্ৰশস্ত্ৰ শত্ৰুপক্ষৰ তিৰোতাসকলৰ শোকৰ কাৰণ হৈ পৰিছিল॥১০॥

তেওঁ স্বৰ্গগামী হ'লত জ্ঞান আৰু গুণৰ উদ্ভৱ হেতুকে বলী, পিতাকৰ দৰে বিক্ৰমশালী, সমুদ্ৰতুল্য প্ৰসিদ্ধ সমুদ্ৰবৰ্মা ৰজা হয়॥১১॥

অগাঢ়, স্বচ্ছ আৰু গম্ভীৰ তেওঁ মহত্ত্ব আৰু শীতলত্ব হেতুকে ক্ৰূৰ আৰু ৰত্ন (শ্ৰেষ্ঠ) সকলৰ দ্বাৰা উপসেৱিত হৈ মহাসাগৰৰ সদৃশ হৈ উঠিছিল॥১২॥

দীৰ্ঘকাল ধৰি নিৰ্মল মণিমুকুতাৰে পৰিপূৰ্ণ গোটেই পৃথিৱীক শাসন কৰা, শত্ৰুতিমিৰ নাশ কৰা, ৰজাসমূহে পূজা কৰা, গুণান্বিত আৰু সংযমী তেওঁ যোগাৱলম্বন কৰি স্বৰ্গগামী হ'ল॥১৩॥

মহাবলী, শ্ৰীমান্ (কান্তিযুক্ত), অভীষ্ট স্থিতিৰ কাৰণৰ ক্ৰম হেতুকে ধাৰ্মিক, পাৰ্থিৱলক্ষণযুক্ত তেওঁ (বলৱৰ্মা) দত্তৱতীৰ যোগে আবিৰ্ভূত হৈ প্ৰজ্ঞাগুণেৰে ৰাজ্যলাভ কৰিলে॥১৪॥

অগ্নিসদৃশবাণবোৰ সহি শত্ৰুক ৰণত জয় কৰি ভৌমবংশৰ অলংকাৰস্বৰূপ সেই শক্তিশালী

ৰজা জনে পৃথিৱী শাসন কৰিছিল। সেইকাৰণে তেওঁ বলৱৰ্মা নামেৰে জনাজাত হৈছিল॥১৫॥

হাতী আৰু মণিমুকুতাৰে ভূষিত পৃথিৱীত ৰাজত্ব কৰি বহুতদক্ষিণাযুক্ত যাগযজ্ঞৰ যোগে শত্ৰুৰ সন্মান আৰু শক্তি হ্ৰাস কৰি বদান্য তেওঁ তপস্যাৰ যোগে স্বৰ্গলৈ গতি কৰিছিল॥১৬॥

তেওঁৰ (পিতৃৰ) অৱশিষ্ট কল্যাণাংশৰ যোগে অশেষ কল্যাণ বহন কৰি কল্যাণকাৰক কল্যাণৱৰ্মা ৰজা হৈছিল॥১৭॥

ৰত্নদেৱীৰ পৰা নিঃসৃত তেওঁ উদাৰ, প্ৰাণীবিলাকৰ উপকাৰ প্ৰদান কৰি একমাত্ৰ আনন্দ উপভোগ কৰাত প্ৰবৃত্ত, ইন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে শক্তিশালী, শত্ৰুপক্ষনিহন্তা, চন্দ্ৰৰ নিচিনা সুন্দৰ মুখৰ আৰু অপৰিসীম শক্তিশালী আছিল॥১৮॥

মঙ্গলজনক কামসম্পন্ন, মহৎ শত্ৰুৰ শক্তিক নিঃশেষ আৰু সুকৰ্ম-প্ৰদত্ত ভোগ লাভ কৰি যথাসময়ত তেওঁৰ ইন্দ্ৰৰ আতিথ্য প্ৰাপ্ত হ'ল॥১৯॥

[এইটো শ্লোকৰ একাংশহে পোৱা গৈছে]

তাৰ পিছত গন্ধৰ্বৱতীত শত্ৰুৰূপ অন্ধকাৰৰ কান্তিস্বৰূপ ৰজা গণেন্দ্ৰৱৰ্মাৰ জন্ম হৈছিল॥২০॥

অতিশয় প্ৰভাৱ যুক্ত হৈ গণপতিতুল্য সেই গণেন্দ্ৰৱৰ্মাই শত্ৰুপক্ষীয় ৰজাসকলৰ পীড়াৰ্থে ঘাত খাৰ্বণি পানীৰ নিচিনা পুত্ৰ লাভ কৰিলে॥২১॥

জনকৰ শক্তিৰ সমকক্ষ তেওঁ পৃথিৱী শাসন কৰি এই ভূপৃষ্ঠত পিতাকৰ দৰে হৈছিল আৰু প্ৰজাসকলক মাতি আনি গুণসম্পন্ন পুতেকৰ হাতত ৰাজ্য সমৰ্পণ কৰি তেওঁ স্বৰ্গগামী হ'ল॥২২॥

শত্ৰুজয়ী আৰু ইন্দ্ৰৰ সমান সাহস থকা, চন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে দীপ্তিমান্ সেই মহেন্দ্ৰৱৰ্মানামৰ যজ্ঞদেৱীৰ পুত্ৰজনে ৰাজ্যশাসন কৰিছিল আৰু প্ৰজাসকলক নিজৰ পুত্ৰৰ দৰে সম্পূৰ্ণ ৰক্ষা কৰিছিল॥২৩॥

মহাসাগৰ পৰ্যন্ত বিস্তৃত পৃথিৱী জয় কৰি, (নিজৰ) বলেৰে শত্ৰুক বশ কৰি ইন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে সেই ৰজাজনে যজ্ঞ সম্পন্ন কৰিছিল আৰু শচীৰ নিচিনাকৈ সুব্ৰতাক পত্নী হিচাপে লাভ কৰিছিল॥২৪॥

আগৰ ৰজাসকলৰ মৰ্যাদাৰ সীমা-দৰ্শনৰ দাপোনস্বৰূপ সেই চন্দ্ৰসদৃশ ৰজাত ৰশ্মিৰেখাৰ দৰে সেই দেৱীয়ে আশ্ৰয়গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল॥২৫॥

অদিতিৰ গৰ্ভত চক্ৰপাণি নাৰায়ণৰ দৰে তেওঁতে মনুষ্যতাপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈ যেন নাৰায়ণে কলিযুগৰ মানুহৰ দোষবোৰ নিধন কৰিবৰ বাবে প্ৰজাসকলৰ অধীশ্বৰ হৈছিল॥২৬॥

লক্ষ্মীৰ ভগৱান্ নাৰায়ণৰ পত্নীত্বৰ দৰে দেৱী দেৱমতিয়ে সেই নাৰায়ণৱৰ্মাৰ পত্নীত্ব গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল॥২৭॥

প্ৰজাৰ মঙ্গলৰ কাৰণে গণপতি শিৱই পৰ্বতৰাজপুত্ৰীত কাৰ্তিকেয়ৰ দৰে সদ্গুণৰ আধাৰ মানদ তেওঁয়ো শ্ৰীদেৱমতিত বিভূতিৰ বাসস্থান অন্যমহাভূতসদৃশ মহাভূতৱৰ্মাকে জন্ম দিছিল আৰু শক্তিৰ ৱৰ্মস্বৰূপে বিখ্যাত তেওঁক সিংহাসনত অভিষিক্ত কৰিছিল॥২৮-২৯॥

যথেচ্ছভাৱে প্ৰচুৰ ভোগ উপভোগ কৰি, বাঞ্ছা অনুসৰি লোকসকলক প্ৰদান কৰি সৌম্যস্বভাৱৰ যদিও ৰিপুৰ ভয়কাৰী সেই ৰজাই যোগৰ দ্বাৰা নিজ শৰীৰ ত্যাগ কৰি স্বৰ্গলোকলৈ গতি কৰিলে॥৩০॥

বীৰ্যৰ কাৰণে বিখ্যাত, অনন্ত ঐশ্বৰ্যৰ গৰাকি, বুদ্ধিমান্ আৰু যশস্বী ইন্দ্ৰসদৃশ তেওঁ

প্ৰাপ্ত হৈ নিজবাহুবলেৰে অস্ত্ৰধাৰী শত্ৰুসমূহ জয় কৰিলে আৰু বিজ্ঞানৱতীত চন্দ্ৰবদন পুত্ৰ জন্ম দি অশ্বমেধযজ্ঞ সমাপন কৰি স্বৰ্গলোকলৈ গতি কৰিলে॥৩১॥

তাৰ পিছত ক্ৰমে বিজয় প্ৰাপ্ত হৈ চন্দ্ৰমুখৱৰ্মা নামৰ এজন ৰজা হ'ল, যি ঐশ্বৰ্যশালী ৰজাসকলৰ দ্বাৰা ভূষিত হৈছিল॥৩২॥

পৰস্পৰ ঈৰ্ষাৰ হেতুকে প্ৰেমৰ খেলাৰে চকুৰ পিৰিকতি ঘূৰাইথকা পুৰসুন্দৰীসকলৰ তেওঁ একমাত্ৰ লক্ষ্য হ'ল॥৩৩॥

অতি উজ্জ্বল ৰত্নসদৃশ প্ৰভাৰে সূৰ্যই আনন্দবিধান কৰাৰ দৰে সেই সুধীজনেও সিংহাসনত অধিষ্ঠিত হৈ সুজ্জ্বল ৰত্নপ্ৰভাৰে চাক্ষুষ আনন্দৰ বিধান কৰিছিল॥৩৪॥

নিজে আনন্দিত আৰু সুখী থাকি প্ৰজাসকলৰ আনন্দৰ কাৰণ তেওঁ ৰাণীভোগৱতীৰ গৰ্ভত এজন পুত্ৰ জন্ম দিছিল॥৩৫॥

যেতিয়া সেই ৰজাই (তেওঁৰ) পূৰ্বাৰ্জিত ধৰ্মৰ যোগে বিদ্যা, ঐশ্বৰ্য আৰু জয়সম্পন্ন হৈ পুত্ৰক বাঢ়ি অহা দেখিলে তেতিয়া তেওঁ পৰম সুখী হল॥৩৬॥

নীতিশাস্ত্ৰৰ নিৰ্দেশ অনুসাৰে শক্তিশালী শত্ৰুৰ অহংকাৰ ততাতৈয়াকৈ মষিমূৰ কৰি, সাগৰৰ দাঁতি পৰ্যন্ত পৃথিৱী অধিকাৰ কৰি, ঘনাই যজ্ঞ পাতি, অৰ্থীসকলক দানেৰে আৰু বন্ধুসকলক ধনদানেৰে সন্তুষ্ট কৰি, শক্তিশালী সেই পৃথিৱীৰ অধিকৰ্তাজনে নিজ পুত্ৰক ৰাজ্যভাৰ অৰ্পণ কৰি ইন্দ্ৰৰ ৰাজ্যলৈ গতি কৰিলে॥৩৭॥

পুৰাণকালত যেনেকৈ স্বৰ্গত থাকিয়ো ৰজা দশৰথে ৰজা ৰামৰ পৰা আনন্দ পাইছিল, তেনেকৈয়ে লোকান্তৰপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈয়ো তেওঁ সেই পুত্ৰৰ পৰা আনন্দ পাইছিল॥৩৮॥

পিতৃ আৰু দেৱতাসকলক যথাযোগ্যভাৱে তৰ্পণ কৰি আৰু নাগৰিকসকলক সম্পূৰ্ণভাৱে আশ্বস্ত কৰি সেই ৰজাই সকলোমঙ্গলযুক্ত ধ্ৰুৱ লগ্নত সিংহৰ নিচিনাকৈ সিংহাসন আৰোহণ কৰিছিল॥৩৯॥

তাৰ পিছত সেই ৰজাই শান্তিকৰ্মৰ বিধান থকা আৰু ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ দ্বাৰা অস্খলনকৰ্মৰ বিধায়ক শঙ্খ আৰু দুন্দুভিধ্বনিসহ স্থিৰ অভিষেককৰ্ম বিধি অনুসৰি নিষ্পাদন কৰিলে॥৪০॥

> [॥৪১-৪৩॥ এই তিনিটা শ্লোক লগালগি সংস্কৃত অলঙ্কাৰ-শাস্ত্ৰৰ 'গুণৱতী'বুলি এটা সংযুক্ত শ্লোক গঠন কৰা যেন অনুমান হয়। শেষৰ শ্লোকটো শেষ নোহোৱাৰ কাৰণে এটা সম্পূৰ্ণ অৰ্থ প্ৰকাশ কৰি অসমীয়ালৈ তৰ্জমা কৰাটো সম্ভৱ নহয়। এই শ্লোককেইটাই একলগে ইন্দ্ৰৰ ৰাজধানীৰ জিলমিলনি চেৰ পেলোৱা, কিছুমান বেয়াকাম যেনে চুৰি আৰু দুৰ্ভিক্ষ নিবাৰণ কৰা আৰু বিপুল জনসংখ্যাৰে জনবহুল কোনোৱা এখন চহৰৰ কথা উনুকিওৱা যেন অনুমান হয়।]

সাধুগুণে দোষৰ অনুবন্ধিত্ব আঁতৰাই পেলায়—এই কথায়ে পৃথিৱীত যে দোষহীন বস্তু নাই এনে মতক নিবাস কৰে॥৪৪॥

যেনেকৈ চন্দ্ৰই পৰ্বতৰ গুহাবোৰ অন্ধকাৰময় কৰি তোলে, তেনেকৈয়ে এই পৃথিৱীত অনুৰাগবিহীন তেওঁ আন ৰজাবিলাকক কলঙ্কিত কৰিছিল॥৪৫॥

জগতৰ আনন্দদায়ক চৰিত্ৰৰে আৰু মুষ্টিমেয় কেইটামান শ্ৰেষ্ঠ ৰাজকীয় পৰিয়ালৰ সাৰেৰে সৃষ্টিকৰ্তাই তেওঁক পৃথিৱীত সৃজন কৰিছিল॥৪৬॥

তেওঁৰ সংগৰ বিৰহত ৰজাসকল জীয়াই থাকিয়ো মৰাৰ দৰে হৈছিল। বিদ্বান্‌সকলৰ সজ্জনসংগম ভূষণ আৰু আৰক্ষা বুলি কোৱা হয়॥৪৭॥

প্ৰণাম কৰা বহুত সামন্তসকলৰ মুকুটৰ মণিৰ ৰশ্মিৰ দ্বাৰা ৰঞ্জিত সংযমী তেওঁৰ পাদযুগলে স্থলপদ্মৰ শোভা ধাৰণ কৰিছিল॥৪৮॥

শ্ৰীস্থিৰৱৰ্মানামৰ সেই দীপ্তিমান্ ৰজাজনে সেই নগৰত কিছুদিন কটোৱাৰ পিছত তেওঁৰ বন্ধু আৰু ৰাজকীয় ভৃত্যসকলৰ দ্বাৰা পবিত্ৰ নদীখনৰ পাৰত এখন নগৰ নিৰ্মাণ কৰাইছিল॥৪৯॥

পদ্মসদৃশ শত্ৰুবিলাকৰ পৰিয়ালৰ কাৰণে চন্দ্ৰসদৃশ, ভৌমবংশৰ প্ৰশংসনীয়, নানা শাস্ত্ৰৰ শব্দাৰ্থৰ জ্ঞানেৰে নিশ্চিতমতি, বেদাধ্যয়নশীল, বংশ আৰু বীৰত্বত প্ৰখ্যাত, পীড়িতসকলৰ তৃষ্ণা-দূৰকাৰক সেই ৰজাজনৰ দেৱী লক্ষ্মীৰ নিচিনা ৰূপৱতী আৰু অভিমানিনী প্ৰিয়তমা পত্নী আছিল॥৫০॥

[॥৫১॥ এই শ্লোকটিৰ পাঠ আংশিকভাৱে নিৰূপণ কৰিব পৰাৰ কাৰণে ইয়াৰ অৰ্থ স্পষ্ট নহয়। ওপৰোক্ত ৰাণীগৰাকীৰ বৰ্ণনাই প্ৰসক্ত যেন লাগে।]

[॥৫২॥ এইটো শ্লোকৰ পাঠ অসম্পূৰ্ণ আৰু গাঁথনি অনিয়মিত। যি কি নহওক, পোৱা অংশখিনিৰ অৰ্থ এনেকুৱা]:

যেনেকৈ বিপুল যজ্ঞাগ্নি বেদত পৰিপুষ্ট হয়, শাস্ত্ৰৰ গভীৰ অধ্যয়নৰ যোগে মহান্ সংস্কাৰ জন্মে, আৰু সজ্জনৰ সংগত ধৰ্মাচৰণৰ অনুভাৱ ওপজে, তেনেকৈয়ে বংশৰ ভাৰ বহন কৰিবৰ কাৰণে তেওঁতে পৃথিৱীপৃষ্ঠত এজন ইন্দ্ৰৰ জন্ম হ'ল॥৫২॥

কাৰ্তিকেয়ৰ দ্বাৰা গৌৰী, ইন্দ্ৰৰ দ্বাৰা অদিতি আৰু ৰাক্ষসবিলাকৰ শত্ৰু দীপ্তিমান্ ভগৱান্ শ্ৰীকৃষ্ণৰ দ্বাৰা দেৱকী আদিৰ দৰে শত্ৰুমণ্ডল ধ্বংসকাৰী, গুণসম্পন্ন, বলী আৰু পূৰ্ণিমাৰ জোনৰ দৰে দীপ্তিমান সুস্থিতৱৰ্মাৰ দ্বাৰা তেওঁ সদাই সুখী আছিল॥৫৩॥

নিজ সুকৰ্মৰ ইষ্টফল ভোগ কৰিবৰ কাৰণে ইন্দ্ৰসদৃশ জগতৰ ভৰ্তা সেই পৃথিৱীশ্বৰ স্বৰ্গগামী হ'লত নিজ শৌৰ্যবিজিত ৰজাসকলৰ মূৰৰ মুকুটৰ মণিৰ দ্বাৰা উজ্জ্বলিত হোৱা পাদযুগলেৰে তেওঁ (সুস্থিতৱৰ্মাই) পৃথুৰ দৰে নিজগুণৰ মহিমাৰে এই পৃথিৱীক ৰক্ষা প্ৰদান কৰিছিল॥৫৪॥

যাৰ ব্যাকৰণেই উদক, ৰাজনীতিয়েই তিমিমাছ, সাংখ্যয়েই ডাঙৰ ঘৰীয়াল, মীমাংসাই বহু সাৰসপক্ষীৰ কূজন, পৰস্পৰ অতি সূক্ষ্ম ব্যাখ্যানেই উৰ্মি(ঢৌ), ন্যায়াৰ্থই আকুল ফেন-এনে 'সাগৰৰূপ প্ৰকৰণ যি তৰ্কবায়ুৰ দ্বাৰা পৰাস্ত নোহোৱাকৈ অতিক্ৰম কৰিছিল॥৫৫॥

[॥৫৬-৫৮॥ শ্লোককেইটাৰ প্ৰধান অংশখিনিৰ পাঠ ভালদৰে নিৰ্ণয় কৰিব নোৱাৰাৰ বাবে অনুবাদ দিব পৰা নগ'ল।]

[॥৫৯॥ এই শ্লোকটোৰ গাঁথনিয়ো অনিয়মিত বুলি অনুমান হয়। অনুবাদ তলত দিয়া ধৰণৰ]:

সীমাহীন বিপদক ক্ষান্ত কৰা পৃথিৱীৰ অধীশ্বৰ শংকৰক ভক্তি কৰাৰ নিচিনাকৈ তেওঁৰ কাৰণে মানৱ সুখ আদৰণীয় আছিল॥৫৯॥

বিষ্ণুৰ লক্ষ্মীৰ দৰে, দীপ্তিমন্ত লোকৰ উন্নতিৰ কাৰণে সেই শক্তিশালীজনৰো পৃথিৱীত ধ্ৰুৱলক্ষ্মী নামেৰে বিখ্যাত এগৰাকী ভাৰ্যা আছিল॥৬০॥

বহুত বিশাল আৰু উজ্জ্বল হীৰামুকুতাৰ মাজত বিৰাজ কৰি তেওঁ সেই পৃথিৱীৰ অধীশ্বৰৰ কাৰণে সমুদ্ৰৰ প্ৰতি উপকূল যেনেকুৱা তেনেকুৱা হৈছিল॥৬১॥

সেই আত্মসংযমী সৰ্বশ্ৰেষ্ঠ অধীশ্বৰজনৰ সেই দেৱী গৰাকীৰ গৰ্ভত শম্ভুৰ কাৰ্তিক আৰু গণেশৰ নিচিনা জগতৰ পূজনীয় আৰু শুভ দুজন পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল, যি দুজনে চন্দ্ৰ আৰু সূৰ্যৰ ৰশ্মি বিস্তাৰ কৰি বিভিন্ন বনিতাৰূপ দিশৰ মুখ উজ্জ্বল কৰাৰ দৰে অন্য গুণসমূহৰ যোগে বিভিন্ন দিশৰ পৰা অহা বনিতাসকলৰ মুখ উদ্ভাসিত কৰিছিল॥৬২॥

নিজাগুণ আৰু ৰাজকীয় বৈশিষ্ট্যৰ যোগে জগতত পৰিলক্ষিত হোৱাৰ বাবে প্ৰসিদ্ধ এই দুজনৰ এজন উজ্জ্বল অৰিদমনেন্দ্ৰ নামেৰে ভূষিত, যুদ্ধত বৰ নিষ্ঠুৰ আৰু বন্ধুসকলৰ প্ৰতি চন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে মধুৰ আছিল॥৬৩॥

প্ৰসিদ্ধ অৰিদমনেন্দ্ৰ কুমুদসদৃশ সজ্জনৰ আহ্লাদক, কমলসদৃশ দুষ্ট মানুহৰ সঙ্কোচক অক্ষীণবিম্ব দ্বিতীয় চন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে আছিল॥৬৪॥

কান্তিযুক্ত এজনৰ নাম সুপ্ৰতিষ্ঠিতৱৰ্মা আৰু আন এজনৰ নাম ভাস্কৰৱৰ্মা। এওঁলোক ৱৰ্মণবংশৰ প্ৰিয় আছিল॥৬৫॥

[॥৬৬॥ এই শ্লোকটো অসম্পূৰ্ণ; সেইগতিকে অৰ্থ বুজা নেযায়।]

ডাঙৰজনৰ মুখ সুন্দৰ, বাহুদুটাৰ আকৃতি দঁতাল হাতীৰ শুৰৰ নিচিনা, চকু হৰিণৰ চকু যেন, কান্ধ সিংহৰ কান্ধৰ দৰে, শৰীৰৰ নিম্নাংশ সুন্দৰ উৰুযুক্ত, উচ্চতাৰে সৈতে প্ৰশংসনীয় শৰীৰৰ আকৃতি আছিল, আৰু বিভিন্ন বিজ্ঞানৰ হেতুকে সহজলভ্য অমৃতৰ গোন্ধেৰে সম্পূৰ্ণ...বিস্তৃত যশস্যাৰ বাবে বিখ্যাত॥৬৬॥

[॥৬৭॥ এইটো শ্লোক অসম্পূৰ্ণ।]

উৎকৃষ্ট স্মৃতিৰ সহস্ৰ সহস্ৰ মানৱমনৰ আগশাৰীত সুন্দৰ ৰূপচৰিত্ৰেৰে যাৰ আত্মা উদয়কালীন চন্দ্ৰৰ কান্তি স্পৰ্ধা কৰা সেইজনৰ দ্বাৰা চিত্ৰীকৃত আৰু পৃথিৱীত যেতিয়ালৈকে স্মৃতিৰ ভিত্তি থাকিব...॥৬৭॥

গৌড়ৰাজৰ শক্তিশালী জলবাহিনী উপস্থিত হোৱাত অতিশয় উৎসাহ হেতুকে অলপীয়া সৈন্যবাহিনীৰে সৈতে বলোৰাম আৰু অচ্যুতৰ দৰে আগবাঢ়ি যোৱা, কোমল বয়সৰ যদিয়ো বিশাল প্ৰতিশোধভাবাপন্ন সাহসী দুজনক পিতাকৰ মৃত্যুৰ পিচত জ্যেষ্ঠতা অনুসাৰে শাস্ত্ৰৰ বিধিমতে ৰজাৰূপে অধিষ্ঠিত কৰা হৈছিল॥৬৮॥

বাণাসুৰৰ বিৰুদ্ধে লগা যুদ্ধত বাহুৰ বল অপৰাজেয় হৈ ৰোৱা সেই দুজনৰ (কৃষ্ণ আৰু বলৰামৰ) নিচিনাকৈ এই দুঃসাহসী দুজনেও যুদ্ধক্ষেত্ৰত স্থানগ্ৰহণ কৰি ইন্দ্ৰৰ বজ্ৰৰ দৰে চোকা, কৰ্ণদেশৰ সমতলত নিক্ষেপকৰা নিজৰ শৰেৰে ক্ৰৌঞ্চপৰ্বত শাৰীৰ দৰে দেখা সুন্দৰ হাতীৰ অসংখ্য সৈন্য ভেদ কৰিছিল; তেওঁলোকে নিহত সৈন্যৰ বাণবিলাকো প্ৰয়োগ কৰিছিল॥৬৯॥

চলাওঁতে চত চত কৈ শব্দ হোৱা শৰ, যাঠি, চক্ৰ আৰু তৰোৱাল আদি নানা অস্ত্ৰৰ চোকা নিক্ষেপৰ দ্বাৰা শত্ৰুসৈন্যসকলক এই দুজনে ব্যাকুল আৰু বিহ্বল কৰিছিল। হাঁয়! তেওঁলোক হঠাৎ শত্ৰুসকলৰ চোকা অস্ত্ৰৰ দ্বাৰা নিবিড়ভাৱে আচ্ছন্ন হৈ মূৰ্চ্ছা গ'ল আৰু বনৰীয়া হাতীৰ দলবিলাকৰ যোগে (পৃষ্ঠদেশৰ পৰা) পৰিবেষ্টিত হোৱাত শত্ৰুবৃন্দদ্বাৰা সমাসাদিত হ'ল॥৭০॥

সৌভাগ্যবশতঃ শত্ৰুসকলে নিজে তেওঁলোকৰ নিশ্চিত ভালগুণৰ কাৰণে তেওঁলোকৰ নিজা দেশলৈ লৈ গ'ল! অতি কম সময়ৰ ভিতৰত এওঁলোকে নিজ ৰাজ্যত প্ৰৱেশ কৰাত, এই দুজনৰ আগমনে তেওঁলোকৰ পৈতৃক ৰাজ্যত মাত্ৰাধিক আনন্দৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছিল॥৭১॥

[॥৭২॥ এই শ্লোকটো অসম্পূৰ্ণ, আৰু সম্ভৱতঃ সুপ্ৰতিষ্ঠিতৱৰ্মাৰ মৃত্যুৰ বিষয় উল্লেখ কৰিছে।]

[॥৭৩॥ চাৰিটা শব্দৰ বাহিৰে পাঠ উদ্ধাৰ কৰিব পৰা হোৱা নাই; গতিকে অনুবাদ দিব পৰা নগ'ল।]

[৭৪॥ এই শ্লোকটোৰ অৰ্থ পৰিষ্কাৰ নহয় কাৰণ ইয়াৰ প্ৰাপ্ত পাঠ অনিয়মিত। যিকি নহওক, তলত দিয়া ধৰণেৰে ইয়াৰ অনুবাদ কৰিব পাৰি।]:

শাস্ত্ৰৰ তাৎপৰ্য আৰু জ্ঞানসম্পন্ন মানুহৰ পৰা জ্ঞান আৰু ললিতপদৰ ৰচনাৰ সৈতে সৰ্বমাৰ্গৰ কৱিত্ব আহৰণ কৰি আৰু তমোনিৰসন কৰিব পৰা লোকৰ জ্যোতিৰে সৈতে সজ মানুহৰ গোষ্ঠীত সকলো (খ্যাতি) লাভ কৰি তেওঁ নিজ পতাকা দিশে দিশে ওখকৈ উৰুৱাইছিল॥৭৪॥

যাৰ দ্বাৰা কলিযুগ ধ্বংস কৰি ধৰ্ম পুনঃসংস্থাপিত কৰা হৈছিল, হৰিণক জালৰ পৰা মুকলি কৰি এৰি দিয়াৰ দৰে অসৎ মানুহৰ মুঠিৰ পৰা কীৰ্তি মুক্ত কৰি প্ৰসাৰিত হৈছিল আৰু বিলাসিতাৰ উন্মত্ত নীতিৰে লক্ষ্মীক আৰু বিস্তৃত ক্ষমতাৰ দ্বাৰা অবাধ ৰাজতন্ত্ৰৰ নীতিক সংশোধন কৰি আকৌ গ্ৰহণ কৰা হৈছিল॥৭৫॥

ভূতিৱৰ্মাপ্ৰদত্ত বিখ্যাত চনদখন মচ খাই যোৱাৰ কাৰণে আকৌ লিখি একে উদ্দেশ্যেৰে সেইসকল ব্ৰাহ্মণৰ অৰ্থে ভাস্কৰৱৰ্মণে পুনৰ প্ৰদান কৰিলে॥৭৬॥

ব্ৰাহ্মণৰ নাম—

১। বাজসনেয়ী শাখাৱলম্বী কৌশিকগোত্ৰৰ পণ্ডিত প্ৰধান
শ্ৰীপ্ৰিয়ঙ্কৰঘোষস্বামী।
২। সেই একে বৈদিকশাখাৰ আৰু গোত্ৰৰ
ভট্টদেৱঘোষস্বামী যি এতিয়া অৱসৰ গ্ৰহণ কৰিছে।
তেওঁবিলাকৰ অংশপতি বা উত্তৰাধিকাৰীসকল হৈছে—

১। ভট্টপ্ৰিয়ঙ্কৰঘোষস্বামী।
২। ভট্টপৰাশৰঘোষস্বামী।
৩। ভট্টবিষ্ণুঘোষস্বামী।
৪। ভট্টযজ্ঞঘোষস্বামী।
৫। ভট্টৰুদ্ৰঘোষস্বামী।
৬। ভট্টবাজিঘোষস্বামী।
৭। ভট্টধ্ৰুবঘোষস্বামী।
৮। ভট্টভূমঘোষস্বামী।
৯। ভট্টদক্ষঘোষস্বামী।
১০। শ্ৰেয়স্কৰঘোষস্বামী।
১১। মৌদগল্যবৃহস্পতিস্বামী।
১২। মাণ্ডব্য।
১৩। কৌশিক কভট্টস্বামী।
১৪। আত্ৰেয়ো...।

ডুবি শাসনৰ চিল্‌মোহৰৰ অনুবাদ

নৰকপুত্ৰ ভগদত্ত আৰু বজ্ৰদত্ত বংশজাত প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ অধিপতি মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ কান্তিমান্ শ্ৰীপুষ্যবৰ্মা, তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীসমুদ্ৰবৰ্মা, তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ দত্তদেৱীৰ গৰ্ভজাত মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীবলবৰ্মা, তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীকল্যাণবৰ্মা শ্ৰীৰত্নদেৱীৰ গৰ্ভজাত আছিল; শ্ৰীগন্ধৰ্বৱতীৰ গৰ্ভত শ্ৰীগণপতিবৰ্মা জাত হৈছিল; যজ্ঞৱতীৰ গৰ্ভত শ্ৰীমহেন্দ্ৰৰ জন্ম হৈছিল যি দুবাৰ অশ্বমেধ যজ্ঞ সম্পাদন কৰিছিল; শ্ৰীসুব্ৰতাৰ গৰ্ভত শ্ৰীনাৰায়ণবৰ্মাৰ জন্ম হৈছিল; শ্ৰীদেৱমতিৰ গৰ্ভত শ্ৰীভূতিবৰ্মাৰ জন্ম হৈছিল; শ্ৰীবিজ্ঞানৱতীৰ গৰ্ভত শ্ৰীচন্দ্ৰমুখবৰ্মাৰ জন্ম হৈছিল; শ্ৰীভোগৱতীৰ গৰ্ভত শ্ৰীস্থিৰবৰ্মাৰ জন্ম হৈছিল যি দুবাৰ অশ্বমেধ যজ্ঞ সম্পাদন কৰিছিল; শ্ৰীনয়নাৰ গৰ্ভত তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ শ্ৰীসুস্থিতবৰ্মাৰ জন্ম হৈছিল, শ্ৰীসুস্থিতবৰ্মাৰ শ্ৰীধ্ৰুৱলক্ষ্মীৰ গৰ্ভত ভাস্কৰবৰ্মা নামৰ পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল।

ভাস্কৰবৰ্মাৰ নিধানপুৰ তাম্ৰশাসন

ওঁ। ভস্মকণবিভূষিত ইষ্টদেৱ শশিশেখৰ পিনাকী মহাদেৱক সেৱা কৰি ঐশ্বৰ্যশালী ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ সম্পত্তিৰ নিমিত্তে (দগ্ধীভূত শাসনৰ) স্পষ্ট কথা পুনৰ ইয়াত উজ্জ্বল কৰা হৈছে॥১॥

স্বস্তি। বিশাল নাও, হাতী, ঘোঁৰা, পদাতি সম্পত্তিবিশিষ্ট সাৰ্থকজয়শব্দসমন্বিত কৰ্ণসুবৰ্ণত স্থিত স্কন্ধাবাৰৰ পৰা (এই শাসন প্ৰদান কৰা হৈছে)।

সৰ্পৰাজদ্বাৰা বিহিত কটিবন্ধ দৃষ্ট(মাত্ৰ) নিৰ্জিতকামশৰীৰ মহেশ্বৰৰ নিজ-ঐশ্বৰ্য-বিভূষিত নিষ্পাপমূৰ্তি জয়যুক্ত হওক॥২॥

জয় হওক, জগতৰ একমাত্ৰ বন্ধু, উভয়লোকৰ সম্পদৰ হেতু, পৰহিতস্বৰূপ, অদৃশ্য (অথচ) ফলদ্বাৰা অনুমেয়াৱস্থান ধৰ্মৰ জয় হওক॥৩॥

সমুদ্ৰৰপৰা পৃথিৱীক উদ্ধাৰ-ইচ্ছুক কপট বৰাহৰূপী চক্ৰপাণিৰ নৰক নামৰ ৰাজশ্ৰেষ্ঠ পুত্ৰ আছিল॥৪॥

সেই অদৃষ্টনৰক (নৰকমুক্ত) নৰকৰপৰা ইন্দ্ৰসম ভগদত্তৰ জন্ম হৈছিল। প্ৰসিদ্ধ দিগ্বিজয়ী অৰ্জুনকো এওঁ যুদ্ধত (স্পৰ্ধাৰে) আহ্বান জনাইছিল॥৫॥

সেই শত্ৰুনিধনকাৰী ৰজাৰ বজ্ৰদত্তনামৰ এজন পুত্ৰ আছিল যিজন বজ্ৰৰ (বিদ্যুতৰ) নিচিনা বেগী আছিল। তেওঁৰ সৈন্য অপ্ৰতিহত আছিল। যুদ্ধত সদায় তেওঁ ইন্দ্ৰকো সন্তুষ্ট কৰিব পাৰিছিল॥৬॥

তেওঁৰ বংশৰ ৰজাসকলে তিনিহেজাৰ বছৰ ৰাজপদ ভোগ কৰি স্বৰ্গলাভ কৰাত পুষ্যবৰ্মা ক্ষিতীশ্বৰ হ'ল॥৭॥

শোষণজনিত অত্যাচাৰবিৰহিত, উজ্জ্বল বৰ্ণবিশিষ্ট আৰু দ্বন্দ্বযুদ্ধত ক্ষিপ্ৰ পঞ্চম সমুদ্ৰসদৃশ সমুদ্ৰবৰ্মা তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ আছিল॥৮॥

অপ্ৰতিহত সৈন্য যাৰ ৰক্ষাকৰচস্বৰূপ আছিল, সেই বলৱৰ্মা এই নৃপতিৰ দত্তদেৱীগৰ্ভজাত পুত্ৰ আছিল। তেওঁৰ সৈন্যবাহিনী স্বচ্ছন্দে শত্ৰুৰ বিৰুদ্ধে অগ্ৰসৰ হৈছিল॥৯॥

বজ্ৰদেৱীৰ গৰ্ভত এওঁৰ কল্যাণৱৰ্মা নামৰ এটি পুত্ৰসন্তান উপজিছিল। এওঁ সম্পূৰ্ণ দোষমুক্ত আছিল॥১০॥

এওঁৰ ঔৰষত গন্ধৰ্ৱৱতীৰ গৰ্ভত গণপতিৰ নিচিনা দানী আৰু অজস্ৰ গুণমণ্ডিত গণপতিনামৰ পুত্ৰ কলিনিধনৰ নিমিত্তে জন্মগ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল॥১১॥

যজ্ঞত ব্যৱহাৰ্য অৰণিকাঠৰপৰা যিদৰে অগ্নিৰ উৎপাদন হয়, সেইদৰে তেওঁৰ (গণপতিৰ) মহিষীৰ গৰ্ভত যাগযজ্ঞৰ স্থল পুত্ৰ মহেন্দ্ৰৱৰ্মাৰ জন্ম হয়॥১২॥

এই আত্মতত্ত্বজ্ঞ ৰজাৰ ঔৰষত ৰাণী সুব্ৰতাই জনকৰ নিচিনা সাংখ্যাৰ্থাভিজ্ঞ নাৰায়ণৱৰ্মাক পৃথিৱীৰ স্থিতিৰ উদ্দেশ্যে জন্ম দিছিল॥১৩॥

গুণ-সন্ততি স্থিৰ কৰিবৰ নিমিত্তে পুৰুষৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰকৃতিয়ে যিদৰে মহাভূতৰ সৃষ্টি কৰে, ঠিক সেইদৰে ৰাণী দেৱৱতীয়েও সেই পুৰুষৰ পৰা ষষ্ঠ মহাভূতৰূপী মহাভূতৱৰ্মাক গৰ্ভত ধাৰণ কৰিছিল॥১৪॥

তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ চন্দ্ৰমুখৱৰ্মা চন্দ্ৰৰ নিচিনাকৈ কলাসমূহৰ দ্বাৰা ৰমণীয় আছিল। আকাশে যেনেকৈ আন্ধাৰনাশক চন্দ্ৰক জন্ম দিয়ে, ঠিক সেইদৰে বিজ্ঞানৱতীয়েও তমোপহ সেই পুত্ৰক জন্ম দিছিল॥১৫॥

পৃথিৱীধাৰণকাৰী অনন্তফণাযুক্ত নাগাধিপতিৰ পাতালত থকা নাগপুৰী যিদৰে সুখ ঐশ্বৰ্যসমন্বিত সম্পদৰ হেতু, ঠিক সেইদৰে ভোগসম্পন্না ভোগৱতীও বিলাসিজনৰ অধিপতি অশেষ ভোগবিশিষ্ট ভূপতি স্থিতিৱৰ্মাৰ কাৰণ আছিল॥১৬॥

অতলস্পৰ্শ অসংখ্য ৰত্নৰ আকৰ লক্ষ্মীৰ আশ্ৰয়স্থান ক্ষীৰোদসাগৰৰ পৰা যিদৰে চন্দ্ৰ উদ্ভূত হৈছে, সেইদৰে গম্ভীৰমূৰ্তি অগণন ধনৰত্নৰ অধিকাৰী ৰাজশ্ৰীসম্পন্ন সেই নৃপতিৰ পৰা অকলংক শ্ৰীমৃগাংকৰ জন্ম হৈছিল॥১৭॥

তেওঁৰ (স্থিতৱৰ্মাৰ) এই পুত্ৰ সুস্থিতৱৰ্মদেৱৰ নয়নদেৱীৰ গৰ্ভত জন্মি নিজ বাহুবলেৰে ৰাজ্য ধাৰণ কৰিছিল। তেওঁ (পিচত) শ্ৰীমৃগাঙ্কনামেৰে খ্যাত হৈছিল॥১৮॥

নাৰায়ণে “এইয়ে একমাত্ৰ ধন”-বুলি ভাবি কৃপণৰ নিচিনাকৈ আনন্দেৰে নিজ বক্ষস্থলত অশেষ শোভাসম্পন্ন যি লক্ষ্মীক সদায় বহন কৰে, সেই লক্ষ্মী (ধনসম্পত্তি) মাটিৰ নিচিনাকৈ যাচকসকলৰ মাজত তেওঁৰ দ্বাৰা বিতৰণ কৰা হৈছিল॥১৯॥

সত্যযুগোদ্ভৱাৰ (শ্যামাৰ) নিচিনাকৈ শ্যামাদেৱীয়ে অন্ধকাৰ নিৰসনৰ কাৰণে এওঁৰ ঔৰসত শশীসম সুপ্ৰতিষ্ঠিতৱৰ্মা নামৰ পুত্ৰৰ জন্ম দিছিল॥২০॥

বিদ্যাধৰ প্ৰধানসকলৰ দ্বাৰা অধ্যুষিত হস্তিযূথসমন্বিত সুসংস্থিত নিতম্ব কুলাচলৰ উচ্চতা যিদৰে পৰৰ হিতৰ অৰ্থে, সেইদৰে বিদ্বানসমাজৰ চূড়ামণিসকলৰ দ্বাৰা পৰিবৃত গজসৈন্যসমন্বিত সুপ্ৰতিষ্ঠিত সৈন্যমণ্ডলসম্পন্ন সেই ৰজাৰ অভ্যুদয় লোকৰ হিতৰ কাৰণেহে হৈছিল॥২১॥

তেওঁৰ ভায়েক ভাস্কৰৰ নিচিনা জ্যোতিৰ আৱাস আৰু উদয়সম্পন্ন শ্ৰীভাস্কৰৱৰ্মাক এই শ্যামাদেৱীয়েই জন্ম দিছিল॥২২॥

এজন হলেও (ব্যক্তি হিচাবে) তেওঁ সন্মুখস্থ স্বভাৱতঃ নিৰ্মল দাপোণসমূহৰ নিচিনাকৈ
তেওঁৰ সন্মুখত থকা জনগণৰ চিত্তফলকত বহুভাৱে ঠিক প্ৰতিবিম্বিত হৈছিল॥২৩॥

ভাস্কৰৰ ছবি যিদৰে একেলগে বহুতো জলপাত্ৰত লক্ষিত হয় সেইদৰে তেওঁৰো ছবি প্ৰভূত
তেজহেতু অব্যাহতভাৱে নৃপতিসকলৰ ঘৰে ঘৰে দেখিবলৈ পোৱা গৈছে॥২৪॥

সৰ্পাদিৰহিত সুখাৰোহ আৰু সমৃদ্ধিৰূপ বহুফলবিশিষ্ট কল্পবৃক্ষৰ নিচিনাকৈ তেওঁৰ পাদমূল
ছায়াশ্ৰিত জনগণৰ দ্বাৰা পৰিবেষ্টিত হৈ থাকে॥২৫॥

এইটোও ঠিক যে জগতৰ উৎপত্তি, কল্পনা আৰু বিনাশৰ হেতু ভগৱান পদ্মযোনিৰ দ্বাৰা তেওঁ (ৰজা) বিশৃংখল বৰ্ণাশ্ৰম ধৰ্মৰ সম্যক ব্যৱস্থাপনাৰ অৰ্থে সৃষ্ট হৈছে। সূৰ্যই যিদৰে উদয়কালত নিজমণ্ডল ৰক্তবৰ্ণ কৰে, সেইদৰে পৃথিবীৰ অধীশ্বৰ তেওঁ অভ্যুদয়ৰ দ্বাৰা (শত্ৰুমিত্ৰ) মণ্ডল অনুৰক্ত কৰিছে, সূৰ্যৰ নিচিনাকৈ যথোচিত কৰসমূহৰ যথাৰ্থ প্ৰয়োগৰ দ্বাৰা কলিৰূপী তিমিৰৰাশি আকুলিত কৰি আৰ্যধৰ্মৰ পোহৰ প্ৰকাশিত কৰিছে। নিজ বাহুবলদ্বাৰা সমস্ত সামন্তসমূহৰ বিক্ৰম তেওঁ লঘু কৰিছে। মৰ্যাদা, বিনয়, আলাপ, পৰিচয়দ্বাৰা কুলপৰম্পৰাগত প্ৰজাবৰ্গৰ ৰাজভক্তি বৃদ্ধিপ্ৰাপ্ত হোৱাত তেওঁ সিহঁতৰ নানাবিধ সুখভোগৰ পথ পৰিকল্পিত কৰিছে। তেওঁ সমৰবিজিত শত নৃপতিকৃত বিবিধ স্তুতিবাক্যৰূপ পুষ্পদ্বাৰা বিৰচিত মনোহৰ কীৰ্তিৰূপ বিচিত্ৰ কিৰীটিৰে চিহ্নিত হৈছে। ৰজা শিবিৰ নিচিনাকৈ পৰহিতাৰ্থে দানকাৰ্যত তেওঁ নিজৰ সত্ত্ববৃত্তি নিয়োজিত কৰে। যথাসময়ত সমুদিত ষাড়্‌গুণ্যৰ প্ৰয়োগবিষয়ত পটুতাৰ নিবন্ধন দ্বিতীয় বৃহস্পতিৰ নিচিনাকৈ তেওঁৰো প্ৰভাৱ সুবিদিত। শাস্ত্ৰজ্ঞান, শৌৰ্য, ধৈৰ্য, পৰাক্ৰম, সচ্চৰিত্ৰ ইত্যাদিৰ দ্বাৰা তেওঁৰ চিত্তবৃত্তি অলংকৃত, প্ৰতিপক্ষৰ আশ্ৰয় হেতু প্ৰত্যাখ্যাত হৈয়েই যেন দোষবিলাকে তেওঁক পৰিহাৰ কৰিছে। অবিচলিত আৰু অবিৰত প্ৰণয়ৰ ৰসপ্ৰাচুৰ্যত আকৃষ্ট কামৰূপ ৰাজলক্ষ্মীৰ দৃঢ়ালিংগনৰ দ্বাৰা তেওঁৰ অভিগম্য গুণাৱলীৰ প্ৰতি অনুৰাগৰ ভাব প্ৰকাশিত হৈছে। কলিযুগৰ পৰাক্ৰমেৰে বিজড়িত দেহ সত্ত্বেও প্ৰকৃত ধৰ্মৰ তেওঁ জীৱনস্বৰূপ; তেওঁ নীতিৰ অধিষ্ঠান, গুণাৱলীৰ আলয়, প্ৰণয়িজনৰ অক্ষয় সম্পত্তি, সন্ত্ৰস্তসকলৰ আশ্ৰয়স্থল আৰু শ্ৰীসম্পদৰ বাসস্থান। পৃথিবীপুত্ৰ নৰকৰপৰা ক্ৰমলব্ধ পদসমুৎকৰ্ষ হেতুকে তেওঁৰ প্ৰভাৱশক্তি প্ৰদৰ্শিত হৈছে। মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ কুশলী শ্ৰীভাস্কৰৱৰ্মদেৱে চন্দ্ৰপুৰি বিষয়ত থকা বৰ্তমানৰ আৰু ভৱিষ্যতৰ বিষয়পতিসকল আৰু বিচৰালয়সমূহৰ প্ৰতি আদেশ কৰিছে; আপোনালোকে জানি থওক, এই বিষয়ান্তঃপাতি ময়ূৰশাল্মলাগ্ৰহাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰ, যি নৰপতি ভূতিৱৰ্মাৰ দ্বাৰা তাম্ৰপট্টৰে প্ৰদত্ত হৈছিল সেই তাম্ৰপট্টৰ এতিয়া অভাৱহেতুকে কৰ দিবলগীয়া হোৱাত মহাৰাজে জ্যেষ্ঠ ভদ্ৰসকলক জ্ঞাপন কৰি পুনৰ্বাৰ নতুন পট্ট কৰাৰ উদ্দেশ্যে আজ্ঞাদান কৰি চন্দ্ৰ, সূৰ্য, পৃথিৱী সমকাল কোনো ধৰণৰ কৰকাটল যাতে গ্ৰহণ কৰা নহয়, সেইনিমিত্তে ভূমিচ্ছিদ্ৰন্যায়ানুসাৰে আগতে ভোগ কৰা ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলক (ওপৰোক্ত অগ্ৰহাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰ) দান কৰিলে। ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ নাম, যেনে—

ক্ৰমিকসংখ্যা	বেদপৰিচয়	গোত্ৰ	নাম	অংশ
১	বাজসনেয়ী (যজুৰ্বেদীয়)	প্ৰাচেতস	সাধাৰণস্বামী (পট্টকপতি)	২
২, ৩, ৪, ৫	বাজসনেয়ী	প্ৰাচেতস	শ্ৰীবসু আৰু ভ্ৰাতৃত্ৰয়	১

ক্ৰমিকসংখ্যা	বেদপৰিচয়	গোত্ৰ	নাম	অংশ
৬, ৭	বাজসনেয়ী	প্ৰাচেতস	সোমবসু আৰু ভ্ৰাতা	১/২
৮	ছান্দোগ	কাত্যায়ন	মনোৰথস্বামী	১ ৩/৪
৯	ঐ	ঐ	বিষ্ণুঘোষস্বামী	১/২
১০	ঐ	ঐ	বেদঘোষস্বামী	১
১১	বাহ্বৃচ্য (ঋগ্বেদী)	যাস্ক	দামদেৱস্বামী	১
১২	ঐ	ঐ	ঘোষদেৱস্বামী	১/২
১৩	ঐ	ঐ	নন্দদেৱস্বামী	১/২
১৪	ছান্দোগ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	অৰ্কদও (গোত্ৰৈসৈতে অধ্যৰ্ধাংশ)	১ ১/২
১৫	ঐ	ঐ	তুষ্টিদত্তস্বামী	১/২
১৬	বাজসনেয়ী	কাশ্যপ	ঋষিদামস্বামী	১
১৭	ঐ	ঐ	শুভদামস্বামী	১
১৮	ঐ	কৌৎস	শনৈশ্চৰভূতি (গোত্ৰাংশ)	১
১৯	বাহ্বৃচ্য	গৌবাত্ৰেয়	সঙ্কৰ্ষণস্বামী	২
২০	ঐ	ঐ	নৰস্বামী	১
২১	ঐ	ঐ	নাৰায়ণস্বামী	১/২
২২	ঐ	ঐ	বিষ্ণুস্বামী	১
২৩	ঐ	ঐ	সুদৰ্শনস্বামী	১
২৪	ঐ	ঐ	গোপেন্দ্ৰস্বামী	১
২৫	ঐ	ঐ	অৰ্কস্বামী	১/৪
২৬	ঐ	ঐ	ভানুস্বামী	১/২
২৭	ঐ	ঐ	ভূয়স্কৰস্বামী	১/২
২৮	বাজসনেয়ী	কৃষ্ণাত্ৰেয়	যশোভূতিস্বামী (গোত্ৰাংশ)	১
২৯	ছান্দোগ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	বৰুণস্বামী	১
৩০	বাজসনেয়ী	কৌণ্ডিণ্য	মধুসেনস্বামী	১
৩১	ছান্দোগ	গৌতম	ধ্ৰুবসোমস্বামী	১
৩২	ঐ	ঐ	বিষ্ণুসোমস্বামী	১
৩৩	বাজসনেয়ী	ভাৰদ্বাজ	বিষ্ণুপালিতস্বামী	১ ১/২
৩৪	ঐ	ঐ	শুচিপালিতস্বামী	১
৩৫, ৩৬	ঐ	ঐ	মিত্ৰপালিত আৰু অৰ্থপালিত	১/২
৩৭	ঐ	ঐ	প্ৰজাপতিপালিতস্বামী	১/৪
৩৮	ঐ	গৌতম	মধুস্বামী	১
৩৯	ঐ	গৌতম	চক্ৰদেৱস্বামী	১/২

ক্ৰমিকসংখ্যা	বেদপৰিচয়	গোত্ৰ	নাম	অংশ
৪০	চাৰক্য (যজুৰ্বেদী)	বাৎস	কুষ্মাণ্ডপত্ৰস্বামী	৩/১৬
৪১	ঐ	মৌদ্‌গল্য	ঈশ্বৰদত্তস্বামী	২
৪২, ৪৩	বাজসনেয়ী	ঐ	সুদৰ্শন আৰু দিনকৰস্বামী	১
৪৪	ঐ	শৌভক (শৌনক)	যজ্ঞকুণ্ডস্বামী	১ ১/২
৪৫	ঐ	ঐ	যশঃকুণ্ডস্বামী	১ ১/৪
৪৬	ঐ	ঐ	শ্ৰদ্ধকুণ্ডস্বামী	১
৪৭	ঐ	ঐ	নাৰায়ণকুণ্ডস্বামী	১
৪৮	ঐ	ঐ	ঈশ্বৰকুণ্ডস্বামী	১ ১/৮
৪৯	ঐ	ঐ	শক্তিকুণ্ডস্বামী	১/৪
৫০	ঐ	ঐ	তোষকুণ্ডস্বামী	১ ১/৮
৫১	চাৰক্য	পাৰাশৰ্য	সাধুস্বামী	১
৫২	ছান্দোগ	আশ্লায়ন	গঙ্গস্বামী	১
৫৩	বাহ্বৃচ্য	বাৰাহ	নৰস্বামী	১
৫৪	ঐ	বাৰাহ	প্ৰবৰনাগস্বামী	৩/৪
৫৫	বাহ্বৃচ্য	ঐ	অপনাগস্বামী	১
৫৬, ৫৭	ঐ	ঐ	তোষনাগ আৰু হম্পিনাগ	১/৪
৫৮	বাজসনেয়ী	কাশ্যপ	মনোঘোষস্বামী	১
৫৯	ছান্দোগ	বৈষ্ণৱৃদ্ধি	সৰ্পিৰ্ণিস্বামী	১
৬০	ঐ	ঐ	জনাৰ্দ্দনস্বামী	১
৬১	বাহ্বৃচ্য	কৌশিক	অৰ্কস্বামী	১ ১/২
৬২	ঐ	ঐ	শ্ৰদ্ধদাসস্বামী	১/২
৬৩	বাজসনেয়ী	গৌতম	সনাতনস্বামী	১
৬৪	ঐ	ঐ	হৰ্ষপ্ৰভ (গোত্ৰসহ)	১/২
৬৫	ঐ	কৌটিল্য	খণ্ডসোমস্বামী	১ ১/২
৬৬, ৬৭, ৬৮	ঐ	ঐ	শ্ৰেয়স্কৰ, গতি আৰু গৌৰিসোম	১
৬৯	বাজসনেয়ী	ঐ	বকুলসোমস্বামী	১/২
৭০, ৭১	বাজসনেয়ী	ঐ	ধৃতিসোম আৰু সিংহসোমস্বামী	১/২
৭২	ঐ	কৃষ্ণাত্ৰেয়	ভাযশঃস্বামী	২ ১/২
৭৩	ঐ	ঐ	যজ্ঞস্বামী	১ ১/৪
৭৪	ঐ	ঐ	দৈৰস্বামী	১ ১/৪
৭৫	ঐ	ঐ	দৰ্দিস্বামী	১/২

ক্ৰমিকসংখ্যা	বেদপৰিচয়	গোত্ৰ	নাম	অংশ
৭৬	ঐ	ঐ	প্ৰদ্যুম্নস্বামী	১$\frac{১}{২}$
৭৭	ঐ	ঐ	বৃদ্ধিস্বামী	$\frac{১}{২}$
৭৮, ৭৯, ৮০ ৮১, ৮২	ঐ	ঐ	দিবাকৰ, হৰি, অদ্ভুত, ত্বষ্টৃ	১
৮৩	ঐ	কৰেস্তৰ	মেধস্বামী	১
৮৪	ঐ	মাণ্ডব্য	ধৃতিস্বামী (গোত্ৰসহ)	$\frac{১}{৪}$
৮৫	ঐ	কশ্যপ	কেশস্বামী	১
৮৬	ঐ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	গৌৰিস্বামী	১
৮৭	ঐ	ঐ	সুচৰিতস্বামী	$\frac{১}{২}$
৮৮	ঐ	ঐ	বপ্পস্বামী	১
৮৯	বাহ্বৃচ্য	কৌণ্ডিণ্য	কৰ্কদত্তস্বামী	১
৯০	ঐ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	উদয়নস্বামী	১
৯১	ঐ	ৱাসিষ্ঠ	মেৰুদত্তস্বামী	১
৯২, ৯৩	বাজসনেয়ী	অগ্নিবেশ্য	নৰেন্দ্ৰ আৰু বেণুভূতিস্বামী	১
৯৪	ঐ	ঐ	মেধভূতিস্বামী	$\frac{১}{২}$
৯৫	চাৰক্য	সাংকৃত্যায়ণ	চন্দ্ৰপক্ষস্বামী	১
৯৬	বাহ্বৃচ্য	যাস্ক	কালিস্বামী	১
৯৭	ঐ	ঐ	স্বামী	১$\frac{১}{২}$
৯৮	ঐ	ঐ	ভট্টিমহেশ্বৰস্বামী	$\frac{১}{২}$
৯৯	বাহ্বৃচ্য	পাৰাশৰ্য	গোপালনন্দিস্বামী	১
১০০	ঐ	ভাৰ্গৱ	বিশ্বভূতিস্বামী	১
১০১, ১০২	ঐ	ঐ	সুৰঞ্জিত আৰু সুচৰিতস্বামী	$\frac{১}{২}$
১০৩	তৈত্তিৰীয় (যজুৰ্বেদী)	ভাৰদ্বাজ	শিৱগণস্বামী	১
১০৪, ১০৫, ১০৬, ১০৭	বাহ্বৃচ্য	কাত্যায়ন	বসুশ্ৰীস্বামী আৰু ভ্ৰাতৃত্ৰয়	১
১০৮	বাজসনেয়ী	কৌশিক	বীৰভূতিস্বামী	১
১০৯	ঐ	ঐ	বিষ্ণুভূতিস্বামী	$\frac{১}{২}$
১১০	ঐ	ঐ	প্ৰমোদভূতিস্বামী	১
১১১	ঐ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	বিষ্ণুদত্তস্বামী	১
১১২	ঐ	কৌণ্ডিন্য	বৃহস্পতিস্বামী	১
১১৩	বাহ্বৃচ্য	যাস্ক	হৰ্ষদেৱস্বামী	১
১১৪	বাজসনেয়ী	জাতূকৰ্ণ	মেধস্বামী	১
১১৫	ঐ	ঐ	কৃষ্ণস্বামী	১

ক্ৰমিকসংখ্যা	বেদপৰিচয়	গোত্ৰ	নাম	অংশ
১১৬, ১১৭	ঐ	ঐ	মাধব আৰু হৰি	১
১১৮	ছান্দোগ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	জনাৰ্দনদেৱস্বামী	১/২
১১৯	বাজসনেয়ী	মৌদ্গল্য	বিষ্ণুসোমস্বামী	১/২
১২০	চাৰক্য	গাৰ্গ্য	ধনসেনস্বামী	১
১২১, ১২২	ঐ	ঐ	প্ৰমোদসেন আৰু ঘোষ সেন	১
১২৩	ঐ	ঐ	সোমসেনস্বামী	১
১২৪	বাহবৃচ্য	গৌতম	ভাস্কৰমিত্ৰস্বামী	১
১২৫	ঐ	ঐ	মধুমিত্ৰস্বামী	১
১২৬, ১২৭	ঐ	ঐ	সাধাৰণমিত্ৰ আৰু সাধু মিত্ৰ	১
১২৮	ঐ	ঐ	ধৃতিমিত্ৰস্বামী	১/২
১২৯	ঐ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	শংকুভৱস্বামী	১
১৩০, ১৩১	ঐ	পৌতিমাস্য	সুদৰ্শন আৰু ধনেশ্বৰস্বামী	১/২
১৩২	বাজসনেয়ী	শাণ্ডিল্য	ৰবিস্বামী	১
১৩৩	ঐ	ঐ	মধুস্বামী	১
১৩৪	ঐ	ঐ	মহীধৰস্বামী	১
১৩৫	বাহবৃচ্য	পৌৰ্ণ্ম	ভট্টিমহেশ্বৰস্বামী	১
১৩৬	ঐ	ঐ	ভট্টিমাতৃস্বামী	১/২
১৩৭	ঐ	ঐ	ৰুদ্ৰভট্টিস্বামী	১/২
১৩৮	ছান্দোগ	কৌশিক	অদ্ৰিবিলেপনস্বামী	১
১৩৯	বাজসনেয়ী	সাৰ্বৰ্ণিক	গোমিনাগস্বামী	১
১৪০	ঐ	শালঙ্কায়ন	সূৰ্যস্বামী	১
১৪১	বাজসনেয়ী	ভাবদ্বাজ	ভৱদেৱস্বামী	১
১৪২	ঐ	ঐ	সৰ্বদেৱস্বামী	১
১৪৩	ঐ	ঐ	গোমিদেৱস্বামী	১/২
১৪৪	ঐ	ঐ	সাবিত্ৰদেৱস্বামী	২
১৪৫	ঐ	ঐ	অৰ্কদেৱস্বামী	১/২
১৪৬	ঐ	ঐ	সাধাৰণস্বামী	১/৪
১৪৭	ঐ	গাৰ্গ্য	দামৱাতস্বামী	১
১৪৮	ঐ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	বসুদত্তস্বামী	২
১৪৯	ঐ	আলম্বায়ন	যোগেশ্বৰস্বামী	২
১৫০	ঐ	ঐ	বিশ্বেশ্বৰস্বামী	১
১৫১	ঐ	ঐ	দিব্যেশ্বৰস্বামী	১
১৫২	ঐ	ঐ	গণেশ্বৰস্বামী	১
১৫৩	ঐ	ঐ	বুদ্ধেশ্বৰস্বামী	১

ক্ৰমিকসংখ্যা	বেদপৰিচয়	গোত্ৰ	নাম	অংশ
১৫৪, ১৫৫	ঐ	ঐ	জাতেশ্বৰ আৰু অঙ্গেশ্বৰ	১
১৫৬	ঐ	ঐ	ধৌতেশ্বৰস্বামী	১/৪
১৫৭	ঐ	ঐ	মঘেশ্বৰস্বামী	১/৪
১৫৮	ঐ	ঐ	জহ্নবীশ্বৰস্বামী	১/২
১৫৯	ঐ	ঐ	নন্দেশ্বৰস্বামী	১
১৬০	ঐ	আঙ্গিৰস	দামভূতিস্বামী	১
১৬১, ১৬২	বাহ্বৃচ্য	কাশ্যপ	প্ৰকাশৰস্বামী আৰু ভ্ৰাতৃ	১
১৬৩	বাজসনেয়ী	যাস্ক	গায়ত্ৰীপালস্বামী	১
১৬৪	বাহ্বৃচ্য	পাৰাশৰ্য	শান্তশৰ্মস্বামী	১
১৬৫	ঐ	কৌশিক	পদ্মদাসস্বামী (গোত্ৰাংশ)	১
১৬৬, ১৬৭	ঐ	ঐ	গোৱৰ্ধনযজ্ঞপাল আৰু পণুসুদৰ্শনস্বামী	১/২
১৬৮	ছান্দোগ	পাঙ্কল্য	গোপালস্বামী	১
১৬৯	তৈত্তিৰীয়	কাশ্যপ	উগ্ৰদত্ত	১
১৭০	বাহ্বৃচ্য	বাৰ্হস্পত্য	ভট্টিনন্দস্বামী	১
১৭১	ঐ	ঐ	সাধুস্বামী	১
১৭২	ঐ	ঐ	দেৱকুলস্বামী	১
১৭৩	ঐ	ঐ	জনাৰ্দনস্বামী	১
১৭৪, ১৭৫, ১৭৬	ঐ	ঐ	সুনয়ন, নাৰায়ণ আৰু বৃদ্ধিস্বামী	১/২
১৭৭	ঐ	গৌতম	ঈশ্বৰভট্টস্বামী	১
১৭৮	ঐ	গৌতম	ভৃগুস্বামী	১/২
১৭৯	ঐ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	ৰুদ্ৰঘোষস্বামী	১
১৮০	চাৰক্য	কাত্যায়ন	কৌশিসোমস্বামী	১
১৮১	বাজসনেয়ী	গৌতম	প্ৰভাকৰকীৰ্ত্তিস্বামী	১
১৮২	বাজসনেয়ী	শাণ্ডিল্য	অনন্তস্বামী	১
১৮৩	বাহ্বৃচ্য	শৌনক	গতিভট্টিস্বামী	১
১৮৪	ঐ	ঐ	তেজভট্টিস্বামী	১
১৮৫, ১৮৬	ঐ	ঐ	মনঘোষ, তেজিভট্টি আৰু নন্দভূতিস্বামী	১/২
১৮৭	ঐ	ঐ	দামভট্টিস্বামী	১
১৮৮	ঐ	ঐ	মেধভট্টিস্বামী	১
১৮৯	ঐ	ঐ	সুমতিভট্টিস্বামী	১
১৯০	ঐ	ঐ	সুযোগভট্টিস্বামী	১

ক্ৰমিকসংখ্যা	বেদপৰিচয়	গোত্ৰ	নাম	অংশ
১৯১	ঐ	বাৎস্য	শাশ্বতদামস্বামী	১
১৯২	ছান্দোগ	গৌতম	তোষস্বামী	১
১৯৩	বাহ্বৃচ্য	বাৰাহ	ভট্টিহৰস্বামী	১
১৯৪	বাজসনেয়ী	ভাৰদ্বাজ	নাগদত্তস্বামী	১/২
১৯৫, ১৯৬	ঐ	আলম্বায়ন	দুৰ্বেশ্বৰস্বামী আৰু ভ্ৰাতৃ	১/২
১৯৭	ঐ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	ৰূপাদ্যস্বামী	১/২
১৯৮, ১৯৯	বাহ্বৃচ্য	কৌশিক	চন্দ্ৰদাস আৰু বিমৰ্দনস্বামী	১/২
২০০	বাজসনেয়ী	কাশ্যপ	সুপ্ৰতিষ্ঠিতস্বামী	১/২
২০১	ঐ	গৌতম	নন্দনস্বামী	১
২০২	ঐ	শাকটায়ন	তোষস্বামী	১/২
২০৩, ২০৪	ঐ	গৌতম আৰু কাশ্যপ	সাৰস আৰু বকুলস্বামী	১
২০৫	ঐ	ভাৰদ্বাজ	বিদুষস্বামী	১/২
		বলিচৰুসত্ৰৰ কাৰণে		৭
			সমষ্টি	১৬৬ ১১/১৬

কৌশিকা নদীৰ (বালিচৰৰ যোগে) যি ভূমিৰ বৃদ্ধি হৈছে তাৰ উপস্বত্ব প্ৰতিগ্ৰাহক ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ প্ৰাপ্য; কিন্তু যি গঙ্গিণিকাৰ দ্বাৰা বৰ্ধিত হৈছে সেয়া যথালিখিত ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ মাজত সমান অংশত বিভক্ত হব ইতি। সীমা পূৱে শুষ্ক কৌশিকা, দক্ষিণ-পূৱত সেই শুষ্ক কৌশিকা ডুম্বৰীচ্ছেদ দ্বাৰা বেদিতব্য। দক্ষিণে ডুম্বৰীচ্ছেদ। দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমে গঙ্গিণিকা ডুম্বৰীচ্ছেদ দ্বাৰা বেদিতব্য। পশ্চিমে বৰ্তমান সীমা গঙ্গিণিকা। পশ্চিমোত্তৰত কুম্ভকাৰগৰ্ত আৰু পূৱফালে বক্ৰীভূত সেই গঙ্গিণিকা। উত্তৰত জাটলীবৃক্ষ। উত্তৰ-পূৱত ব্যৱহাৰী খাসোকৰ(?) পুখুৰী আৰু সেই শুষ্ক কৌশিকা। শত আজ্ঞাপ্ৰাপণকাৰী পঞ্চমহাশব্দপ্ৰাপ্ত শ্ৰীগোপাল। সীমাপ্ৰদানকাৰী হল চন্দ্ৰপুৰী ভূমি অধিকাৰী শ্ৰীক্ষিকুণ্ডা, ন্যায়কৰণিক জনাৰ্দনস্বামী, ব্যৱহাৰী হৰদত্ত কায়স্থ, দুন্ধুনাথ প্ৰভৃতি। শাসন প্ৰস্তুতকাৰী আৰু লেখক বসুবৰ্ণ। ভাণ্ডাৰগৃহৰ অধিকাৰী মহাসামন্ত দিবাকৰপ্ৰভ। উৎখেটয়িতা দণ্ডকাৰপূৰ্ণ। সেক্যকাৰ কালিয়া।

ভূমিদানকাৰীয়ে ষাঠি হেজাৰ বছৰ স্বৰ্গসুখ লাভ কৰে। যি ব্যক্তিয়ে (প্ৰদত্তভূমি) কাঢ়ি লয় অথবা (শাসনৰ) অৱমাননা কৰে, সি সেই পৰিমাণ কাল নৰকবাস কৰে॥২৬॥

নিজদত্ত নাইবা পৰদত্তভূমি যি ব্যক্তিয়ে হৰণ কৰে, সি বিষ্ঠাৰ কৃমি হৈ পিতৃগণে সৈতে নৰকত পচে॥২৭॥

শাসনখন পুৰি যোৱাৰ পিছত ইয়াক নতুনকৈ লিখা হোৱাত যিহেতু আখৰবিলাকে ভিন্নৰূপ লৈছে, সেই গতিকে এই সমস্ত কূট বা জাল নহয়॥২৮॥

শ্ৰীকুমাৰৰ তাম্ৰঘণ্টালিপি

দেৱাসুৰৰাজৰ হস্ত্যন্তক, তেওঁৰ (অৰ্থাৎ ইন্দ্ৰৰ) পূজাৰ ৰক্ষক ইন্দ্ৰসদৃশ শ্ৰীকুমাৰৰাজে দেৱতা পূজাৰ কাৰণে এই ঘণ্টা প্ৰদান কৰিলে।

হৰ্জৰবৰ্মাৰ তাম্ৰশাসন

(হাইয়ুংথল লিপি)

বলৱান আৰু মহৎ দীপ্তিমান্ … … …॥১॥

… … … … …হে পাৰ্থিব আপোনাৰ ভাৱীবংশধৰ এইকাৰণে ম্লেচ্ছসংজ্ঞাৰে অভিহিত হ'ব॥২॥

… … … ৰাজ্য ভগদত্তৰ … … ইয়াৰ পাচত শত্ৰুহন্তা শালস্তম্ভ পৃথিৱীৰ পালক হৈছিল॥৩॥

সেই নৃপশ্ৰেষ্ঠ স্বৰ্গগত হোৱাত তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ শত্ৰুপৰাভৱকাৰী মহাবল বিজয় পৃথিৱীৰ ক্ষমতাশালী অধিপতি হৈছিল॥৪॥

সেই মহাবাহুৰ মৃত্যু হোৱাত পালকশ্ৰেষ্ঠ পালক, কুমাৰ আৰু ব্ৰজদেৱ ক্ৰমে ৰজা হৈ (ধৰাধামৰ পৰা) অন্তৰ্হিত হয়॥৫॥

ইয়াৰ পাচত হৰ্ষবৰ্মা নামে প্ৰসিদ্ধ, গুণসম্পন্ন ধাৰ্মিক নৰপতিয়ে প্ৰজাসকলক স্বপুত্ৰৰ নিচিনাকৈ, কেতিয়াও উৎপীড়ন নকৰাকৈ পালন কৰিছিল॥৬॥

এওঁ স্বৰ্গী হোৱাত তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ বলৱৰ্মা শক্তিশালী নৃপতি হয়। এৱোঁ মৃত্যুৰ বশীভূত হয়॥৭॥

হায়! জগতৰ ভিতৰত সেই বংশ-কুমুদ চন্দ্ৰ আৰু দুগ্ধসম কান্তিবিশিষ্ট হলেওঁ, সেই বংশত চক্ৰ আৰু অৰথি নামৰ দুজন উদ্ধত ৰাজপুত্ৰৰ জন্ম হৈছিল। এওঁলোক দুয়ো গুৰুবাক্য লঙ্ঘন কৰাত পটু হোৱাৰ গতিকে এওঁলোকৰ ভিতৰত কনিষ্ঠ গৰাকিৰ পুত্ৰই ৰাজকাৰ্যভাৰ গ্ৰহণ কৰে॥৮॥

জগতত কেৱল তেৱেঁই একমাত্ৰ ধন্যা আৰ সৌভাগ্য সম্পদৰ বাসস্থান যাৰ দ্বাৰা… … …॥৯॥

যাৰ এই ধৰণৰ পৱিত্ৰ যশ এতিয়াও পৃথিৱীত কীৰ্তিত হৈ আছে...সেই জীৱদেৱী আপোন জন্মৰ … … …॥১০॥

কুন্তীৰ গৰ্ভত যেনেকৈ যুধিষ্ঠিৰ আৰু সুভদ্ৰাৰ গৰ্ভত যেনেকৈ অভিমন্যুৱে জন্মগ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল, ঠিক সেইদৰে তেওঁৰ (জীৱদেৱীৰ) গৰ্ভতো পৃথিৱীৰ ভাবী অধিপতি আৰু সিংহবিক্ৰম, মনোভিৰাম শ্ৰীহৰ্জৰদেৱে জন্মগ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল॥১১॥

ৰাজ্যজয়ত ইচ্ছুক নৃপতিসকলে পৰ্বতগুহাদিৰ প্ৰান্তৱৰ্তী নানাস্থানত সংগ্ৰামপ্ৰয়াসী হৈ অসংস্থিত হোৱাৰ পিচত সন্ধিৰ নিমিত্তে শৰণাপন্ন হৈ স্বস্থানস্থিত যাক আশ্ৰয় হিচাবে লয়; যাৰ সমস্ত গুণৰাজি সমানভাৱে বিৰাজিত হৈ আছে; আৰু উচিত কাৰ্যত সৰ্বান্তঃকৰণেৰে পৰ্যালোচনা কৰিবলগীয়া বিষয়তো যাৰ বিৰক্তিহীন অৱসৰ সকলোৱে লাভ কৰে॥১২॥

সেই শ্ৰীমান্ হৰ্জৰদেৱ সিংহাসনত আৰোহণ কৰি, দেৱগণৰ দ্বাৰা ইন্দ্ৰপৰিবেষ্টিত হোৱাৰ

দবে প্রণত বজাসকলব দ্বাবা পবিবৃত হৈ সর্বতীর্থজলপবিপূর্ণ মাঙ্গলিক বূপব কলহব পানীবে বণিগ্‌জনপুবঃসব সদ্বংশজাত বাজপুত্র সকলবদ্বাবা অভিষিক্ত হৈছিল॥১৩-১৪॥

হাটপ্পেশ্বব (হাবুপ্পেশ্বব) স্কন্ধাবাবত বসতিকাবী পবমেশ্বব পবমভট্টাবক পবমমাহেশ্বব পিতৃমাতৃব পাদানুচিন্তনপবায়ণ শ্রীমান হর্জবদেৱ কুশলে বর্তমান; (তেওঁব লগত) লক্ষ্মীদেৱীব নিচিনাকৈ মহাদেৱী মঙ্গলশ্রীয়ে নিজ বূপগুণ প্রকাশ কবিছে। সেই দেৱীব গর্ভজাত, দিৱাকবব কিবণপ্রাপ্ত পূর্ণচন্দ্রসদৃশ অসংখ্য গুণযুক্ত যুৱবাজ শ্রীৱনমালদেৱে আজ্ঞা কবিছে—আপোনালোকে এইটো জানি লওক—সমগ্রভুৱনব আনন্দকাবী বাজমণ্ডলব ভূষণস্ববূপ মহাসৈন্যপতি শ্রীগণ, মহাদ্বাবাধিপতি শ্রীজয়দেৱ, মহাপ্রতিহাব জনার্দন, মহামাত্য শ্রীগোবিন্দ, মধুসূদন, ব্রাহ্মণাধিকাব ভট্টশ্রীকণ্ঠ.........

হৰ্জৰৱৰ্মাৰ তেজপুৰ পাষাণলিপি

ওঁ স্বস্তি। হাৰুপেশ্বৰ পুৰাৱস্থিত, নিজ ভুজবলৰ অহংকাৰত মত্ত, মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ, পৰমেশ্বৰ, পৰমপণ্ডিত, পৰমশৈৱ শ্ৰীহৰ্জৰৱৰ্মদেৱৰ বিজয় ক্ৰমবৰ্ধমান হোৱা ৰাজ্যত মহাসামন্ত শ্ৰীসুচিত্তৰ অধিকাৰৰ দিনত নাৱৰ কৰ আদায়কাৰী কৈৱৰ্ত, নৌকাৰ গুণটনাসকলৰ অধিকৰ্তা আৰু নাক্কজোসৰ অধিকাৰ—এই তিনি পক্ষৰ মাজত এক শুদ্ধ বিবাদ আৰম্ভ হল। কিন্তু গুণটনাসকলৰ অধিকৰ্তাই এই বিবাদত আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে যোগ দিয়া নাছিল। সাৰণী, চিত্ৰঘৰদক্ষ, ভট্টজীউ, লাহলীঝা, দলাকৰৰ আৰু অন্যান্য দক্ষিণ দিগ্বাসীসকল, শিলকুট্টৰ সামন্তক স্ববশলৈ অনা পঞ্চকুলৰ শঙ্কৰভট্টৰ পুত্ৰ সোমদেৱ আৰু অন্যান্যসকলে (এই ভূমিৰ) চাৰিসীমা এনেদৰে ঠাৱৰ কৰিছে—পূৱে খাৰুৱা পানীৰ অঞ্চলৰ লগত সংলগ্ন পাৰ্বত্য দেশ, পশ্চিমে নাক্কজোস, দক্ষিণে প্ৰবৰভূমি, উত্তৰে আৰব পৰ্বত—ইয়াৰ বাহিৰে নাও চলাই অন্যথা কৰিলে পাঁচবুড়ি জৰিমনা কৰা হব।

ৱনমালদেৱৰ তেজপুৰ তাম্ৰশাসন

প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ ভূপতিসকলৰ বংশজাত কান্তিযুক্ত মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীৱনমালৱৰ্মদেৱৰ মংগল হওক॥

স্বস্তি। কান্তিযুক্ত (ধুনীয়া) কৈলাস পৰ্বতৰ ডাঙৰ ডাঙৰ সোণোৱালী শিলৰাশিত খুন্দা খাই উৎপন্ন হোৱা আৰু সোণপানী মিহলি থকা বৰফৰ ৰশ্মিৰ নিচিনা বৰষুণৰ দ্বাৰা যি আকাশত বিচৰণ কৰিফুৰাসকলক ধুৱাই পেলাইছে, যাৰ পানীসমূহ জলক্ৰীড়া নিৰত ধুনীয়া ধুনীয়া অপ্সৰাবিলাকৰ চুলি আৰু হাতৰপৰা চ্যুত শ্ৰেষ্ঠ দেৱবৃক্ষৰ (পাৰিজাত) ফুলৰ যোগে ৰঙা হৈছে—সেই লৌহিত্য নদীয়ে আপোনালোকক ৰক্ষা কৰক॥১॥

যাৰ শিৰত থকা গংগাজলে ৰেচক বায়ুৰ দ্বাৰা বিক্ষিপ্ত হৈ তাৰকাসমূহৰ সৌন্দৰ্য ধাৰণ কৰিছে—সেই পিনাকধাৰী মহাদেৱে আপোনালোকক পৱিত্ৰ কৰক॥২॥

পৃথিৱী উদ্ধাৰ কৰোঁতে সেই সময়ত আদি বৰাহৰ নৰক নামে এজন পুত্ৰ আছিল; তেওঁ অদিতিৰ কুণ্ডল হৰণ কাৰ্যত ইন্দ্ৰৰ প্ৰতাপো হৰণ কৰিছিল॥৩॥

তেওঁক হত্যা কৰি তেওঁৰ পত্নীৰ কৰুণ বিলাপত সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে মৰ্মাহত হৈ ভগদত্ত আৰু বজ্ৰদত্ত নামেৰে তেওঁৰ দুই পুত্ৰক কৃষ্ণই (একো নকৰি) এৰি দিছিল॥৪॥

সমৃদ্ধিশালী প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ আধিপত্য লাভ কৰি তালৈ আহি ভগদত্তই অতিশয় বিনয়েৰে মহাদেৱক তপস্যাৰ দ্বাৰা আৰাধনা কৰিছিল॥৫॥

তেখেত তুষ্ট হৈ তেওঁক উৰ্বিপত্তনৰ আধিপত্য প্ৰদান কৰিছিল আৰু যাতে ভবিষ্যত কালতো প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ অধিৰাজত্ব তেওঁৰ বংশত থাকে তাৰো দিহা কৰিছিল॥৬॥

তেওঁৰ বংশত শত্ৰুবীৰসকলৰ ক্ষুণকাৰী প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষেশ্বৰ প্ৰালম্ভ এই অদ্ভুত নামৰ নৃপতি আবিৰ্ভূত হৈছিল, যাৰ পাদপীঠ ৰজাসকলৰ মূৰৰ মুকুটৰ মাণিকৰ প্ৰভাবে উজ্জ্বলিত আছিল॥৭॥

তেওঁ শ্ৰীহৰিষতে অন্ত কৰি সালস্তম্ভ প্ৰমুখ্যে পূৰ্ববৰ্তী ৰজাসকলৰ সৈতে ৰাজোচিত গুণাৱলীৰ ৰঙেৰে দিগন্ত অনুৰঞ্জিত কৰিছিল॥৮॥

এই ৰজাৰ আৰথ নামৰ এজন ভায়েক শৌৰ্য আৰু ত্যাগেৰে সকলো ৰজাকে চেৰপেলাই শত্ৰুসকলৰ মাজত অকলে বীৰৰূপে থিয় দি স্বৰ্গগামী হৈছিল॥৯॥

তেওঁৰ শ্ৰীজীৱদা নামেৰে এগৰাকী মনঃপূত কুৱৰী আছিল—যি প্ৰভাত সন্ধ্যাৰ নিচিনাকৈ (দোক্ মোকালিৰ দৰে) বহুত মানুহৰ বন্দনীয়া আৰু মহৎ তেজসমূহৰ জন্মদাত্ৰী আছিল॥১০॥

তেওঁত সেই ৰজাৰ পুত্ৰ নৃপেন্দ্ৰ হৰ্জৰৰ জন্ম হৈছিল, যাৰ অঙ্ঘ্ৰিযুগল ৰজাসকলৰ শিৰৰ দ্বাৰা অৰ্চিত আৰু যি স্বয়ং লক্ষ্মীৰ দ্বাৰা আলিঙ্গিত হৈছিল॥১১॥

তেওঁ ধৰ্মৰ প্ৰবাদত যুধিষ্ঠিৰ, শত্ৰুৰ মাজত ভীম আৰু যুদ্ধত জিষ্ণু আছিল; এজন হৈয়ো এনেকৈয়ে অনেকৰ লগ লাগি—অশেষৰূপে নীতিপ্ৰাধান্য লাভ কৰিছিল॥১২॥

গোপীসকলৰ দ্বাৰা আনন্দিতমন বিষ্ণুৰ বক্ষঃস্থল দ্বেষ্যাৰ নিচিনাকৈ পৰিত্যাগ কৰি সকলো নাৰীৰ শাৰীৰিক সৌন্দৰ্য গ্ৰহণ কৰি লক্ষ্মীদেৱী এই ঠাইলৈ আহিছিল॥১৩॥

“ৰঙকে আদি কৰি অতুল বলশালী মোৰ স্বামী চক্ৰপাণিৰ অশেষ গুণ এওঁ বহন কৰিছে; সেই কাৰণে এই ৰজাৰ প্ৰধান মহিষী হৈছোঁ; এই কথাত মই মানুহৰ মাজত লঘুত্ব প্ৰাপ্ত হোৱা নাই”॥১৪॥

এনেকৈ ভাবি লক্ষ্মী সেই ৰজাৰ চিত্তবৃত্তি অনুসৰণকাৰিণী, নাৰীৰত্নশ্ৰেষ্ঠা শ্ৰীমত্তৱা নামে প্ৰধান মহিষী হৈছিল॥১৫॥

চৰণকমলৰ পীঠ বহুত ৰজাৰ মুকুটৰ দ্বাৰা ঘৃষ্ট হোৱা সেই ৰজাৰ সেই দেৱীত ৰজা ৱনমাল নামে জগতত জনাজাত কান্তিযুক্ত পুত্ৰৰ জন্ম হৈছিল; তেওঁ ৰাজগুণাৱলীৰূপ মহাৰত্নৰ মালাৰ দ্বাৰা বিভূষিত হৈ চন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে গোটেই জগতৰ আনন্দদায়ক হৈছিল॥১৬॥

এওঁ সাগৰৰ পাৰত থকা ৱনমালাৰ দাঁতি পৰ্যন্ত পৃথিৱীপতিত্বৰ যোগ্য—এই ভাবি বিধাতাই যাৰ নাম ৱনমাল ৰাখিছিল॥১৭॥

প্ৰবল শত্ৰুৰ যুদ্ধক্ষেত্ৰত থকা দ'তাল হাতীৰ ব্যূহৰূপ বিশাল অন্ধকাৰসমূহ আঁতৰাই তেওঁ সূৰ্যৰ নিচিনা ব্যৱহাৰ কৰিছিল॥১৮॥

পৃথিৱীপুত্ৰৰ (নৰকৰ) ৰাজবংশত উদ্ভৱ হোৱা ৰজাসকলৰূপ বিমল আকাশত তেওঁ শত্ৰুৰূপ অন্ধকাৰসমূহ নাশ কৰি স্পষ্ট চন্দ্ৰ যেন হৈছিল॥১৯॥

অতিপাত অহঙ্কাৰী শত্ৰুবীৰবাহিনীৰূপ পৰ্বতৰ বজ্ৰস্বৰূপ অশেষ ৰজাসমূহক তৰোৱালৰ বহুবিক্ৰমৰ দ্বাৰা ধ্বংস কৰি যি লক্ষ্মীক চিৰকালৰ কাৰণে একপত্নীক কৰিলে॥২০॥

যাৰ প্ৰতাপৰ ভয়ত বহুশত্ৰুজয়কাৰী ৰজাবিলাকৰ কোনো কোনোৱে দিশে দিশে পলাইছিল; আন আন বিলাক আকাশগামী হৈছিল॥২১॥

আন আন ৰজাসকলে যি যুদ্ধত তীক্ষ্ণশৰ নিক্ষেপ কৰিছিল এতিয়া তেওঁলোকে তেওঁৰ ভয়ত দূৰতে নিজভূমি ত্যাগ কৰিলে॥২২॥

যি সকল ৰজাই বিক্ৰম দেখুৱাবৰ বাবে দ'তাল হাতীৰ সজ্জাৰ বিস্তৃতিৰ যোগে শত্ৰুৰ অভিমুখ গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল, সেই সকল তেওঁৰ আগত অঞ্জলিবদ্ধ হৈছিল॥২৩॥

সকলো শ্ৰেষ্ঠ দেৱতাসমূহ যাৰ চৰণত ভক্তিপৰবশ হৈ নত হৈ থাকে—সেই হাটকেশ্বৰ মহাদেৱৰ

কালক্ৰমে ভূপতিত, হিমালয়ৰ দৰে ওখ আৰু অতুল (অলেখ) গাওঁ, প্ৰজা, হাতী আৰু বেশ্যাজনযুক্ত মন্দিৰ ভক্তিবশতঃ পুনৰ্নিৰ্মাণ কৰি তেখেতে নহুষৰ ভাৰ বহন কৰিছিল॥২৪॥

নাগলোকৰ অতি সিত অনন্তদ্যুতিক, বিভিন্ন ফালৰ দিঙ্‌নাগবিলাকৰ নিশ্বাসজনিত পানীৰ কণাসমূহক, আকাশত পূৰ্ণচন্দ্ৰৰ বিচিত্ৰ শুভ্ৰ কিৰণৰাজিক উপহাস কৰি যেন সেই ৰজাৰ বিস্তৃত কীৰ্তি আজিয়ো অজস্ৰৰূপে সুন্দৰভাৱে বিচৰণ কৰিছে॥২৫॥

সত্য, গাম্ভীৰ্য, উচ্চত্ব, প্ৰতাপ, ত্যাগ, আৰু পৰাক্ৰমৰ যোগে তেওঁ (যথাক্ৰমে) ধৰ্মপুত্ৰ (যুধিষ্ঠিৰ), সমুদ্ৰ, পৰ্বত, সূৰ্য, কৰ্ণ আৰু বায়ুপুত্ৰক পৰাজিত কৰিছিল॥২৬॥

নিজ চকুৰে তেওঁৰ যশশ্চন্দ্ৰই এই পৃথিৱী বগা কৰি পেলোৱা দেখি জোনবাইটি যেন আজিয়ো লাজকুৰীয়াভাৱে উদিত হৈছে॥২৭॥

মন্দিৰবিলাকে গীতবাদ্যৰ ধ্বনিৰ দ্বাৰা, বিভিন্ন উদ্যানবিলাকে যজ্ঞকৰ্তাসকলৰ ব্যাহৃতি ধ্বনিৰ দ্বাৰা আৰু পদুমফুলেৰে সুশোভিত সুন্দৰ সৰোবৰবিলাকে তেওঁৰ নিখুঁট যশস্যা আজিও দেশে দেশে ঘোষণা কৰিছে॥২৮॥

তেওঁ বহুতবাৰ বহুত সোণ, ৰূপ, হাঁতী, ঘোৰা, ভূমি, নাৰী প্ৰভৃতি উৎকৃষ্ট বস্তু প্ৰদান কৰিছিল। আৰু অবাৰিতভাৱে সকলো সময়তে (দানবাক্য) উচ্চাৰণ কৰাৰ হেতুকে কম কথাৰ মানুহ হৈয়ো বহুভাষী হৈছিল॥২৯॥

য'ত সকলো বৰ্ণাশ্ৰমধৰ্মী সন্তুষ্ট, য'ত অলেখ ভাগ্যশালী সাধু আৰু বিদ্বজ্জনৰ নিবাস, যাৰ ডাঙৰ ডাঙৰ ৰাজবাটবিলাক ৰজাৰ সেৱাৰ কাৰণে অহাযোৱা কৰা বিভিন্ন হাতী, ঘোঁৰা আৰু দোলাত উঠা ডাঙৰ ডাঙৰ ৰজাসকলৰ দ্বাৰা সমাকীৰ্ণ, আৰু যাৰ দিগন্তসমূহ অলেখ গজাৰোহী, অশ্বাৰোহী, পদাতি সৈন্যৰ দ্বাৰা চাঁতি পেলোৱা হৈছে†, যাৰ পানী পূৰসাগৰৰ উপকূলৰ পৰ্বতত গজা অতি ওখ গছৰূপ ঘৰত জিৰাই থকা চঞ্চল ম'ৰা চৰাইৰ কেঁক কেঁক শব্দৰ পৰা ভয় খোৱা সাপবিলাকৰ ফোঁচফোঁচানিত কঁপি উঠা বহুত গছৰ পৰা পতিত ফুল বিলাকৰ সুগন্ধৰ দ্বাৰা সুবাসিত (ধুনীয়া গন্ধপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈছে), যি নগৰৰ উপবনত প্ৰজ্বলিত দাবানলৰ দ্বাৰা দগ্ধ কালাগুৰু ধূমৰপৰা উৎপন্ন হোৱা মেঘমালাৰ সুগন্ধি পানীৰ সোঁত বোৱাই লৈ গৈছে, যাৰ পাৰত থকা ঠাইবিলাক পূৰ্বপ্ৰান্তীয় পৰ্বতৰ উপবনত গজি থকা সুমিষ্ট কুঁহিপাতবিলাক খোৱা কস্তূৰিকা মৃগৰ মদগন্ধৰ দ্বাৰা আমোদিত, যি কস্তূৰিকা মৃগ কোনো ঠাইত অকলে চৰি থাকে: আন আন ঠাইত এক এক শ্ৰেণী প্ৰেমাভিলাষী মিত্ৰদল বান্ধি বিচৰণ কৰে আৰু বেলেগ বেলেগ ঠাইত বাঘৰ দ্বাৰা ধ্বংসপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈ খোৱা-মাংস হিচাপে পৰিত্যক্ত হৈছে; যাৰ সোঁত দেৱতা আৰু অসুৰবিলাকৰ মুকুটৰ মণিৰ ৰশ্মিজালৰ যোগে ৰঞ্জিত হৈ থকা পীঠত ভৰি দি থকা শ্ৰীকামেশ্বৰ আৰু মহাগৌৰীৰ শিখৰত অধিষ্ঠিত কামকূট পৰ্বতৰ দাঁতিবিলাক নিৰন্তৰ ধুৱাই থকাৰ কাৰণে অধিক পবিত্ৰ পানীৰে পৰিপূৰ্ণ হৈ আছে; যাৰ পানী গা ধুই থকা তিৰোতাসকলৰ কুচকমলৰ দাঁতিত লেপি থোৱা কস্তূৰীৰ যোগে মলিন আৰু সুৰভি হৈছে আৰু যাৰ দুয়োপাৰৰ ওচৰ-পাজৰৰ ঠাইবোৰ* বেশ্যা তিৰোতাৰ নিচিনাকৈ নানা অলংকাৰৰ দ্বাৰা অংগবোৰ শোভিত আৰু স্পষ্ট, অলপ বয়সীয়া কুমাৰী-

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† ইয়াতে হাৰূপেশ্বৰৰ বিশেষণ অন্ত হৈছে; ইয়াৰ পিচৰপৰা লোহিত্যৰ বিশেষণ আৰম্ভ হৈছে॥

* ইয়াৰপৰা নাওবিলাকৰ বিশেষণ আৰম্ভ হৈছে। বাক্যটো চমুকৈ এনেকুৱা : নাওবিলাকৰ দ্বাৰা অলঙ্কৃত নদীপ্ৰধান লৌহিত্যৰ দ্বাৰা ৰক্ষিত হাৰূপেশ্বৰৰ পৰা মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ বনমালদেৱে গাওঁ দান কৰিছে।

সকলৰ দৰে শব্দ কৰি থকা কিঙ্কিনীযুক্ত; কৰ্ণাট দেশীয় তিৰোতাৰ দৰে অভিঘাত পালে বেগ বৰ্ধিত হোৱা, বাৰাঙ্গনাৰ দৰে চামৰযুক্ত, ৰাৱণৰ অন্তঃপুৰস্থাৰ (ৰাক্ষসীৰ) নিচিনা ৰঙা বৰণৰ আৰু বিশাল দাঁত থকা, বায়ুতিৰোতাৰ দৰে অতি বেগবান, ৰমণীয় দলুহাঙ্গনাসকলৰ দৰে সকলোৰে মনোব্যঞ্জক, নৰ্ত্তক পুৰুষসকলৰ দ্বাৰা আক্ৰান্ত হোৱা নটীসকলৰ দৰে কঁপনি বাঢ়ি যোৱা, দুৰ্গত দেৱতাসকলৰ দৰে সদায় উচ্চস্থান অভিলাষী নাওবিলাকৰ দ্বাৰা অলংকৃত—এনেকুৱা নদীপ্ৰধান লোহিত্যৰ দ্বাৰা ৰক্ষিত সেই হাৰুপেশ্বৰৰ পৰা পৰম শৈৱ, পিতৃমাতৃৰ পদানুসৰণকাৰী, মহাদেৱাসক্ত মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীৱনমালদেৱৰ কুশল হওক।

শাণ্ডিল্যগোত্ৰৰ ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ প্ৰদীপস্বৰূপ, বেদাৰ্থজ্ঞ, দানশীল, পৱিত্ৰ, দেৱগুণযুক্ত ভিজ্জট নামেৰে এজন ব্ৰাহ্মণ আছিল—তেওঁ সাঙ্গ যজুৰ্বেদ অধ্যয়ন কৰিছিল॥৩০॥

বিশুদ্ধ ব্ৰাহ্মণগুণযুক্ত সভ্ৰায়িকা নামৰ সৎকুলজাত তেওঁৰ পত্নী সম্যক্ ব্ৰাহ্ম্যবিধি অনুসৰি পৰিণীতা হৈছিল॥৩১॥

বেদজ্ঞ, গুণী, শ্ৰেষ্ঠ ব্ৰাহ্মণ ইন্দোক তেওঁবিলাক দুইজনৰ পুত্ৰ আছিল। শ্ৰীৱনমালদেৱে পিতৃমাতৃৰ পুণ্যৰ কাৰণে তেওঁক এখন গাওঁ দান কৰিছিল॥৩২॥

ই ত্ৰিস্ৰোতা নদীৰ পশ্চিমে জনস্থলসংযুক্ত অষ্টসীমামণ্ডিত অভিশুৰবাটক নামে জনাজাত আছিল॥৩৩॥

পূৰফালে দশলাঙ্গল সহসীমা, পূৰ-দক্ষিণত চন্দ্ৰপুৰি সহসীমা, দক্ষিণে অবাৰি সহসীমা, দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমে পুষ্কৰিণী সহসীমা, পশ্চিমফালে নৌকুৱা সহসীমা, উত্তৰ-পূৰে দশলাঙ্গল সহসীমা, —এই অষ্টসীমা পৰিচ্ছেদ॥

ৱনমালদেৱৰ পৰ্বতীয়া ফলি

[ৱনমালদেৱৰ পৰ্বতীয়া ফলিৰ পাঠ আৰু তেওঁৰ তেজপুৰ ফলিৰ পাঠ প্ৰায় এক। য'ত দুটা এটা শব্দৰ অমিল দেখা গৈছে তাত অৰ্থৰ পাৰ্থক্য বিশেষ হোৱা নাই। আমি উপযুক্ত ঠাইত এই পাঠৰ অমিল ক'ত আছে দেখুৱাই আহিছোঁ। গতিকে য'ত পাঠ একেবাৰেই অমিল হৈ অৰ্থৰ বিভিন্নতাৰ প্ৰতীতি হয়, তাতে পৃথক অনুবাদ দিয়া হ'ল।

ইয়াৰ ৫ম শ্লোকৰ পাঠ তাৎপৰ্যপূৰ্ণ, কাৰণ তেজপুৰৰ তামৰফলিত গ্ৰহণ কৰা এই শ্লোকৰ পাঠৰ দ্বাৰা অৰ্থৰ খেলিমেলিৰ সৃষ্টিহে হৈছে, কিন্তু এই ফলিত গ্ৰহণ কৰা এই শ্লোকৰ পাঠে স্পষ্ট অৰ্থ প্ৰদান কৰে আৰু নতুন বুৰঞ্জীমূলক তথ্যৰ সম্ভেদ দিয়ে। এই কাৰণত ইয়াৰ অনুবাদ বেলেগে দিয়া হ'ল।]

ভগদত্তই গৌৰবময় প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ আধিপত্য লাভ কৰিলে; অন্য জনেও (বজ্ৰদত্তয়ো) বনলৈ গৈ তপস্যাৰ দ্বাৰা মহাদেৱক আৰাধনা কৰিলে॥৫॥

[উত্তৰকূলে স্বল্পমঙ্গোক (৪৮নং শাৰী) ইত্যাদিৰ পৰা শেহ-লৈকে।]

পূবে অক্ষিদাহিকা, দক্ষিণপূবে চণ্ডিকাৰ পুখুৰী, দক্ষিণত দীৰ্ঘাঙ্গ, দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমত বৰগছ, পশ্চিমে বাঁহৰ জোপা, পশ্চিমোত্তৰত শিমলুগছ, উত্তৰত মথাউৰি, উত্তৰ-পূবত ধৱলৰ পুখুৰী— এই অষ্টসীমা পৰ্যন্ত উত্তৰকূলৰ স্বল্পমঙ্গোক মণ্ডলৰ হাপোস-গ্ৰামক উপৰিকৰ আৰু চাটভট-প্ৰবেশমুক্ত কৰি—

ত্যাগী, সত্যপ্ৰিয়, পৰোপকাৰী, সাধু, সন্তসকলৰ শ্ৰদ্ধাৰ পাত্ৰ, শাস্ত্ৰাৰ্থৰূপ অমৃতত তৃপ্তমতি, তিনিবেদৰ একাধিষ্ঠান, বেদপঠনত ৰত, সামবেদীয় চৰণৰ অনুৱৰ্তী, শাণ্ডিল্যগোত্ৰীয়, গুণসাগৰ আৰু ৰজাসকলৰ পূজিত জেজ্জট নামৰ এজন পণ্ডিত (ভট্ট) আছিল॥২৬॥

চূড়ামণি, দেটোভা, গৰ্গ, তাৰপিচত উদাৰচৰিত শম্ভু,—তেওঁৰ এই কেইজন পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল যিসকল গুণশালী, নিজকুল উজ্জ্বলোৱা কামত পটু, প্ৰাণীৰ উপকাৰত প্ৰবৃত্তমন, ধৰ্মক্ষয়ৰ ভয়ত একেলগে থাকি পৰস্পৰ অভিন্ন আছিল॥২৭॥

প্ৰীতমনা ৰজাই অতি যত্নেৰে শাসনৰ যোগে আদেশ কৰি হাপোস নামৰ গাওঁখন জ্যেষ্ঠভ্ৰাতৃ চূড়ামণিক (কোনো এক) পুণ্য দিনত তেওঁৰ পিতৃমাতৃ আৰু নিজৰ পুণ্য আৰু যশস্যা বৃদ্ধি কৰিবৰ কাৰণে প্ৰদান কৰিলে; সেই কাৰণে সকলোৱে ইয়াত অনুমতি দিয়ক॥২৮॥

সগৰাদি বহুত ৰজাই ভূমি প্ৰদান কৰিছিল। ভূমিৰ যেতিয়া যেতিয়া যাৰ অধিকাৰিত্ব, তেতিয়া তেতিয়া (দানৰ) ফল তেওঁ পায়॥২৯॥

নিজে বা অইনে দান কৰা মাটিক যদি কোনোবাই হৰণ কৰে তেওঁ বিষ্ঠাৰ কৃমি হৈ পিতৃসকলকো ইয়াৰ ফলত লিপ্ত কৰে॥৩০॥

কাঁকিৰ সূৰ্যপ্ৰতিমা-লিপি

ওঁ স্বস্তি। শ্ৰীৱনমালৱৰ্মদেৱৰ ৰাজত্বকালত বশিষ্ঠৰ নাতি ভট্টৰবিক আদিত্যপ্ৰতিমা প্ৰদান কৰা হ'ল।

দেওপানীৰ হৰিহৰ মূৰ্তি লিপি (১)

ওঁ নমঃ। মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীজীৱৰৰ ৰাজত্বত সম্পূৰ্ণ অস্খলিত শৈৱতপস্বিনীৰ পুত্ৰ, কঠোৰ সূৰ্য্য-তপস্যাত ৰত বলভিৎ নামৰ এজনে নাৰায়ণ আৰু গৌৰীস্বামী শিৱৰ নাম কীৰ্ত্তন কৰি শিলাখণ্ডত এই লিপি খোদিত কৰিলে।[1]

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[1] এই লিপিৰ অনুবাদ ডঃ চৌধুৰীদেৱৰ পাঠ অনুসৰি এনে হব:

...গুৰুৰ কঠোৰ ব্ৰত পালনকাৰী কিশোৰকালাৱধি স্বধৰ্মৰ পৰা অস্খলিত বলাহী নামৰ (কোনো এজন) সিন্ধই প্ৰথমে শঙ্কৰ নাৰায়ণৰ নাম কীৰ্ত্তন কৰি ইত্যাদি।

দেওপানীৰ হৰিহৰ মূৰ্তি লিপি (২)

ওঁ নমঃ। স্বস্তি। মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীদিগ্লেখৰৰ্মৰ ৰাজত্বকালত হৰিৰ শতনাম জপ কৰি কাথ্যাপুত্ৰক হৰিহৰ প্ৰতিমা দিয়া হ'ল॥[1]

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[1] এই অনুবাদ ডঃ প্ৰতাপচন্দ্ৰ চৌধুৰীদেৱৰ পাঠ অনুসৰণ কৰি দিয়া হৈছে। শ্ৰীযুত প্ৰেমধৰ চৌধুৰীদেৱৰ পাঠ অনুসৰণ কৰিলে অনুবাদ এনেদৰে হয়:

...কাথ্যাপুত্ৰ হৰিৰ দ্বাৰা ৰমেশ (লক্ষ্মীৰ স্বামী) হৰিহৰৰ প্ৰতিমা প্ৰদত্ত হ'ল।

বলৱৰ্মাৰ তামৰ ফলি

(নগাওঁ লিপি)

ৎ স্বস্তি। ভৱান্ধকাৰৰ নাশক ৰুদ্ৰৰ তেজ জগতৰ শান্তিৰ কাৰণ হওক।****সকলোবিলাক পৰিবৰ্তিত হৈছে॥১॥

দেৱতাৰ হাঁতীবোৰৰ মদস্খলনৰ যোগে (মউৰাৰ পাখীৰ দৰে) ফুট্‌ফুটীয়া হোৱা আৰু কৈলাসৰ সমভূমিত বাস কৰা মৃগবোৰৰ কস্তুৰিকাৰ দ্বাৰা সুবাসিত সমুদ্ৰ সদৃশ সেই লৌহিত্যৰ ফট্‌ফটীয়া পানীয়ে আপোনালোকৰ পাপ দূৰ কৰক॥২॥

প্ৰলয়সাগৰত ডুবি থকা পৃথিৱীৰ উদ্ধাৰ কৰ্তা বৰাহৰূপী বিষ্ণুৰ অসুৰৰ মিত্ৰ নৰক নামে পুত্ৰ আছিল॥৩॥

তেওঁ অদিতিৰ গালত দুলি থকা ডুলযোৰা হৰণ কৰি ত্ৰিভুবন বিজয় কৰাৰ হেতুকে মহেন্দ্ৰৰ উচ্চ যশস্যা অপহৰণ কৰিছিল॥৪॥

কামৰূপ জয় কৰি তেওঁ (ৰজাই) কামৰূপত প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষ নামৰ নগৰত বাস কৰিছিল। এই নগৰত তামোলৰ গছবিলাক পাণ গছে মেৰিয়াই ৰাখিছিল আৰু কৃষ্ণাগুৰুৰ গাগছত এলাচি লতা সন্নিবিষ্ট আছিল॥৫॥

তাৰ উপবনত মদমত্ত দ'তাল হাতীৰ কাণৰ আস্ফালনৰ তালে তালে ময়ূৰ বিলাক নাচি আছিল; সেই ঠাইত (প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষত) বাস কৰি থাকোঁতে ৰণলোলুপ তেওঁ ৰণত বিষ্ণুচক্ৰৰ দ্বাৰা আহত হৈ স্বৰ্গলৈ গতি কৰিলে॥৬॥

ভগদত্ত নামেৰে তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ ৰজা হৈছিল, তেওঁৰ পাদপীঠ ৰজাসকলৰ মুকুটৰ মণিৰ দ্বাৰা স্পৃষ্ট হৈছিল; তেওঁ প্ৰজাৰঞ্জনৰ যোগে খ্যাতি লাভ কৰিছিল; তেওঁ ৰ্ণাশ্ৰমৰ গুৰু আৰু অদ্বিতীয় বীৰ আছিল॥৭॥

তেওঁ স্বৰ্গগামী হ'লত মহাদেৱৰ প্ৰতি অমলভক্তি থকা তেওঁৰ ভায়েক ৰজা হৈছিল; জ্ঞানীসকলে তেওঁক বজ্ৰদত্ত বুলিছিল॥৮॥

তেওঁৰ বংশত অৰণ্যৰূপ প্ৰাচীৰযুক্ত আৰু সাগৰবিলাক খালৰূপে থকা পৃথিৱী পালন কৰা অনেক ৰজা অস্তমিত হোৱাৰ পিচত সালস্তম্ভ ৰজা হৈছিল॥৯॥

পালক, বিজয় প্ৰভৃতি তেওঁৰ বংশধৰসকল পৰলোকলৈ যোৱাৰ পিচত হৰ্জৰ নামে শত্ৰুধ্বংসকাৰী নৃপচন্দ্ৰৰ পৃথিৱীত আবিৰ্ভাৱ হৈছিল॥১০॥

অহম্ অহমিকয়া বন্দনা কৰিব খোজা ৰজাসকলৰ মুকুটমণিবিলাক তেওঁৰ ৰঙা ভৰিৰ নখৰ জেউতিসমূহৰ দ্বাৰা বেষ্টিত হৈ সূৰ্য্যকিৰণবেষ্টিত প্ৰদীপৰ নিচিনাকৈ নিষ্প্ৰভ হৈছিল॥১১॥

মহাদেৱৰ ভক্ত তেওঁৰ পুতেক শ্ৰীৱনমালদেৱ সুদীৰ্ঘকাল ৰজা হৈ আছিল; তেওঁৰ বুকু বহল, ককাল সৰু আৰু ঘূৰণীয়া, ডিঙি সুঠাম আৰু বাহু পৰিঘ (লোহাৰ দুৱাৰ ডাং) যেন আছিল॥১২॥

খং আৰু হাঁহিত তেওঁৰ মুখ বিকৃত নহৈছিল, নীচজনৰ কথাও শুনিবৰ ইচ্ছা নকৰিছিল; কোনো অহিতকৰ কথাও তেওঁ নকৈছিল; (সেইকাৰণে) তেওঁৰ চৰিত্ৰ সদায় পূজনীয় আছিল॥১৩॥

তেওঁ এনেকুৱা প্ৰাসাদশ্ৰেণী নিৰ্মাণ কৰিছিল যে সেইবোৰ জগতত অতুলনীয় হলেও তুলাযুক্ত, বিশাল হলেও অনেক কোঠাযুক্ত, আৰু বিচিত্ৰ হলেও ভাল চিত্ৰযুক্ত আছিল॥১৪॥

ক্ষীৰসাগৰৰ পৰা যেনেকৈ চন্দ্ৰ ওলাইছিল, তেনেকুৱাকৈয়ে তেওঁৰ শ্ৰীজয়মালদেৱ নামেৰে পুত্ৰ জন্মিছিল; কুন্দ (ফুল) আৰু চন্দ্ৰৰ সমান প্ৰভাৰ তেওঁৰ যশোৰাশি এতিয়াও অবিচলিতভাৱে ভ্ৰমণ কৰি আছে॥১৫॥

সেই ৰাজীৱলোচন ৰজা শ্ৰীযুক্ত ৱনমালে পুত্ৰ (জয়মালক) শিক্ষাসম্পন্ন আৰু যৌবনপ্ৰাপ্ত দেখি॥১৬॥

চন্দ্ৰৰ নিচিনা বগা দুই চোৱৰযুক্ত ৰাজচ্ছত্ৰ তেওঁক প্ৰদান কৰি অনশনব্ৰত ধাৰণ কৰি বীৰৰূপে মহাদেৱৰ তেজত লীন হ'ল॥১৭॥

ৰাজ্যলাভ কৰি জয়মালে শ্ৰীবীৰবাহু নাম লৈ বংশত, ৰূপত, আৰু বয়সত নিজৰ সমান অম্বা নামৰ এগৰাকীক বিয়া কৰাইছিল॥১৮॥

প্ৰয়োগজ্ঞ ৰজাই তিঙিৰীত জুইৰ দৰে সেই নাৰীত সকলো গুণশালী, কান্তিযুক্ত বলৱৰ্মা নামে বিখ্যাত পুত্ৰ উৎপাদন কৰিছিল॥১৯॥

তেওঁৰ চকু নীলা পদুমফুলৰ পাহি যেন চঞ্চল, কণ্ঠ সুঠাম, বাহু ধুনীয়া আৰু জেউতি নতুন বেলিৰ পোহৰৰ সংস্পৰ্শত সদ্যহতে ফুলি উঠা পদুম ফুলৰ কান্তি যেন আছিল॥২০॥

নিৰ্দিষ্ট সময় পাৰ হৈ যোৱাৰ পিচত কোনো এক ক্ষণত কৰ্মফলবশতঃ ৰণত স্তম্ভ যেন সেই ৰজাক বৈদ্যৰ যত্নৰ অতীত কোনো ব্যাধিয়ে অভিভূত কৰিলে॥২১॥

অসাৰ সংসাৰ আৰু মানৱজীৱন জলবিন্দুৰ নিচিনা চঞ্চল বুলি বীৰবাহুৱে শেষ কৰ্তব্য সম্বন্ধে চিন্তা কৰিলে॥২২॥

ইয়াৰ পিচত পুণ্যদিনত ৰজাই ওখ শৰীৰৰ, সিংহপোৱালী যেন পুতেকক বিধিমতে সিংহাসনত বহুৱালে॥২৩॥

তাৰপিচত যথেষ্ট ঘিঁউ পালে যেনেকৈ জুই জ্বলি উঠে তেনেকৈয়ে বলৱৰ্মায়ো বিস্তৃত ৰাজ্য পাই সকলো বিপুৰূপ আন্ধাৰ উৎসাৰণ কৰি উজ্জ্বল হ'ল॥২৪॥

যাৰ ঢেউবাজি জয়হস্তীবোৰৰ কপালত বাধাপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈছিল, নিৰ্মল পানী থকা সেই লৌহিত্য নদৰ দাঁতিত পিতৃপিতামহৰ দিনৰ সেই ৰাজধানীয়েই তেওঁৰো ৰাজধানী আছিল॥২৫॥

সেই ধুনীয়া হাৰূপেশ্বৰ নামে নগৰত বাস কৰি যি উন্মুক্ত তৰোৱালৰ চিকমিকনিত ক'লাপৰিৰ যোৱা বাহুৰ দ্বাৰা সকলো দিঙ্মণ্ডল জয় কৰিছিল, ৰণত স্থিৰ, কলঙ্কত ভীৰু, শত্ৰুৰ কাৰণে উগ্ৰ, গুৰুসকলৰ প্ৰতি মৃদু, সত্যবাদী, (কথাত) সঙ্গতিৰক্ষক, কাৰ্যত আত্মপ্ৰশংসাহীন, অতি দানশীল, পিতৃমাতৃৰ পদান্বেষণৰ কাৰণে নিষ্পাপ, পৰমেশ্বৰ, পৰমভট্টাৰক, সেই মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীবলৱৰ্মাদেৱে কুশল কামনা কৰি—দক্ষিণকুলত দিজ্জিন্না দেশৰ অন্তৰ্গত চাৰিহেজাৰ পৰিমাণৰ ধান উৎপাদনযুক্ত হেঙ্সিৰা নামে ভূমি আছে; ইয়াৰ দাঁতিৰ আলিৰ কাষতে থকা ব্ৰাহ্মণসকল আৰু জিলাধিকাৰিক ব্যৱহাৰিক প্ৰমুখ্যে দেশবাসীসকলক, ৰজা, ৰাণী আৰু সেনাপতিৰ সম্বন্ধীয় অন্যান্যসকলক আৰু এই ঠাইৰ (ভৱিষ্যৎ) অধিবাসী —তেওঁ এই সকলোকে যথাযোগ্য সম্মানপূৰ্বক সম্মান কৰিছে—বুজাইছে আৰু আদেশ কৰিছে—আপোনালোকে এইটো জানি ৰাখিব; বাৰি, পথাৰ, চাপৰি, জলভাগ, গৰুবাট, অগাইধনি আদি যুক্ত, অৱস্থান অনুসৰি সীমাৰ ঠাই পৰ্যন্ত বিস্তৃত এই ভূমি

ৰাণী, যুৱৰাজ, যোদ্ধা, ৰজাৰ বন্ধু, অন্তেষপুৰ ৰক্ষিকা বৃদ্ধ নাৰী, হাতী আৰু নাও বান্ধিবৰ আৰু চুৰিমাল উদ্ধাৰ কৰিবৰ কাৰণে নিযুক্ত মানুহ, শাস্তি বিহা আৰু গ্ৰেপ্তাৰ কৰা মানুহ, অতিৰিক্ত কৰ, খেতিমাটিৰ কৰ, আৰু ৰাজৰক্ষিত আৱাসবিলাকৰ কৰ আদায়কাৰী এই সকলো উপদ্ৰৱকাৰীৰ প্ৰৱেশযোগ্য নহয়॥”

কান্বশাখাৰ, কপিল গোত্ৰৰ প্ৰদীপ, কৃতী মালাধৰ নামে এজন আচাৰ্য আছিল; তেওঁ বিদ্যা আৰু তপস্যাৰূপ সম্পত্তিৰ যোগে পোৱা বিবেকেৰে সকলো দোষ নাশ কৰিছিল॥২৬॥

সেই পুণ্যাত্মাৰ পুত্ৰ দেৱপ্ৰিয় সুজন্মা দেৱধৰ আছিল; বিভাগ কৰি তেওঁ অধ্বৰ্য্যুৰূপে বৈদিক-যজ্ঞ অনায়াসে সম্পন্ন কৰিছিল॥২৭॥

বিদ্বান্, যথাৰ্থনামৰ, উদাৰমনা তেওঁ গাৰ্হস্থ্যাশ্ৰম গ্ৰহণ কৰিবৰ কাৰণে তৎপৰ হৈ ৰাতিপুৱা প্ৰভাৰ লগত সূৰ্যৰ নিচিনাকৈ গৃহিণী শ্যামায়িকাৰ লগত মিলিত হৈছিল॥২৮॥

দিন আৰু ৰাতিৰ নিচিনাকৈ সংলগ্ন আৰু নলে গলে লগা এই দম্পতীয়ে পৃথিৱীয়ে যেনেকৈ সূৰ্যৰ পৰা ৰাতিবিনাশক পোহৰ পায়, তেনেকৈয়ে দোষবিনাশক পুত্ৰলাভ কৰিছিল॥২৯॥

কালত এওঁ শিক্ষাপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈ সকলোখিনি শ্ৰুতি সম্যগ্‌ভাৱে ধাৰণ কৰিব—এইবুলি তেওঁক পিতাকে ‘শ্ৰুতিধৰ’ এই নাম দি লোকত জনাজাত কৰিলে॥৩০॥

গুৰুৰ ঘৰৰপৰা সমাবৃত হৈ গৃহস্থধৰ্ম ধাৰণ কৰিবৰ ইচ্ছা কৰি ধৰ্মপৰায়ণ কথানিষ্ঠ সেই সাধু অৰ্থীৰূপে বিষুৱৎ দিনত উপস্থিত হল॥৩১॥

সেই ব্ৰাহ্মণক মই স্নান কৰি সমাধিৰ মাজে এই ভূমি দান কৰিলোঁ; ইয়াৰ যি ফল তাক যেন পিতৃমাতৃ আৰু মই নিজেও পৰলোকত পাওঁ॥৩২॥

ইয়াৰ সীমা পূবে কোপ্পা আৰু গৰু পাৰ হোৱা বাট; পূব-দক্ষিণত জামু আৰ বেলগছ; দক্ষিণত গড় আলি আৰু সুবৰ্ণদাৰু গছ; দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমত আমগছ; পশ্চিমত গড় আলি আৰু শিমলুগছ; পশ্চিম-উত্তৰত ডাঙৰ বটগছ আৰু দিদ্দেসা বিল; উত্তৰত সেৱৰাপীৰ অৰ্ধাংশ; উত্তৰ-পূবে পুখুৰী আৰু ডিমৰুগছ। ইতি অষ্টম সম্বৎ॥

বলৱৰ্মাৰ তামৰ ফলি

(হাওৰাঘাট লিপি)

(সিদ্ধম্ প্ৰতীক) স্বস্তি। কল্পান্তৰ নিশাৰ শেষত পূৰ্ণভাৱে দেখা দিয়া সংসাৰৰ অন্ধকাৰ দূৰ কৰা ৰুদ্ৰদেৱৰ তেজোৰাশিয়ে জগতৰ কল্যাণ বিধান কৰক॥১॥

সুৰগজৰ মদজলেৰে চন্দ্ৰাকিত, কৈলাসপৰ্বতৰ দাঁতিৰ (চৰিফুৰা মৃগৰ) কস্তুৰীৰ বাসেৰে সুৱাসিত লৌহিত্য নদৰ নিৰ্মল পানীয়ে আপোনালোকৰ পাপ দূৰ কৰক॥২॥

প্ৰলয়কালত সমুদ্ৰত বুৰ খোৱা পৃথিৱীৰ উদ্ধাৰকৰ্তা বৰাহৰূপধাৰী ভগৱান বিষ্ণুৰ নৰক নামে এজন পুত্ৰ আছিল; তেওঁ অসুৰবিলাকৰ সুহৃদ্ আছিল॥৩॥

তেওঁ অদিতিৰ গালত দুলি থকা কুণ্ডলদুটি অপহৰণ কৰি ত্ৰৈলোক্য বিজয়ৰদ্বাৰা উচ্চ যশস্যা লাভ কৰা ইন্দ্ৰৰ যশ কাঢ়ি লৈছিল॥৪॥

তেওঁ কামৰূপ জয় কৰি (অথবা ৰূপত কামক জয় কৰি) কামৰূপত প্ৰাগজ্যোতিষ নামে নগৰত বসতি কৰিছিল; সেই নগৰত তামোলগছবোৰ পাণে মেৰাই আছিল, আৰু তাত ক'লা অগুৰু গছবোৰৰ ওপৰত এলাচিলতাবোৰ তুলি দিয়া হৈছিল॥৫॥

সেই নগৰৰ উপবনত মতলীয়া গন্ধগজৰ কাণৰ আফালৰ শব্দৰ লগে লগে ম'ৰাচৰাই নাচি আছিল; তাতে বসতি কৰি ৰণাকাংক্ষী নৰকে ৰণত শ্ৰীকৃষ্ণৰ সুদৰ্শন চক্ৰৰ আঘাত পাই স্বৰ্গী হল॥৬॥

তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ আছিল ভগদত্ত; ৰজাসকলৰ মূৰৰ মুকুটৰ মণিয়ে তেওঁৰ বেদিৰূপ পাদদ্বয় স্পৰ্শ কৰি আছিল; তেওঁ প্ৰজাৰ মনত সন্তোষ দি খ্যাতি লাভ কৰিছিল; আৰু অদ্বিতীয় বীৰ তেওঁ ৱৰ্ণাশ্ৰমৰ গুৰু আছিল॥৭॥

তেওঁ স্বৰ্গলোকলৈ যোৱাত, শিৱৰ প্ৰতি শুদ্ধ ভক্তি থকা তেওঁৰ ভ্ৰাতৃ, যাক জ্ঞানীসকলে বজ্ৰদত্ত বুলি কয়, ৰাজ্যৰ অধিপতি হৈছিল॥৮॥

বননী যাৰ প্ৰাচীৰ আৰু সাগৰ যাৰ পৰিখা সেই ৰাজ্য ভোগ কৰি ৰজাসকল স্বৰ্গী হোৱাৰ পাছত সেই বংশত সালস্তম্ভ নামে এজন ৰজা হৈছিল॥৯॥

তেওঁৰ বংশোদ্ভৱ পালক, বিজয় প্ৰভৃতি (ৰজাসকল) পৰলোকলৈ যোৱাৰ পাছত পৃথিৱীৰ চন্দ্ৰসদৃশ, শত্ৰুৰ সন্তাপকাৰী হৰ্জৰ নামে ৰজা হৈছিল॥১০॥

তেওঁৰ ৰাজসভাত 'মই আগেয়ে' 'মই আগেয়ে' এনে প্ৰতিযোগিতাৰ ভাৱত সেৱাপ্ৰাৰ্থী নৃপতিসকলৰ মুকুটৰ মণিবোৰ তেওঁৰ (ভৰিৰ) নখৰ জেউতিৰ প্ৰসাৰত বেলিৰ পোহৰ পৰা বন্তিৰ দৰে নিষ্প্ৰভ হৈ পৰিছিল॥১১॥

তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ শ্ৰীৱনমালদেৱ সদায় শিৱৰ প্ৰতি ভক্তিপৰায়ণ আছিল; তেওঁৰ বক্ষস্থল বিশাল; ককাল ক্ষীণ আৰু গোল, কণ্ঠদেশ আটিল আৰু বাহুযুগল পৰিঘসদৃশ আছিল॥১২॥

খঙত তেওঁৰ মুখ বিকৃত হোৱা নাছিল, তেওঁ হাহিছিল, নীচলোকৰ কথাত কাণ নিদিছিল, কোনো অনিষ্টজনক কথা নকৈছিল আৰু তেওঁৰ চৰিত্ৰ সদায় সম্মানিত আছিল॥১৩॥

তেওঁ জগতত অতুলনীয় আৰু প্ৰকাণ্ড স্তম্ভযুক্ত (অতুলনীয় হলেও তুলনা কৰিব পৰা), বিশাল

আৰু বহু কোঠালিবিশিষ্ট (শালা বা কোঠালি নাইকিয়া হলেও বহু কোঠালি থকা) আৰু বিস্ময়জনক আৰু ছবিৰে সজোৱা (ছবি নেথাকিলেও সুন্দৰ ছবিৰে সজোৱা) অট্টালিকাশ্ৰেণী নিৰ্মাণ কৰিছিল॥১৪॥

ক্ষীৰসাগৰৰ পৰা চন্দ্ৰৰ উদ্ভৱ হোৱাৰ দৰে তেওঁৰো শ্ৰীজয়মালদেৱ নামে পুত্ৰ এটি উপাৰ্জিছিল; তেওঁৰ কুন্দপুষ্প আৰু চন্দ্ৰসদৃশ উজ্জ্বল যশোৰাশি স্থিৰভাৱে বিচৰণ কৰিছিল॥১৫॥

সেই পদ্মসদৃশ চকুৰ বীৰ ৰজা শ্ৰীৱনমালদেৱেও পুতেকক বিনীত আৰু প্ৰাপ্তযৌৱন দেখি চামৰযুগলেৰে সৈতে ধৱল (ৰাজ) ছত্ৰ তেওঁক সমৰ্পণ কৰি অনশন অৱলম্বন কৰি মহেশ্বৰৰ তেজত লীন হৈছিল॥১৬-১৭॥

সেই পদ্মসদৃশ চকুৰ বীৰ ৰজা শ্ৰীৱনমালদেৱেও পুতেকক বিনীত আৰু প্ৰাপ্তযৌৱন দেখি সমান অম্বা নামে এগৰাকী ছোৱালীক বিয়া কৰাইছিল॥১৮॥

ধৰ্মশাস্ত্ৰজ্ঞ তেওঁ অৰণিকাঠত অগ্নি উৎপাদনৰ দৰে সেই অম্বাদেৱীৰ গৰ্ভত, সকলো গুণেৰে বিভূষিত, শ্ৰীসম্পন্ন, নীলা পদ্মৰ চঞ্চল পাহিৰ দৰে চকুৰ, স্থূল কণ্ঠদেশবিশিষ্ট, সুন্দৰ বাহুযুক্ত, নৱীন সুৰুযৰ কিৰণ পৰি প্ৰস্ফুটিত হোৱা নতুন পদ্মটোৰ দৰে কান্তিমান বলৱৰ্মা নামে খ্যাত পুত্ৰক জন্ম দিছিল॥১৯-২০॥

তিথিৰ পাছত তিথি অতীত হৈ যোৱাত এবাৰ ৰণত অবিচলিত সেই ৰজা কৰ্মৰ পৰিণতিৰ ফলস্বৰূপে চিকিৎসকৰ সাধ্যাতীত ৰোগৰ দ্বাৰা আক্ৰান্ত হ'ল॥২১॥

ৰজা বীৰবাহুৱে সংসাৰ অসাৰ আৰু মানুহৰ জীৱন পানীৰ বুৰবুৰণিৰ দৰে ক্ষন্তেকীয়া বুলি বিবেচনা কৰি নিজৰ অৱশিষ্ট কৰ্তব্যৰ কথা চিন্তা কৰিলে॥২২॥

পিছত এটা শুভ দিনত, সিংহৰ পোৱালিৰ দৰে সেই শক্তিশালী শৰীৰৰ পুত্ৰক যথানিয়মে সিংহাসনত বহুৱালে॥২৩॥

তাৰ পিছত জুয়ে প্ৰচুৰ ঘিউ পোৱাৰ দৰে বলৱৰ্মায়ো সেই বিশাল ৰাজ্য লাভ কৰি সকলো শত্ৰুৰূপ অন্ধকাৰ দূৰ কৰি দীপ্তিমন্ত হৈ উঠিল॥২৪॥

বিজয়হস্তীবোৰৰ টেমুনাৰ দ্বাৰা যাৰ ঢেউবোৰ বাধাপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈছিল সেই নিৰ্মল লৌহিত্য সাগৰৰ ওচৰত থকা পিতামহৰ দিনৰ ৰাজধানীয়ে তেওঁৰ ৰাজধানী॥২৫॥

পৰম শক্তিশালী, পৰম পূজনীয়, মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ কুশলী শ্ৰীবলৱৰ্মদেৱে সেই সমৃদ্ধিশালী হড়পেশ্বৰ নামে ৰাজধানীত বসতি কৰি, মুকলি তৰোৱালৰ জেউতিৰে গাঢ় নীল বৰণীয়া হোৱা বাহুৰে সকলো দিশ জয় কৰিছে; তেওঁ যুদ্ধত ধীৰ, অপযশৰ প্ৰতি ভীৰু, শত্ৰুৰ প্ৰতি প্ৰচণ্ড, গুৰুজনৰ প্ৰতি অতিশয় মৃদু, সত্যবাদী, কথাই কামে একে, কাম কৰিও আত্মশ্লাঘাবৰ্জিত, উদাৰ আৰু পিতৃমাতৃৰ চৰণৰ ধ্যান কৰি পাপক্ষালন কৰিছে।

বাৰাসেপত্তন এলেকাৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত বপ্পদেৱপাটকৰ পৰা পৃথক কৰি লোৱা দুই হাজাৰ (দোণ) ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা মাটিত যথানিয়মে উপস্থিত হোৱা ব্ৰাহ্মণ প্ৰভৃতি, বিভাগীয় বিষয়া, আইনজীৱী, মুখিয়াল দেশবাসীসকল, ৰজা, ৰাণী আৰু ৰাণক সম্বন্ধীয় লোকসকল, ক্ষত্ৰিয়, ৰাজপুত্ৰ, ৰজাৰ প্ৰিয়পাত্ৰ প্ৰভৃতি আন আন লোকসকলক আৰু ভৱিষ্যং কালৰ সকলো লোকক সম্মানপূৰ্বক আদেশ কৰিছে—আপোনালোকে জানিব, বস্তি, খেতিপথাৰ, বাকৰি, জলাতন ঠাই, চৰণীয়া পথাৰ, আবৰ্জনা পেলোৱা ঠাইৰে সৈতে যথানিৰ্দিষ্ট নিজ সীমালৈকে জুৰি থকা এই মাটি হাতী আৰু নাওৰখীয়া

বিষয়া, চুৰি মাল উদ্ধাৰ কৰা বিষয়া, পুলিচ কৰ্মচাৰী, কৰ আদায়কাৰী বিষয়া আৰু নানা চেলু লৈ উপদ্ৰব কৰা বিষয়া আৰু হাতী, ঘোৰা, উট, গৰু, মহ, ছাগলি, ভেৰা আদি চৰি ফুৰা ইত্যাদি সকলো প্ৰকাৰ উপদ্ৰবৰ পৰা মুক্ত কৰি এই মাটি শাসনৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰি—

অশেষ বেদশাস্ত্ৰত পণ্ডিত, যজ্ঞানুষ্ঠান কৰি বিশেষ কৃতিত্ব লাভ কৰা, উপমন্যুগোত্ৰীয়, কান্বশাখীয়, যজুমন্ত্ৰৰ বাসস্থানস্বৰূপ গৰ্গ নামে এজন ব্ৰাহ্মণ আছিল॥২৬॥

তেওঁৰ গৰ্ভিষ্ঠিৰ নামে এজন পুত্ৰ আছিল; সেই গৰ্ভিষ্ঠিৰে ঋক্, সাম আৰু যজুৰ্বেদ অধ্যয়ন কৰিছিল, যজ্ঞকৰ্মৰ প্ৰক্ৰিয়া আৰু শাস্ত্ৰত ব্যুৎপত্তি লাভ কৰিছিল আৰু যজ্ঞকৰ্ম কৰিছিল॥২৭॥

তেওঁৰ পত্নী গৰ্ভেশ্বৰিকা আছিল সজ কুলত জন্মলাভ কৰা, সোমলতাৰ দৰে পবিত্ৰ, বশিষ্ঠৰ পত্নীৰ দৰে পতিব্ৰতা, ইন্দ্ৰৰ শচীৰ দৰে আৰু পৃথিৱীৰ দৰে ধৈৰ্যশীলা॥২৮॥

ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ হিতৰ কাৰণে শ্যামদেৱ নামে তেওঁলোকৰ এজন পুত্ৰ উপাৰ্জিছিল; তেওঁ পুণ্যশীল, বেদশাস্ত্ৰত পাৰদৰ্শী, প্ৰিয়ভাষী, যশস্বী, ধনদানকাৰী আৰু মহাতপস্বী॥২৯॥

পিতৃ-মাতৃৰ পুণ্যৰ অৰ্থে নিজৰ সাংবৎসৰিক পূজা শক্ৰোত্থানত ৰাজত্বৰ পঞ্চম বছৰত এই বিদ্বান ব্ৰাহ্মণক যথাবিধি বিশেষভাৱে দান কৰি দিলোঁ॥৩০॥

সীমা—পূবে বৈকঙ্কৰ মাটিৰ ঢাপ; পূবদক্ষিণে শিমুলগছ; দক্ষিণে পলাশ গছ; দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমে কদমগছ; পশ্চিমে খেতি-পথাৰৰ আলিত থকা বেতগছ; পশ্চিম-উত্তৰে নিশিৰ মাটিৰ ঢাপত থকা আঁহতগছ; উত্তৰে জামুগছ, উত্তৰ-পূৰ্বে সোণাৰুগছ।

ৰত্নপালদেৱৰ প্ৰথম তামৰ ফলি

(বৰগাঁও লিপি)

স্বস্তি। যি (নিজৰ) নখত (প্ৰতিফলিত) নিজৰ প্ৰতিবিম্বত (নিজ) নৃত্যক্ৰিয়াসম্পদৰ দ্ৰষ্টাৰ নিচিনা (হৈ বিৰাজমান), যি সুন্দৰ অশ্বাৰোহীৰ দৰে অবিৰত মঙ্গলময় তান্ডবগতি প্ৰকট কৰি পৰিদৃশ্যমান হৈছে, যি পৰমাত্মাৰ নিচিনাকৈ এক হৈয়ো প্ৰাকাম্যৰ যোগে বহুগুণ যুক্ত হৈ অনেক ৰূপে প্ৰতিভাত হৈছে সেই শঙ্কৰ (সকলোৰে) শ্ৰীৰ কাৰণ হওক॥১॥

ইয়াত কি চন্দ্ৰৰশ্মিৰ কান্তি মূৰ্ত হৈ বৈ আছে? নাইবা ইকি স্ফটিকৰ ধাৰা? অথবা পাপপ্ৰবাহ বিনাশত নিৰত শঙ্কৰৰ মঙ্গলময় শক্তি? যাৰ পানীৰ সোঁতক এইদৰে ভাৱি জনতা ধন্য হয়, সকলো পাপ ধ্বংস কৰি সেই সাগৰসদৃশ লৌহিত্যই জগৎ ৰক্ষা কৰক॥২॥

সাগৰত ডুবি থকা পৃথিবীৰ উদ্ধাৰকাৰী বৰাহৰূপী হৰিৰ অসুৰৰ অংশ নৰক (নামে) এক পুত্ৰ আছিল যি দেৱাঙ্গনাৰূপ কমলফুলৰ শোভাৰ প্ৰতি চন্দ্ৰস্বৰূপ ব্যৱহাৰ কৰিছিল॥৩॥

যি দেৱতাসকলক সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে পৰাস্ত কৰি 'এওঁ অৱলা, বৃদ্ধা, ভয়াতুৰা, মূঢ়া, স্বজনবিৰহিতা, বিপদ্‌গ্ৰস্তা', বুলি ভাৱি অদিতিক এৰি দি দেৱতাসকলৰ শ্ৰেষ্ঠ যশস্যা আৰু তেজসদৃশ তেওঁৰ কুন্ডল দুটা হৰণ কৰিছিল॥৪॥

ধুনীয়া মাইকী মানুহৰ মুখৰ দ্বাৰা বহু চন্দ্ৰৰ নিচিনা আৰু তেজস্বী বীৰসকলৰ যোগে ৰবিসমূহৰ দৰে প্ৰতিভাত নগৰপ্ৰধান প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষত বসতি কৰি তেওঁ বাহুদৰ্পেৰে বিচৰণ কৰি (ৰাজ্যৰ) লক্ষ্মী সুচাৰুকৈ বৃদ্ধি কৰিছিল॥৫॥

'গুণোদ্দীপ্ত হলেও দেউতা বুঢ়া হৈছে' এইবুলি যেতিয়া তেওঁ কৃপাহেতুকে লাহে লাহে বিচৰণ কৰিছিল, তেতিয়াই হৰিয়ে তেওঁক স্বৰ্গাৰূঢ় কৰিছিল। হাঁয়, তেজ বিস্তাৰ কৰিবলৈ সমুৎসুক মানুহৰ বন্ধু গণনা ক'ত॥৬॥

তাৰ পিছত ভগদত্ত নামে তেওঁৰ পুতেকে পৃথিবীৰ ভাৰ বহন কৰিছিল। তেওঁ ধীৰ, ভব্য আৰু ঐশ্বৰ্যশালী আছিল আৰু গুণসমূহৰ যোগে ভুবনমন্ডল অনুৰক্ত কৰি যশস্যাৰূপ সূক্ষ্ম বস্ত্ৰেৰে দিগ্‌বিদিক আবৰি ৰাখিছিল॥৭॥

সূৰ্য অস্ত গলে অগ্নিয়ে যেনেকৈ কান্তি লাভ কৰে, তেনেকৈয়ে বলবান্ বজ্ৰদত্তই ভ্ৰাতৃৰ (মৃত্যুৰ পিচত) সেই ৰাজ্য লাভ কৰিছিল। তেওঁ ইন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে শত্ৰু জয় কৰিছিল, ডাঙৰ বজ্ৰৰ নিচিনা কান্তিযুক্ত আছিল আৰু নিজৰ বল আৰু সবলতাৰ দ্বাৰা জগৎ জয় কৰি যশস্যা লাভ কৰিছিল॥৮॥

বংশানুক্ৰমে এই দৰে সমস্ত পৃথিৱী পালনকাৰী নৰকবংশীয় ৰজাসকলৰ ৰাজ্য দৈৱগতিবশতঃ ম্লেচ্ছাধিপতি সালস্তম্ভই অধিকাৰ কৰিছিল। এওঁৰ বংশতো ক্ৰমে বিগ্ৰহস্তম্ভ প্ৰভৃতি বিখ্যাত ৰজাসকল সম্ভূত হৈছিল—আৰু এওঁলোকৰ সংখ্যা দহৰ দুগুণ প্ৰাপ্ত হৈ সংবিভিন্ন হৈছিল॥৯॥

তেওঁবিলাকৰ একবিংশ শ্ৰীত্যাগসিংহ নামেৰে ৰজাক নিৰ্বংশ হৈ স্বৰ্গাৰূঢ় হোৱা দেখি 'আমাৰ আকৌ নৰকবংশীয় ৰজাৰেই আৱশ্যক' এইবুলি ভাৱি তেওঁৰ প্ৰজাবিলাকে (নৰকবংশীয়সকলৰ) জ্ঞাতিত্ব হেতু ভূভাৰ ৰক্ষা কৰিবলৈ সমৰ্থ হব বুলি ব্ৰহ্মপাল নামৰ এজনক ৰজা পাতিলে॥১০॥

তেওঁ যুদ্ধত অকলে শত্ৰুবোৰক জয় কৰিছিল—ইয়াত আচৰিত কি? কাৰণ ইয়াত উদাহৰণ

হৰ, হৰি, ভীষ্মাদি আন আন আছে। ৰজাৰ যোদ্ধাবিলাকে এনেকৈ বিবেচনা কৰি যেতিয়া দেখিলে যে ৰজা একেঠাইতে আছে অথচ তেওঁৰ শত্ৰুবিলাক অষ্টাদিশত পলাবলৈ ধৰিছে, তেতিয়া তেওঁলোক আচৰিত হ'ল॥১১॥

ঐশ্বৰ্যজনিত বিষয়বিলাসৰ আস্বাদনৰ অভিলাষী হৈ তেওঁ কোনো এগৰাকী যুৱতীৰ পাণিগ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল—যি প্ৰজাৰ অনুৰাগ হেতুকে সেই ৰাজপৰিয়ালৰ ৰজাসকলৰ লক্ষ্মীৰ আশ্ৰয়স্বৰূপ 'কুলদেৱী' এই নাম ধাৰণ কৰিছিল॥১২॥

এওঁত 'শ্ৰীৰত্নপাল' এই নামে পুত্ৰ জন্ম হৈছিল; 'এই ৰজাই নিজৰ গুণৰ বলত ৰত্নসদৃশ মহামান্য লোকসকলক পালন কৰিব'—প্ৰজাবিলাকে যেন এইকথা ভালকৈ বুজি সেই নামৰ দ্বাৰাই তেওঁক প্ৰসিদ্ধ কৰিছিল॥১৩॥

যাৰ যুদ্ধভূমি দুৰ্বাৰ শত্ৰুসকলৰ হাতীৰ কপাল ভেদ কৰি উৎপন্ন হোৱা তেজৰ নদীৰ সোঁতৰবেগত চলিত গজমুক্তাৰ গুটিসমূহৰ দ্বাৰা আৰু বীৰৰূপ বেপাৰীসকলৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰকীৰ্ণ হৈ পদ্মৰাগমণিসমূহৰ আভা ধাৰণ কৰি বিপণিৰ নিচিনাকৈ শোভিত হৈছিল॥১৪॥

ইয়াৰ পিচত নৰকবংশজাত কমলসকলৰ সূৰ্যস্বৰূপ তেওঁক সিংহাসনত বহুৱাই সেই অকলঙ্ক বীৰ (ব্ৰহ্মপাল) স্বৰ্গলৈ গতি কৰিলে। কাৰণ সংসাৰৰ গুণদোষ জনা উদাৰ লোকসকলে সময়োপোযোগী আচৰণ কৰিব নিশ্চয় জানে॥১৫॥

চোকা তৰোৱালৰ ৰশ্মিৰ লতাৰ দ্বাৰা কৰ্কশ বাহুবলেৰে বিজিত শ শ নৰপতিৰ দ্বাৰা উপহৃত মত্ত গজসমূহৰ কপোলৰ পৰা নিঃসৃত দানবাৰিৰ বিন্দুৰ দ্বাৰা য'ত তাপ উপশমিত হৈছে, সকলো শত্ৰুৰ শিবিৰ লুণ্ঠনৰ কাৰণে লোলুপ সুযোদ্ধাৰ বাহুৰূপ ঠালেৰে সমাকীৰ্ণ হাবিৰে সঙ্কুল হৈয়ো যি মহৎ লোকৰ বাসৰ উপযুক্ত, মত্ত সুন্দৰীসকলৰ হাহিৰূপ সুধাৰ (চূণৰ) দ্বাৰা ধৱলিত সহস্ৰ অট্টালিকাৰ চূড়াৰ দ্বাৰা য'ত ৰশ্মিমণ্ডল ঢাক খাই থাকে, মলয় পৰ্বতৰ ভূমিত গজা (চন্দন) বনৰ দৰে শ শ ভোগীৰ যি আশ্ৰয়, আকাশমাৰ্গৰ নিচিনাকৈ যি বুধ, গুৰু, কাব্যৰ দ্বাৰা অলঙ্কৃত, কৈলাস গিৰিৰ শিখৰৰ নিচিনাকৈ যি পৰমেশ্বৰৰ নিবাসস্থান আৰু বিত্তেশৰ দ্বাৰা নিষেৱিত, শকৰাজৰূপ ক্ৰীড়াপক্ষীৰ দৃঢ়সজাৰ নিচিনা, গুৰ্জৰ অধিপতিৰ বেদনা আৰু দুৰ্দান্ত গৌড়ৰাজৰ হাতীৰ জ্বৰৰ নিচিনা, কেৰলৰাজৰ কাৰণে শিলাজতুস্বৰূপ, বাহিক আৰু তায়িকসকলৰ আতঙ্ককাৰী, দাক্ষিণাত্যৰ ৰজাসকলৰ ৰাজযক্ষ্মাৰ নিচিনা, শত্ৰুপক্ষক ক্ষয় কৰাৰ কাৰণে ৰজাসকলৰ বক্ষঃকপাটস্থ বস্ত্ৰস্বৰূপ গড়ৰ দ্বাৰা যাৰ প্ৰান্তভাগ আবৃত হৈছে, উন্মত্তকলহংসীসমূহৰ শব্দেৰে মনোহৰ সমীৰণৰ দ্বাৰা লাহে লাহে আন্দোলিত ঢৌকণিকাবোৰৰ দ্বাৰা মুক্ত অট্টালিকাৰ শিখৰত আৰূঢ় সুন্দৰীসকলৰ প্ৰেমক্ৰীড়াজাত পৰিশ্ৰমৰ উপশমক, কৈলাসপৰ্বতৰ হাতীৰ পাটৰ কাপোৰৰ পতাকাস্বৰূপ, আৰু অনেক দেৱনাৰীৰ লয়লাসৰ মণিময় দৰ্পণসদৃশ লোহিতসাগৰৰ সৈতে বিৰাজমান, অনেক নৰপতিসংঘৰ মাননীয়, প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰাজ্যত অৱস্থিত দুৰ্জয়া এই সাৰ্থক নামৰ নগৰীত (সেই ৰজা) বাস কৰিছিল।

তাত জড়তা হাৱাৱলিতহে আছিল, ইন্দ্ৰিয়ত নাছিল; চঞ্চলতা বান্দৰতহে আছিল, মনত নাছিল. ভঙ্গুৰতা ভ্ৰূবিলাসতহে আছিল, অঙ্গীকাৰত নাছিল; ধাতুতহে উপসৰ্গ আছিল, প্ৰজাত নাছিল; বামতা কেৱল কামিনীসকলৰহে আছিল, স্খলন কেৱল মধুপানানন্দিত কামিনীৰ গতিতহে, দোষকৰণ—বিষয়তহে নিঃস্পৃহতা, নিৰৱচ্ছিন্নভাৱে মধুপানত আসক্তি মধুকৰ-বিলাকৰহে, অতিশয় প্ৰিয়ানুবৰ্তন

চাকৈচকোৱা পক্ষীৰহে, মাংসভক্ষণ (হিংস্ৰ) জন্তুৰহে; ইন্দ্ৰৰ আবাসৰ লগত ফেৰ মাৰিবপৰা সেই নগৰত যি চন্দ্ৰৰ নিচিনাকৈ মণ্ডলৰূপ জলধিৰ শীলৰূপ বেলা বৰ্ধিত কৰিছিল, যি শত্ৰুৰূপ সৰোবৰৰ পদ্মাপহৰণ প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰিছিল, সূৰ্যৰ নিচিনাকৈ যি ভূভৃৎসকলৰ শিৰত পাদনিবেশ কৰিছিল, কমলাকৰ উদ্ভাসনৰ প্ৰতি আগ্ৰহশীল, পৰমেশ্বৰ হৈয়ো যি কামৰূপৰ আনন্দকাৰী, নৰকবংশীয় হলেও যি দানবাৰিৰ উল্লাসকাৰী, পুৰুষোত্তম হলেও অজনাৰ্দন, বীৰ হলেও মত্তেভগামী, যাৰ ৰূপে মন্মথৰ ৰূপক চেৰ পেলায়, গাম্ভীৰ্য সমুদ্ৰতকৈ বেছি, ধৈৰ্য জগদ্বিজয়সূচক, বীৰ্যই স্কন্দকো পৰাভৱ কৰে, যি যশস্যাত অৰ্জুনৰ নিচিনা, যুদ্ধত ভীমৰ নিচিনা, ক্ৰোধত যমৰ নিচিনা, শত্ৰুপক্ষৰূপ লতাত দাবানলৰ নিচিনা, বিদ্যাৰ আকাশত চন্দ্ৰৰ নিচিনা, সজ্জনৰূপ ফুলৰ মলয়া বতাহৰ দৰে, শত্ৰুৰূপ অন্ধকাৰত সূৰ্য্য, মিত্ৰৰ অভ্যুদয়-সম্পত্তিত উদয়াচল সেই মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীব্ৰহ্মপালৱৰ্মদেৱৰ পদানুসাৰী পৰমেশ্বৰ পৰমযোদ্ধা মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীৰত্নপালৱৰ্মদেৱৰ কুশল হওক।

উত্তৰকূলত ত্ৰয়োদশ গ্ৰাম বিষয়ান্তৰ্গত বামদেৱপাটক অপকৃষ্ট ভূমিসংযুক্ত লাবুকুটি ক্ষেত্ৰত দ্বিসহস্ৰ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা ভূমিত।

[ইয়াৰ পিচত ফলিৰ ৫৩ পংক্তিত থকা "যথাযথং সমুপস্থিত" ইত্যাদিৰ পৰা ৫৮
পংক্তিৰ শেহত থকা "শাসনীকৃত্য" এই অংশটো আগৰ বহুত শাসনৰ সৈতে প্ৰায় একে
হোৱাত বেলেগে অনুবাদ দিয়া নহল।]

এই ঠাইত পৰাশৰ গোত্ৰীয় কাণ্বশাখাৰ ৰাজসনেয়ী সম্প্ৰদায়ৰ অগ্ৰণী দেৱদত্ত নামে এজন ব্ৰাহ্মণ আছিল; বেদজ্ঞসকলৰ ভিতৰত শ্ৰেষ্ঠ তেওঁক পাই তিনি বেদে যেন কৃতাৰ্থ মানিছিল॥১৬॥

আহিতাগ্নি, গুণবান্ আৰু চৰিত্ৰবান্ তেওঁৰ গঙ্গদত্ত নামে সৎপুত্ৰ আছিল, ষট্‌কৰ্মত ৰত এওঁক দেখি জনসমূহ ভৃগু আদিৰ সম্বন্ধে বিশ্বস্ত হৈছিল॥১৭॥

এওঁৰ শুদ্ধভাৱ আৰু গুণসম্পন্না শ্যামায়িকা নামৰ পতিব্ৰতা পত্নী আছিল যি বিশুদ্ধ ভাৱেৰে তমোনাশিনী হৈ চন্দ্ৰৰ উগ্ৰকণাৰ দৰে বিৰাজমান আছিল॥১৮॥

এওঁত শাস্ত্ৰজ্ঞসকলৰ প্ৰধান পাপভীত বীৰদত্ত নামে পুত্ৰ জন্মগ্ৰহণ কৰে; ধৰ্মৰ আশ্ৰয়স্বৰূপ তীক্ষ্ণবুদ্ধিৰ তেওঁক পাই কলিকাল প্ৰায় অবহেলিত হৈছিল॥১৯॥

ৰাজত্বৰ পঞ্চবিংশবছৰত বিষ্ণুপদী সংক্ৰান্তিৰ দিনা পিতামাতাৰ আৰু নিজৰ যশস্যা আৰু পুণ্যৰ কাৰণে (শাসনীকৃত ভূমি) এওঁক মোৰ দ্বাৰা দান কৰা হ'ল॥২০॥

সীমা—পূবে বৰআলিত থকা শিমলুগছ। পূবদক্ষিণে ৰুষিসমূহক আগুৰি থকা নাৱৰ সীমাৰ ওখগৰাত থকা শিমলুগছ। দক্ষিণফালে সেই নাৱৰ সীমাৰ বগৰীগছ। দক্ষিণপশ্চিম ফালে সেই নাৱৰ সীমাৰ কাশীম্বল বৃক্ষ। পশ্চিমে ওখগৰাত থকা বৰগছ। পশ্চিম আৰু উত্তৰমূৱা ভাঁজত খেতিৰ মাটিৰ আলি আৰু কাশীম্বলগছ। পশ্চিমউত্তৰৰ খেতিৰ মাটিৰ আলিত থকা হিজ্জল গছ। পূৰ্বোত্তৰ ভাঁজত খেতিৰ আলি আৰু শিমলুগছ। আকৌ পূবদক্ষিণফালৰ কুঁজটোত খেতিৰ মাটিৰ আলি। আৰু দুজোপা কাশীম্বলগছ। অলপ পূব আৰু দক্ষিণফালে যোৱা ভাঁজটোত খেতিৰ আলি আৰু শিমলুগছ দুজোপা। উত্তৰপূবত ডাঙৰ আলিত থকা কাশীম্বলগছ। উত্তৰে ডাঙৰ আলিত থকা বেতৰ জোপা।

[হস্তিমূৰ্তিৰ সৈতে চিলৰ পাঠ:]
স্বস্তি, প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ অধিপতি মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ
শ্ৰীৰত্নপালৱৰ্মদেৱ॥

ৰত্নপালদেৱৰ দ্বিতীয় তামৰ ফলি

(শুৱালকুচি লিপি)

[যি যি অংশত শুৱালকুচিলিপি বৰগাঁওলিপিৰ পৰা পৃথক সেই
সেই অংশৰহে অনুবাদ দিয়া হল।]

কলঙ্গা বিষয়ৰ অন্তৰ্বৰ্তী তিনিহেজাৰ পৰিমাণ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা ভূমিত (থকা) ভাৰদ্বাজগোত্ৰীয় কান্বশাখাৰ বাজসনেয়ী সম্প্ৰদায়ৰ শাস্ত্ৰজ্ঞান আৰু বিনয়সম্পন্ন ভট্টবলদেৱ নামে জনাজাত এজন পণ্ডিত আছিল॥১৬॥

নৰক প্ৰত্যাখ্যান কৰা তেওঁৰ বাসুদেৱ নামে এজন পুত্ৰ আছিল যাৰ চৰণযুগল বহুত পণ্ডিতৰদ্বাৰা বন্দিত হৈছিল আৰু নয়ন সম্পূৰ্ণ বিকশিত পদুমফুলৰ দৰে আছিল॥১৭॥

চ্ছেপ্পায়িকা এই নামে বিদিত তেওঁৰ প্ৰিয়, সাধ্বী পত্নী আছিল যি লক্ষ্মীৰ দৰে লোকপূজনীয়, সতীধৰ্মপৰায়ণা আৰু বৰ্ণভূষণা হৈ ৰমণীয়া আছিল॥১৮॥

তেওঁবিলাকৰ কামদেৱ নামেৰে পুত্ৰ পৃথিবীত জন্ম হৈছিল, যি শক্তি আৰু মনোহাৰিত্বৰ দ্বাৰা কামদেৱৰ দেহকো পৰাভূত কৰিছিল, আৰু যাৰ চন্দ্ৰ-ধবল খ্যাতিয়ে আকাশক অশেষ ধৰণে বিভূষিত কৰি সমস্ত ভুবনত অনবৰত ভ্ৰমণ কৰিছিল॥১৯॥

পিতৃমাতাৰ আৰু নিজৰ পুণ্যৰ উদ্দেশ্যে আৰু যশস্যা লাভ কৰিবৰ কাৰণে ৰাজত্বৰ ষড়্‌বিংশ বছৰত এই ব্ৰাহ্মণক (এই শাসনীকৃত ভূমি) মোৰ দ্বাৰা দিয়া হ'ল॥২০॥

ইয়াৰ সীমা পূবে চন্দেনৌকিৰ একে সীমাতে থকা ইটাৰ ভোটাৰ ওপৰত থকা শৰ্কৰামূল আৰু খোৱা আমগছ; পূবদক্ষিণত দক্ষপাটিনৌকিৰ সৈতে এক সীমাত থকা বেতগছ; দক্ষিণে সধবনৌকিৰ একে সীমাত থকা হিজ্জল গছ; দক্ষিণপশ্চিমে ভদ্ৰাক্ষ নামৰ গছ; পশ্চিমত চন্দেনৌকিৰ সৈতে একে সীমাত সদ্যহতে ৰোৱা শিমলুগছ; উত্তৰপশ্চিমত কলঙ্গাদাৰীসকলৰ দক্ষিণ চুবুৰী; পূবফালৰ ভাঁজটোত সধৱ আৰু কলঙ্গা দাঁৰীসকলৰ দক্ষিণ চুবুৰীত থকা চোৰকগছ; দক্ষিণৰ কূজটোত কুলসোন্তসকলৰ উত্তৰ চুবুৰী; আৰু পূবফালৰ ভাঁজটোত সধৱ আৰু কুলসোন্তসকলৰ উত্তৰচুবুৰীত থকা বৰুণ গছ; আৰু উত্তৰগামী ভাজত হিজ্জল গছ; উত্তৰে দিয়ম্বাৰ জোলৰ উত্তৰ মেৰ; উত্তৰপূবে আলিৰ মূৰত থকা বেতগছ।

[হস্তিমূৰ্তিৰ সৈতে চিলৰ পাঠ:]

স্বস্তি, প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ অধিপতি মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ
শ্ৰীৰত্নপালৱৰ্মদেৱ॥

ইন্দ্ৰপালদেৱৰ প্ৰথম তামৰ ফলি

(গুৱাহাটী লিপি)

স্বস্তি—

“হে কিতৱ, তোমাৰ খট্বাঙ্গ, কুঠাৰ, বলদ, চন্দ্ৰকলা ইত্যাদি যথাসৰ্বস্ব আজি মই (জুৱাখেলত) জিকি লাভ কৰিছো, কিন্তু সেই সকলোবোৰ তোমাক আকৌ ওভোতাই দিছো; কেৱল গঙ্গা মোৰ পানী অনা দাসী হৈ থাকক”—গৌৰীৰ এই বাক্যত দ্যূতকৌশলত পৰাজিত শিৱৰ লাজত দোঁ খোৱা মুৰটোৰ জয় হওক॥১॥

পশুপতি, প্ৰজাৰ অধীশ্বৰ, দেহমাহাত্ম্য-পূজিত হোৱা মহাবৰাহৰ জয় হওক; ভগদত্তবংশৰ জননী, অলেখ ৰজাৰ আশ্ৰয়স্থল ধৰণী (দেৱীৰো জয় হওক)॥২॥

যাৰ পানীত নৃপতি (ৰূপ বৃক্ষৰ) কণ্ঠ (ৰূপ) শাখা ছেদনকাৰী পৰশুৰামৰ কুঠাৰৰ ডাঠ তেজৰ (লোহিত) বোকা ধুই পেলোৱা হৈছিল, সেই ব্ৰহ্মাৰ পুত্ৰ নদীনাথ লৌহিত্যই তোমালোকৰ কলিৰ মলবোৰ ধুই পেলাওক॥৩॥

শূকৰৰূপধাৰী হৰিয়ে সঞ্চালিত খুৰাৰ দ্বাৰা ভয়ঙ্কৰ সাপবোৰৰ বসতিস্থান পাতাল কঁপাই তুলি, কল্পৰ অন্তত সমুদ্ৰৰ বেলাৰূপ বন্ধন নাশ পোৱাত পাতালৰ বোকাসমূহৰ মাজত তল গৈ থকা পৃথিবীক উদ্ধাৰ কৰিছিল॥৪॥

অঙ্কুৰ সদৃশ দাঁতেৰে ওপৰলৈ তুলি ধৰা ধৰণীৰ আলিঙ্গনযুক্ত সম্ভোগৰ দ্বাৰা আনন্দ সঞ্চিত হৈ যাৰ চিত্ত অলস হৈছিল সেই নাৰায়ণৰ পুত্ৰ নৰক নামে শ্ৰীমন্ত ৰজা আছিল; তেওঁৰ পাদচিহ্ন (গোটেই) জগতে পূজা কৰিছিল॥৫॥

অতুলনীয় যশস্বী সেই (ৰজাই) ৰত্নৰ জেউতিৰে উদ্ভাসিত, লক্ষ্মীৰ নিবাসস্থল, পবিত্ৰ কণ্ঠদেশৰ ওচৰত বনমালা জ্বলি থকা পিতৃদেৱৰ (নাৰায়ণৰ) দ্বিতীয় উন্নত বক্ষঃস্থলসদৃশ, ৰত্নৰ দীপ্তিৰে উজ্জ্বল, সম্পদৰ আকৰ, মনোৰম উপকণ্ঠ অঞ্চল বনৰাজিৰে শোভিত প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষপুৰৰ নগৰত বসতি কৰিছিল॥৬॥

তেওঁৰো ভগদত্ত নামে পুত্ৰ আছিল, তেওঁ সমস্ত পিতৃগুণৰ অধিকাৰী আছিল। দুৰ্জয় সাহসী, অতি বলবান্, শত্ৰুপক্ষ নিপাতকাৰী হৈও ভগদত্তই সদায় দুৰ্বলৰ প্ৰতি পক্ষপাত দেখুৱাইছিল॥৭॥

এওঁৰ শত্ৰুৰ যশ অপহৰণকাৰী বজ্ৰদত্ত নামে পুত্ৰ আছিল। বিজয়ী নৃপতিসকলৰ অগ্ৰণী, নৰকবংশীয় ৰজাসকলৰ উন্নতস্থানত সুপ্ৰতিষ্ঠিত বজ্ৰদত্তই বজ্ৰসদৃশ বাহুৰ শক্তিৰে ইন্দ্ৰৰ সন্তুষ্টি বিধান কৰিছিল॥৮॥

এই ৰজাৰ বংশতে শ্ৰীব্ৰহ্মপাল নামে ৰজা আছিল; তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ ৰত্নপাল পৃথিবীত শত্ৰুহন্তা আৰু জিতেন্দ্ৰিয় বুলি জনাজাত আছিল। এই অমূল্য গুণৰাজিৰ আধাৰ এইজনা ৰজাৰ মহিমা কি বৰ্ণাম, ৰাম অথবা, কৃষ্ণৰ প্ৰশংসনীয় সদ্‌গুণসমূহৰ লগত এওঁৰো (গুণাৱলীৰ) তুলনা হয়॥৯॥

তেওঁ পৃথিবী চূণ দি বগা কৰা শিৱ-মূৰ্তি প্ৰতিষ্ঠা কৰা মন্দিৰসমূহৰ দ্বাৰা, বেদজ্ঞ ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ ঘৰবোৰ নানা প্ৰকাৰ ধনসম্পত্তিৰে, যজ্ঞশালাৰ প্ৰাঙ্গনবোৰ যূপসমূহেৰে, আকাশ হোমৰ

ধোৱাঁৰে, সাগৰপানী (যুদ্ধ) যাত্ৰাৰ ধূলিৰে আৰু সকলো দিশ বিজয়স্তম্ভবোৰৰ দ্বাৰা ভৰাই পেলাইছিল॥১০॥

তেওঁৰ পুতেক পুৰন্দৰপাল সুযশস্বী, দানী, ভোগী, শুদ্ধাত্মা, কলাকুশল, বীৰ আৰু সুকবি আছিল॥১১॥

তেওঁ মৃগয়াপ্ৰিয় আছিল আৰু সমৰক্ষেত্ৰতো বহুবাৰ মুহূৰ্তৰ ভিতৰতে শ্ৰেষ্ঠ শত্ৰুৰজাসকলক শৰৰ পিঞ্জৰা ৰচনা কৰি তাত আবদ্ধ কৰি বিশেষ আমোদ অনুভৱ কৰিছিল॥১২॥

তেওঁ পৰশুৰামৰ বাহুবলেৰে বিজিত বিশাল ৰাজ্যৰ ৰাজবংশত জন্মলাভ কৰা পৃথিৱীত দুৰ্লভ দুৰ্লভাক লাভ কৰি প্ৰকৃততে যোগ্যা পত্নীৰ স্বামী হৈছিল॥১৩॥

ইন্দ্ৰৰ যিদৰে শচী, শিৱৰ যিদৰে পাৰ্বতী, মদনৰ যিদৰে ৰতি, নাৰায়ণৰ যিদৰে লক্ষ্মী, চন্দ্ৰৰ যিদৰে ৰোহিণী, তেওঁৰো সেইদৰে তেওঁ (দুৰ্লভা) যোগ্যা প্ৰণয়পাত্ৰী আছিল॥১৪॥

তেওঁলোকৰ ইন্দ্ৰপাল নামে পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; তেওঁ প্ৰাচ্যদেশৰ জেউতি, পৃথিৱীৰ প্ৰত্যক্ষ অলঙ্কাৰ (স্বৰূপ) শত্ৰুবিনাশক, জিতেন্দ্ৰিয়, আৰু নীতিবিদ্ আৰু সদাচাৰীসকলৰ মাজত শ্ৰেষ্ঠ আছিল। তেওঁ ৰাজপাটত উঠিলত তেওঁক সেৱা জনাবলৈ কৃতাঞ্জলি হোৱা ৰজাসকলৰ আপোন ইচ্ছাতে দোঁ খুৰোৱা মুকুটৰ ৰত্নবোৰ সিঁচৰতি হৈ পৰাত সভাঘৰৰ মণিখচিত মজিয়াখন ফলযুক্ত যেন হৈছিল॥১৫॥

ব্যাকৰণ, মীমাংসা, ন্যায় তন্ত্ৰ (ৰূপ) সোঁতৰ দ্বাৰা অতি বেগৱতী সৰ্ববিদ্যাৰূপ নদীবোৰত গভীৰভাৱে প্ৰৱেশ কৰিছিল আৰু (সেইবোৰ) পাৰ হৈছিল॥১৬॥

যি নাতিয়েকৰ পিতৃ স্বৰ্গগত হৈ যশোদেহত ৰূপান্তৰিত হৈছিল পৱিত্ৰমনা সিংহবিক্ৰম বৃদ্ধ ৰজাই (ৰত্নপালে) যোগ্যগুণী বিবেচনা কৰি নিজে ৰাজলক্ষ্মী সেই নাতিয়েকৰ ওপৰত অৰ্পণ কৰিছিল॥১৭॥

সেই ৰজা (ইন্দ্ৰপাল) বিনয়ী আৰু বিক্ৰমশালী হোৱাত চাৰি আশ্ৰম আৰু চাৰি বৰ্ণৰ ধৰ্ম সুন্দৰৰূপে বিভক্ত হোৱা পৃথিৱী প্ৰজাৰ আনন্দদায়িনী আৰু অভীষ্টপূৰণকাৰিণী হৈ আকৌ যেন পৃথুৰজাৰ ৰাজ্যৰ দৰে সমৃদ্ধিশালিনী হল॥১৮॥

হাতী, ঘোঁৰা, আৰু ধনৰত্নেৰে ভৰপূৰ, নৃপতিবৰ্গৰ পক্ষে দুৰ্জ্জেয় শ্ৰীদুৰ্জ্জয়া নামে যোগ্য-গুণ যুক্তা নগৰী সেই ৰজাৰ ৰাজধানী আছিল॥১৯॥

প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ অধিপতিৰূপে জনাজাত, অপ্ৰতিহতদণ্ড, সকলো ৰিপুবৰ্গ সংহাৰকাৰী বৰাহবংশী মহামান্য পৰমশ্ৰদ্ধাস্পদ মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ ৰত্নপালৱৰ্মদেৱৰ আশিষলাভ কৰা মহামান্য পৰমশ্ৰদ্ধাস্পদ মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ কুশলী শ্ৰীইন্দ্ৰপালৱৰ্মদেৱ।

উত্তৰপাৰে হাপ্যোম এলেকাৰ অন্তৰ্গত, কাশী পাটক ভবিষাভূমিৰ পৰা পৃথক কৰি লোৱা চাৰি হাজাৰ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা মাটিত (অৱস্থিত) বিভাগীয় বিষয়া, আইনজীৱী, মুখিয়াল দেশবাসীসকলক, ৰজা, ৰাণী, আৰু ৰাণক সম্বন্ধীয় আন আন লোককো, ক্ষত্ৰিয়, ৰাজকোঁৱৰ আৰু ৰজাৰ প্ৰিয়পাত্ৰসকলক আৰু এই ঠাইৰ ভৱিষ্যৎ অধিবাসীসকলক যথোপযুক্ত সন্মান প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰি আদেশ কৰিছে—আপোনালোকে জানিব, বস্তি, খেতি-পথাৰ, শুকান ঠাই, জলাতন ঠাই, চৰণীয়া-পথাৰ, আৱৰ্জনা পেলোৱা ঠাই আদিৰে সৈতে নিৰ্দিষ্ট সীমাস্থল পৰ্যন্ত বিস্তৃত এই মাটি হাতীৰথীয়া আৰু নাওৰথীয়া বিষয়া, চুৰিমাল উদ্ধাৰ কৰা বিষয়া, দণ্ডপাশ (পুলিচ কৰ্মচাৰী),

ৰায়তৰ পৰা কৰ আদায় প্ৰভৃতি নানা কাৰণত উপদ্ৰৱকাৰী লোক, হাতী, ঘোৰা, উট, গৰু, মহ, ছাগলী, ভেৰা আদি চৰিফুৰা প্ৰভৃতি উপদ্ৰৱৰ পৰা মুক্ত কৰি শাসনৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰি—

হৰিপাল নামে এজন কাশ্যপগোত্ৰীয় অতি পবিত্ৰ, মিত্ৰবৎসল গুণৱান্ যজুৰ্বেদী ব্ৰাহ্মণ আছিল॥২০॥

সেই শিৱভক্ত ব্ৰাহ্মণৰ শবৰপাল নামে পুত্ৰ এটি উপাৰ্জিছিল; তেওঁ মানীসকলৰ মাজত শ্ৰেষ্ঠ, সাধুসজ্জনৰ প্ৰতি বিদ্বেষশূন্য যশস্বী দ্বিজ আছিল॥২১॥

আৰ্যাচাৰনিষ্ঠ তেওঁৰ (শবৰপালৰ) সৌখ্যায়িকা নামে পৰিচৰ্যাৰ দ্বাৰা সুখ দিয়া, আচাৰ-পৰায়ণা, গুণৱতী আৰু সাধ্বী পত্নী আছিল॥২২॥

তেওঁলোকৰ, চেনেহৰ বন্ধুবৰ্গক পালনকৰোতা, অশেষ মূল্যৱান গুণৰ আধাৰ দেশপাল নামে জ্ঞানী পুত্ৰ উপাৰ্জিছিল॥২৩॥

মোৰ ৰাজত্বৰ অষ্টম বছৰত শাসনৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰি এই মাটি সেই কঠোৰব্ৰতী সংযমী ব্ৰাহ্মণক দান কৰি দিলোঁ॥২৪॥

[তৃতীয় ফলি]

ইয়াৰ সীমা—পূবে কোষ্ঠমাক্খিয়ান বিলৰ পশ্চিম কাষ আৰু কূল আৰু কুন্তবিত থম্ভবৰ অধিকাৰত থকা মকুতিমাক্খিয়ান জমিৰ সীমাত থকা খেতিপথাৰৰ আলি। পূব-দক্ষিণে সেই জমি আৰু কুন্তবিতলাক্খৰাভোগ আৰু কাসীপাটক এই ভূমিদ্বয়ৰ সীমাত থকা বৃহৎ আলি। দক্ষিণে সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা বৃহৎ আলি আৰু উত্তৰ-পশ্চিম মুৰা নদীৰ ভাজত স্বল্পদ্যুতি কৈৱৰ্ত-সকলৰ পানী খোৱা পুখুৰী; কোষ্ঠভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ আলি, আৰু বাঁহৰ চোপ তিনিটা; দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমে সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত দিৰ্গুম্মা নদী; উত্তৰ ভাঁজতো সেই নদী; পূব আৰু উত্তৰ ভাঁজত কোষ্ঠ কাসীপাটক মাটিৰ সীমাৰ আলি; পশ্চিমমুৰা ভাঁজেদি সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত বস্তিৰ আলি; পশ্চিমে দিৰ্গুম্মা নদী; পশ্চিম-উত্তৰেও সেই নদী; উত্তৰে তথাগতে কৰোৱা আদিত্য ভট্টাৰকৰ ফলিৰ ভবিষাভূমিৰ সীমাৰ খেতিপথাৰৰ আলিত থকা শাখোটক গছ আৰু পশুপতিৰ দ্বাৰা নিৰ্মিত পুখুৰীৰ দক্ষিণ পাৰ আৰু খেতিপথাৰৰ আলি। উত্তৰ-পূবে সেই মাটি আৰু কোষ্ঠমাক্খিয়ান বিলৰ পশ্চিমফাল আৰু কূল।

ইন্দ্ৰপালদেৱৰ দ্বিতীয় তামৰ ফলি

(গুৱাকুচি লিপি)

প্ৰথম ফলক

… … … … ১৯॥ [এই পৰ্যন্ত প্ৰথম ফলিৰ পাঠৰ লগত একে]

[… … আকৌ “কুশলী” পৰ্যন্ত একে]

উত্তৰ পাৰে মন্দি এলেকাৰ অন্তৰ্গত পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ পৰা উলিয়াই লোৱা দুহেজাৰ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা মাটিত উপস্থিত বিভাগীয় বিষয়া আৰু আইনজীৱী প্ৰমুখ্যে দেশবাসীসকলক, ৰজা, ৰাণী আৰু ৰাণকসম্বন্ধীয় অন্যান্য সকলো, ক্ষত্ৰিয়, ৰাজকুমাৰ, ৰজাৰ প্ৰিয়পাত্ৰসকলক আৰু ভৱিষ্যৎ অধিবাসীসকলক যথাযোগ্য সন্মান জনাই আদেশ কৰিছে—আপোনালোকে জানিব—

[দ্বিতীয় ফলক—দ্বিতীয় পৃষ্ঠা]

বস্তি, খেতিপথাৰ, স্থল, জল, চৰণীয়া পথাৰ, আবৰ্জনা পেলোৱা ঠাইসমন্বিতে যথাবস্থিত নিজ-সীমালৈকে বিস্তৃত, হাতী আৰু নৌকা বন্ধা কামত নিযুক্ত লোক, চুৰিমাল উদ্ধাৰ কৰা লোক, পুলিচবিষয়া, উপৰিকৰ, নানা চেলু উলিয়াই উপদ্ৰবকাৰী লোক, হাতী, ঘোঁৰা, উট, গৰু, মহ, ছাগলি, ভেড়া প্ৰভৃতিৰ সকলো উপদ্ৰৱৰ পৰা মুক্ত এই মাটি শাসনপত্ৰৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰি—

সাবথীত ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ বসতি বৈনামা নামে এখন গাওঁ আছে; এই গাওঁ কলিকালত অধৰ্মৰ ভয়ত ভীত ধৰ্মই আশ্ৰয় লোৱা দুৰ্গস্বৰূপ॥২০॥

তাত যজুৰ্বেদী কাণ্বশাখী কাশ্যপগোত্ৰীয় সাক্ষাৎ ব্ৰহ্মাতুল্য সোমদেৱ নামে এজন ব্ৰাহ্মণ আছিল॥২১॥

তেওঁৰ বসুদেৱ নামে এটি শ্ৰীমন্ত পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; বসুদেৱৰ সুহৃদ নন্দৰ প্ৰতি পুৰুষোত্তম (কৃষ্ণ) সুপ্ৰসন্ন হোৱাৰ দৰে বন্ধুবান্ধৱৰ আনন্দকাৰী সেই বসুদেৱৰ প্ৰতি শ্ৰীকৃষ্ণ সুপ্ৰসন্ন হৈছিল॥২২॥

বশিষ্ঠ মুনিৰ পত্নী অৰুন্ধতীৰ দৰে চৰিত্ৰৱতী, সম্ভ্ৰান্তবংশীয়া আৰু কলিৰ পাপনাশিনী গঙ্গাৰ দৰে কলিৰ পাপে স্পৰ্শ নকৰা অনুৰাধা নামে তেওঁৰ পত্নী আছিল॥২৩॥

দেৱকীৰ গৰ্ভত বসুদেৱৰ দ্বাৰা যিদৰে যশোদাই নিজ পুত্ৰৰূপে গ্ৰহণকৰা গোপীহিতৈষী শ্ৰীহৰি জনিত হৈছিল, সেইদৰে সেই পত্নীৰ (অনুৰাধাৰ) গৰ্ভত ৰজাসকলৰ হিতৈষী, যশস্যা আৰু দয়াৰ দ্বাৰা অঙ্গীকৃত দেৱদেৱ নামে শ্ৰীমন্ত পুত্ৰ তেওঁ (বসুদেৱে) জন্ম দিছিল॥২৪॥

এই ব্ৰাহ্মণক মোৰ ৰাজত্বৰ একবিংশ বছৰত দুইহাজাৰ পৰিমাণ ধান হোৱা এই মাটি দান কৰা হল॥২৫॥

ইয়াৰ সীমা, পূবে মহাগৌৰী আৰু কামেশ্বৰৰ শাসনান্তৰ্গত মৰ্কম্যীকোক্ক, ৰাজপুত্ৰপাটক আৰু পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ সীমাৰ বস্তিৰ আলিৰ ওপৰত থকা কঠাল গছ আৰু পথাৰৰ আলি; পশ্চিম-মূৰা ভাঁজত সেই মাটি বীৰৰ শাসনান্তৰ্গত মুকুতি (কুম্যৰা) আৰু পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ আলি; দক্ষিণমূৰা ভাঁজত হাহাৰবি জোলৰ উত্তৰ পাৰে সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ

আলি, দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমে সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ আলিৰ মূৰ; পশ্চিমে সেই মাটি বসুমাধৱদেৱৰ শাসনৰ অন্তৰ্গত পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ আলি আৰু জিঙ্গনী গছ; পূব-উত্তৰমূৰা ভাজত সেই মাটিৰ সীমাৰ শাখোটক বৃক্ষ আৰু জোলৰ দক্ষিণ পাৰে থকা পথাৰৰ আলি; পশ্চিম-উত্তৰে সেই মাটিৰ সীমা পথাৰৰ আলিৰ মূৰ; পূবমূৰা ভাজত সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত সেই জোলৰ দক্ষিণ পাৰ।

[তৃতীয় ফলক]

উত্তৰ, পূৰ আৰু উত্তৰমূৰা ভাঁজোঁদ সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত বস্তিৰ আলি; উত্তৰ**(জোলৰ) দক্ষিণ পাৰত থকা আম গছ; উত্তৰে সেই মাটি পীদকগাঁও (আৰু সমৃদ্ধ গাঁও) মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা স্ৰোতসী জোলৰ দক্ষিণ পাৰ; উত্তৰ আৰু পূৰমূৰা ভাজোঁদ সেই গাঁও আৰু এই মাটিৰ সীমাত দক্ষিণ-পূৰ আৰু দক্ষিণ পাৰ; উত্তৰ-পূৰে সেই মাটি মহাগোৰী আৰু কামেশ্বৰৰ শাসনান্তৰ্গত ভূমি আৰু পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা বস্তিৰ আলি; ইতি॥

শ্ৰীমান পৰমেশ্বৰৰ (ইন্দ্ৰপাল)দেৱৰ এই বত্ৰিশটা নাম :

১। কীৰ্তিকমলিনীমাৰ্তণ্ড (কীৰ্তিৰূপ পদুম ফুলাওতা সূৰ্য্য)।
২। লক্ষ্মীভাৰোদ্বহনাচ্যুত (শ্ৰীহৰিয়ে লক্ষ্মীক বক্ষঃস্থলত বহন কৰাৰ দৰে ৰাজলক্ষ্মীধাৰণকাৰী আৰু কৰ্তব্যত অচ্যুত)।
৩। সকললোকশঙ্কৰ (ত্ৰিভুবনৰ মঙ্গলকাৰী)।
৪। কৰুণাজীমূতবাহন (জীমূতবাহনৰ দৰে দয়ালু)।
৫। সংগ্ৰামস্তম্ভ (যুদ্ধত স্তম্ভৰ দৰে অচল-অটল)।
৬। অৰসিকভীম (ৰসবোধহীনৰ প্ৰতি ভীতিজনক)।
৭। অপ্ৰতিহতশক্তিকাৰ্তিকেয় (কাৰ্তিকৰ দৰে অব্যৰ্থ শক্তিসম্পন্ন)।
৮। বিপক্ষবলভিৎ (শত্ৰুসৈন্যসংহাৰকাৰী বা শত্ৰুৰ ওপৰত ইন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে পৰাক্ৰমশীল)।
৯। নৰসিংহবিক্ৰম (নৰসিংহসদৃশ পৰাক্ৰমী)।
১০। কলিকালজলধিনিমজ্জদ্বসুন্ধৰাদিবৰাহ (সমুদ্ৰত নিমজ্জিত পৃথিৱী উদ্ধাৰকাৰী কলিকালৰ আদিবৰাহ)।
১১। সাহসৈকসহায় (সাহসেই যাৰ একমাত্ৰ আশ্ৰয়)।
১২। ধনুৰ্দ্ধৰৈকপাৰ্থ (পাৰ্থসদৃশ অদ্বিতীয় ধনুৰ্দ্ধৰ)।
১৩। অনতক্ষত্ৰবংশভাৰ্গৱ (বশ নমনা ক্ষত্ৰিয়কুলৰ পক্ষে পৰশুৰাম সদৃশ)।
১৪। উদ্ধতভূভৃদশনিপাত (উদ্ধত ৰজাসকলৰ ওপৰত বজ্ৰপাতস্বৰূপ; ইন্দ্ৰয়ো উৰিফুৰাপৰ্বত (ভূভৃৎ)বোৰৰ পাখিবোৰ বজ্ৰেৰে কাটি দিছিল)।
১৫। অন্তঃপুৰভুজঙ্গঃ (ৰাজঅন্তেষপুৰত কামোপভোগী)।
১৬। সৰস্বতীনিৰ্জনিবাস (বিদ্যাৰ অধিষ্ঠাত্ৰী দেৱী সৰস্বতীৰ আপোন বাসস্থল)।
১৭। সুহৃন্মানসৰাজহংস (মানস সৰোবৰত ৰাজহংসৰ দৰে সেই ৰাজশ্ৰেষ্ঠ ইন্দ্ৰপালেও বন্ধুবৰ্গৰ মনত বিহাৰ কৰিছিল)।

ইন্দ্ৰপালদেৱৰ দ্বিতীয় তামৰ ফলি

(গুৱাকুচি লিপি)

প্ৰথম ফলক

… … … … ১৯॥ [এই পৰ্যন্ত প্ৰথম ফলিৰ পাঠৰ লগত একে]

[… … আকৌ "কুশলী" পৰ্যন্ত একে]

উত্তৰ পাৰে মন্দি এলেকাৰ অন্তৰ্গত পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ পৰা উলিয়াই লোৱা দুহেজাৰ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা মাটিত উপস্থিত বিভাগীয় বিষয়া আৰু আইনজীৱী প্ৰমুখ্যে দেশবাসীসকলক, ৰজা, ৰাণী আৰু ৰাণকসম্বন্ধীয় অন্যান্য সকলো, ক্ষত্ৰিয়, ৰাজকুমাৰ, ৰজাৰ প্ৰিয়পাত্ৰসকলক আৰু ভৱিষ্যৎ অধিবাসীসকলক যথাযোগ্য সন্মান জনাই আদেশ কৰিছে—আপোনালোকে জানিব—

[দ্বিতীয় ফলক—দ্বিতীয় পৃষ্ঠা]

বস্তি, খেতিপথাৰ, স্থল, জল, চৰণীয়া পথাৰ, আবৰ্জনা পেলোৱা ঠাইসমন্বিতে যথাৱস্থিত নিজসীমালৈকে বিস্তৃত, হাতী আৰু নৌকা বন্ধা কামত নিযুক্ত লোক, চুৰিমাল উদ্ধাৰ কৰা লোক, পুলিচবিষয়া, উপৰিকৰ, নানা চেলু উলিয়াই উপদ্ৰৱকাৰী লোক, হাতী, ঘোঁৰা, উট, গৰু, মহ, ছাগলি, ভেড়া প্ৰভৃতিৰ সকলো উপদ্ৰৱৰ পৰা মুক্ত এই মাটি শাসনপত্ৰৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰি—

সাবথীত ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ বসতি বৈনামা নামে এখন গাওঁ আছে; এই গাওঁ কলিকালত অধৰ্মৰ ভয়ত ভীত ধৰ্মই আশ্ৰয় লোৱা দুৰ্গস্বৰূপ॥২০॥

তাত যজুৰ্বেদী কাণ্বশাখী কাশ্যপগোত্ৰীয় সাক্ষাৎ ব্ৰহ্মাতুল্য সোমদেৱ নামে এজন ব্ৰাহ্মণ আছিল॥২১॥

তেওঁৰ বসুদেৱ নামে এটি শ্ৰীমন্ত পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; বসুদেৱৰ সুহৃদ নন্দৰ প্ৰতি পুৰুষোত্তম (কৃষ্ণ) সুপ্ৰসন্ন হোৱাৰ দৰে বন্ধুবান্ধৱৰ আনন্দকাৰী সেই বসুদেৱৰ প্ৰতি শ্ৰীকৃষ্ণ সুপ্ৰসন্ন হৈছিল॥২২॥

বশিষ্ঠ মুনিৰ পত্নী অৰুন্ধতীৰ দৰে চৰিত্ৰৱতী, সম্ভ্ৰান্তবংশীয়া আৰু কলিৰ পাপনাশিনী গঙ্গাৰ দৰে কলিৰ পাপে স্পৰ্শ নকৰা অনুৰাধা নামে তেওঁৰ পত্নী আছিল॥২৩॥

দেৱকীৰ গৰ্ভত বসুদেৱৰ দ্বাৰা যিদৰে যশোদাই নিজ পুত্ৰৰূপে গ্ৰহণকৰা গোপীহিতৈষী শ্ৰীহৰি জনিত হৈছিল, সেইদৰে সেই পত্নীৰ (অনুৰাধাৰ) গৰ্ভত ৰজাসকলৰ হিতৈষী, যশস্যা আৰু দয়াৰ দ্বাৰা অঙ্গীকৃত দেৱদেৱ নামে শ্ৰীমন্ত পুত্ৰ তেওঁ (বসুদেৱে) জন্ম দিছিল॥২৪॥

এই ব্ৰাহ্মণক মোৰ ৰাজত্বৰ একবিংশ বছৰত দুইহাজাৰ পৰিমাণ ধান হোৱা এই মাটি দান কৰা হল॥২৫॥

ইয়াৰ সীমা, পূবে মহাগৌৰী আৰু কামেশ্বৰৰ শাসনান্তৰ্গত মৰ্কম্যীকোক্ক, ৰাজপুত্ৰপাটক আৰু পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ সীমাৰ বস্তিৰ আলিৰ ওপৰত থকা কঠাল গছ আৰু পথাৰৰ আলি; পশ্চিমমুৱা ভাঁজত সেই মাটি বীৰৰ শাসনান্তৰ্গত মুকুতি (কুম্যবা) আৰু পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ আলি; দক্ষিণমুৱা ভাঁজত হাহাৰ্বি জোলৰ উত্তৰ পাৰে সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ

আলি, দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমে সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ আলিৰ মূৰ; পশ্চিমে সেই মাটি বসুমাধৱদেৱৰ শাসনৰ অন্তৰ্গত পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ আলি আৰু জিঙিনী গছ; পূব-উত্তৰমূৰা ভাজত সেই মাটিৰ সীমাৰ শাখোটক বৃক্ষ আৰু জোলৰ দক্ষিণ পাৰে থকা পথাৰৰ আলি; পশ্চিম-উত্তৰে সেই মাটিৰ সীমা পথাৰৰ আলিৰ মূৰ; পূবমূৰা ভাজত সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত সেই জোলৰ দক্ষিণ পাৰ।

[তৃতীয় ফলক]

উত্তৰ, পূৱ আৰু উত্তৰমূৰা ভাঁজেদি সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত বস্তিৰ আলি; উত্তৰ**(জোলৰ) দক্ষিণ পাৰত থকা আম গছ; উত্তৰে সেই মাটি পীদকগাঁও (আৰু সমৃদ্ধ গাঁও) মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা স্রোতসী জোলৰ দক্ষিণ পাৰ; উত্তৰ আৰু পূৱমূৰা ভাজেদি সেই গাঁও আৰু এই মাটিৰ সীমাত দক্ষিণ-পূৱ আৰু দক্ষিণ পাৰ; উত্তৰ-পূৱে সেই মাটি মহাগৌৰী আৰু কামেশ্বৰৰ শাসনান্তৰ্গত ভূমি আৰু পণ্ডৰীভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা বস্তিৰ আলি; ইতি॥

শ্ৰীমান পৰমেশ্বৰৰ (ইন্দ্ৰপাল)দেৱৰ এই বত্ৰিশটা নাম :

১। কীৰ্তিকমলিনীমাৰ্তণ্ড (কীৰ্তিৰূপ পদুম ফুলাওতা সূৰ্য্য)।

২। লক্ষ্মীভাৰোদ্বহনাচ্যুত (শ্ৰীহৰিয়ে লক্ষ্মীক বক্ষঃস্থলত বহন কৰাৰ দৰে ৰাজলক্ষ্মীধাৰণকাৰী আৰু কৰ্তব্যত অচ্যুত)।

৩। সকললোকশঙ্কৰ (ত্ৰিভুবনৰ মঙ্গলকাৰী)।

৪। কৰুণাজীমূতবাহন (জীমূতবাহনৰ দৰে দয়ালু)।

৫। সংগ্ৰামস্তম্ভ (যুদ্ধত স্তম্ভৰ দৰে অচল-অটল)।

৬। অৰসিকভীম (ৰসবোধহীনৰ প্ৰতি ভীতিজনক)।

৭। অপ্ৰতিহতশক্তিকাৰ্তিকেয় (কাৰ্তিকৰ দৰে অব্যৰ্থ শক্তিসম্পন্ন)।

৮। বিপক্ষবলভিৎ (শত্ৰুসৈন্যসংহাৰকাৰী বা শত্ৰুৰ ওপৰত ইন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে পৰাক্ৰমশীল)।

৯। নৰসিংহবিক্ৰম (নৰসিংহসদৃশ পৰাক্ৰমী)।

১০। কলিকালজলধিনিমজ্জদ্বসুন্ধৰাদিবৰাহ (সমুদ্ৰত নিমজ্জিত পৃথিৱী উদ্ধাৰকাৰী কলিকালৰ আদিবৰাহ)।

১১। সাহসৈকসহায় (সাহসেই যাৰ একমাত্ৰ আশ্ৰয়)।

১২। ধনুৰ্দ্ধৰৈকপাৰ্থ (পাৰ্থসদৃশ অদ্বিতীয় ধনুৰ্দ্ধৰ)।

১৩। অনতক্ষত্ৰবংশভাৰ্গৱ (বশ নমনা ক্ষত্ৰিয়কুলৰ পক্ষে পৰশুৰাম সদৃশ)।

১৪। উদ্ধতভূভৃদশনিপাত (উদ্ধত ৰজাসকলৰ ওপৰত বজ্ৰপাতস্বৰূপ; ইন্দ্ৰয়ো উৰিফুৰাপৰ্বত (ভূভৃৎ)বোৰৰ পাখিবোৰ বজ্ৰেৰে কাটি দিছিল)।

১৫। অন্তঃপুৰভুজঙ্গঃ (ৰাজঅন্তেষপুৰত কামোপভোগী)।

১৬। সৰস্বতীনিৰ্জনিবাস (বিদ্যাৰ অধিষ্ঠাত্ৰী দেবী সৰস্বতীৰ আপোন বাসস্থল)।

১৭। সুহৃন্মানসৰাজহংস (মানস সৰোবৰত ৰাজহংসৰ দৰে সেই ৰাজশ্ৰেষ্ঠ ইন্দ্ৰপালেও বন্ধুবৰ্গৰ মনত বিহাৰ কৰিছিল)।

১৮। কামিনীমনোমোহনৈকমন্ত্ৰ (ৰমণীৰ মন মোহাত মন্ত্ৰৰ দৰে শক্তিশালী)।

১৯। অনবদ্যবিদ্যাধৰ (অনিন্দনীয় বিদ্যাৰ আধাৰ, বা অনিন্দনীয় বিদ্যাধৰসদৃশ)।

২০। সমৰসাগৰমৃগাঙ্ক (যুদ্ধৰূপ সমুদ্ৰত চন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে বিক্ষোভক)।

২১। প্ৰজ্ঞাবধূবল্লভ (ৰমণীৰূপ প্ৰজ্ঞাৰ প্ৰিয়জন)।

২২। কলাবিলাসিনীসুভগ (কলাৰূপ নাৰীৰ স্নেহৰ পাত্ৰ)।

২৩। অৰ্থিজনমনোৰথকল্পদ্ৰুম (প্ৰাৰ্থীসকলৰ মনৰ বাঞ্ছাকল্পতৰু)।

২৪। মিত্ৰোদয়প্ৰভাতসময় (সূৰ্যোদয়কাৰক প্ৰভাতসময়ৰ দৰে বন্ধুবান্ধৱৰ উন্নতিকাৰক)।

২৫। ধৰ্মবিৰোধিবৰ্ত্মভীৰু (ধৰ্মৰ বিৰোধীপথ পৰিহাৰ কৰি চলা)।

২৬। সদ্‌গুণকৰ্ণাবতংস (তেওঁৰ সদ্‌গুণবোৰ লোকৰ কৰ্ণভূষণস্বৰূপ আছিল)।

২৭। সচ্চৰিতচন্দনমলয়াগিৰি (মলয় পৰ্বতত চন্দনগছ থকাৰ দৰে তেৰোঁ সাধু আচৰণৰ আশ্ৰয়স্বৰূপ আছিল)।

২৮। মেদিনীতিলক (পৃথিৱীৰ কপালৰ ফোট অৰ্থাৎ অলঙ্কাৰস্বৰূপ)।

২৯। প্ৰচণ্ডনৰগণ্ড (উগ্ৰস্বভাৱলোকৰ দমনকাৰী)।

৩০। তৰুণীতৰণ্ড (যুৱতীনাৰীৰ ভেলস্বৰূপ অৰ্থাৎ আশ্ৰয়স্থল)।

৩১। তুৰঙ্গৰেবন্ত (নিপুণ অশ্বাৰোহী)।

৩২। হৰগিৰিজাচৰণপঙ্কজৰজোৰঞ্জিতোত্তমাঙ্গ (হৰ-পাৰ্বতীৰ চৰণপদ্মৰ ৰেণুৰে ৰঞ্জিত শিৰ)।

শনি
ঢনি
অনি

শ্ৰীঅষ্টকৰ দ্বাৰা চিত্ৰাঙ্কণ (কৰা হৈছে)।

প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ অধিপতি মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীমান্ ইন্দ্ৰপালৱৰ্মদেৱৰ কুশল হওক॥

গোপালদেৱৰ গাছতল লিপি

১॥ [পাঠ অস্পষ্ট আৰু ভ্ৰান্ত প্ৰতীত হোৱাৰ কাৰণে এই ১ম শ্লোকৰ অনুবাদ দিয়া নহল। স্পষ্টভাৱে বুজিব পাৰি যে এই শ্লোকেৰে মহাদেৱক স্তুতি কৰা হৈছে।]

দিব্যাঙ্গনাসবৰ নিশ্বাসবায়ুৰ দ্বাৰা উদ্দীপ্তপ্ৰতাপ অম্ভোজনাভ দেৱতাই পৰিদৃশ্যমান প্ৰকাৰে দূৰৰ পৰাই জগতৰ বীজক জয় কৰক; যাৰ বৰাহমূৰ্তিৰ দাঁতৰ কুটিল আৰু বিশদ অগ্ৰভাগে চন্দ্ৰকলাক অতি হেলাৰঙে জয় কৰিছিল॥২॥

চাক্‌নৈয়াৰ পকনিৰে ভয় লগা, পাৰত থকা গছৰ সৰাফুলৰ ৰেণুৰ দ্বাৰা নষ্ট-সৌন্দৰ্য, বেগৰ যোগে হিমালয় পৰ্বতৰ গহ্বৰ মথিমূৰ কৰি বাহু (পাৰ) ভাঙ্গি অহা আৰু চন্দ্ৰৰ দৰে বগা ফেনৰ অট্টহাসেৰে নৃত্যৰ আৰম্ভণিতে বৃক্ষৰ লয়লাস ধাৰণ কৰা সেই লৌহিত্যসিন্ধুৰ জয় হওক॥৩॥

মহাবৰাহৰ অৱতাৰত সেই পুৰাণপুৰুষ ভগৱান্ বিষ্ণুৱে ৰসাতলৰ প্ৰবল পঙ্কত লগ্নমূল পৃথিৱীক উদ্ধাৰ কৰিছিল যাৰ সমুদ্ৰৰ উপকূল প্ৰলয়পয়োধিত নিমগ্ন আছিল॥৪॥

তৎক্ষণ (বিশিষ্ট মুহূৰ্তত) কেলিৰ যোগে পুৰুষোত্তম বিষ্ণুৰ শৰীৰৰ সংস্পৰ্শত প্ৰবল কামভাৱৰ উদ্ৰেক হোৱা দেৱী পৃথিৱীৰ নৰক নামে পুত্ৰ জন্ম হৈছিল যাৰ পাদপীঠ ৰজাসকলৰ মুকুটৰ চূড়ামণিৰ দ্বাৰা মাৰ্জিত হৈছিল॥৫॥

প্ৰবল যুদ্ধত যাৰ প্ৰতাপৰ শিখাৰ তাপ সহ্য কৰিব নোৱাৰি ইন্দ্ৰসৈন্যৰ যুজাৰুবিলাকে ৰত্নসমূহ সমৰ্পণ কৰি পলাইছিল যেনিবা জ্বলি থকা অঙঠাবিলাকহে বমিয়াই দিছিল॥৬॥

যাৰ দ্বাৰা মণিকুণ্ডল দুটি আহৃত হৈ চিৰকালৰ কাৰণে শূন্য কাণলতিকাৰে সুৰজননীয়ে (অদিতিয়ে) চন্দ্ৰদিবাকৰহীন আকাশৰ দৰে অৱস্থা ধাৰণ কৰিছিল॥৭॥

পূব-সমুদ্ৰৰ ঢৌৱাজিৰ দ্বাৰা ধৌত ওখ দেৱালেৰে ইন্দ্ৰৰ পুৰীৰ (অমৰাৱতীৰ) লগত ফেৰমৰা প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষ নামৰ এখন নগৰী আছিল য'ত চন্দ্ৰৰ পূৰ্ণবিম্বই সুধাধৱল অট্টালিকাবোৰৰ চূড়াবিলাক স্পৰ্শ কৰি ৰাতি স্বৰ্ণকুম্ভৰ জ্যোতিসদৃশ উদয়ৰ জ্যোতি বিকিৰিত কৰিছিল॥৮॥

অনন্তশক্তি কুমাৰ (কাৰ্তিকেয়) যেনেকৈ শম্ভুৰ পৰা জাত হৈছিল, তেনেকৈয়ে তেওঁৰপৰা ভগদত্ত নামৰ এজন ৰজাৰ জন্ম হৈছিল। তেওঁ সদ্ অন্তৰৰ পুৰুষসকলক আনন্দ দিছিল, কাৰণ ৰাজ্য যেতিয়া পূৰ্ণকামে সমৃদ্ধিশালী আছিল, তেতিয়াহে তেওঁ কৰ গ্ৰহণ কৰি পুৰা সন্তুষ্টি লাভ কৰিছিল॥৯॥

১০॥ এই শ্লোকৰ অৰ্থ অস্পষ্ট; পাঠ সম্পূৰ্ণ সন্দেহাতীত নহয়, গতিকে অনুবাদ দিয়া নহল।

গুণ-গৰিমাযুক্ত, উদাৰ, অভিজাত বজ্ৰদত্তাদি নৃপতিৰ দ্বাৰা ভূষিত সেই বংশই মাংসল, চন্দ্ৰৰ কিৰণৰ দৰে বগা ৰাজহংসৰ যোগে আকাশৰ (সূৰ্যৰ) বিশাল ৰঙালি ৰং জয় কৰিছিল॥১১॥

সেই বংশসমুদ্ৰত নিৰ্মল জন্মৰ, কলানিধি, ৰজাৰ মাজৰ চন্দ্ৰ যেন ব্ৰহ্মপাল সৌম্য আৰু শীতলকাৰী আছিল॥১২॥

সেই ৰজাৰ চন্দ্ৰৰ ৰশ্মিৰ কান্তিৰ নিচিনা নিৰ্মল জ্যোতিযুক্ত, শত্ৰুপক্ষ নিধনকাৰী, ৰজাসকলৰ

মূৰৰ মুকুটসমূহৰ মণিৰ প্ৰভাৱে ৰঞ্জিতচৰণ, কান্তিযুক্ত, অশেষ শৌৰ্যাগ্নিৰ দ্বাৰা পৃথিৱীত পৰিব্যাপ্ত, আৰু তীব্ৰ আৰু ঘন ঘৰ্ষণজনিত পবিত্ৰ অগ্নিৰ সমান বিস্তৃতি থকা নাভাগসদৃশ ৰত্নপাল নামে পুত্ৰ জন্ম হৈছিল॥১৩॥

হাতীৰ কুম্ভ ভেদ কৰা বাণৰ দ্বাৰা পৰিলক্ষিত যজ্জত যেতিয়া অ'ত ত'ত বিক্ষিপ্ত বগা ছাতিৰে সৈতে ধৰাশায়ী শত্ৰুশ্ৰেণীবোৰে ইচ্ছামতে মূৰ দাঙি উঠে, তেতিয়া তেওঁলোকৰ সেই মূৰৰ শাৰীবোৰক (সেই সেই বগা ছাতিতে) যেনিবা ৰূপৰ বগা থালতহে পিণ্ডজল প্ৰদান কৰে॥১৪॥

যেতিয়া তেওঁ যুদ্ধত প্ৰবৃত্ত গৌৰৰাজ ৰাজ্যপালক বাহুৰ দৰ্প সাৰথি কৰি পৰাভূত কৰিছিল, তেতিয়া গজেন্দ্ৰমদৰ চন্দ্ৰাকৃতিৰ ক'লা টোপালবিলাকেৰে মন্দাকিনীক যেন কলিন্দসুতালৈ (যমুনালৈ) পৰিবৰ্তিত কৰিছিল॥১৫॥

ধৰ্মনিধি, দ্বিতীয় সূৰ্যসদৃশ, বিখ্যাত পুৰন্দৰপালে জন্মগ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল। অম্বুৰাশিৰে বাড়ৱানল বৃদ্ধিপ্ৰাপ্ত হোৱাৰ দৰে শত্ৰুনাৰীৰ বাষ্পজলৰ লগে লগে তেওঁৰ প্ৰতাপ প্ৰজ্বলিত হৈ উঠিছিল॥১৬॥

প্ৰবল যুদ্ধসমুদ্ৰৰ চন্দ্ৰকলা যেন, অতিশয় পৰাক্ৰমী হাঁতীৰ দাঁতৰ অগ্ৰভাগৰ নিচিনা, সজ্জনসকলৰ মুখকমলৰ ৰাজহংসীস্বৰূপ সেই ৰজাৰ কীৰ্তিয়ে জগৎ শুভ্ৰ কৰিছিল॥১৭॥

এওঁৰ পৰাই বিনয়, শৌৰ্য, উদ্যোগ আৰু ধৈৰ্যৰ যোগে প্ৰাপ্ত-সম্পদ, গুণৰ আধাৰ ৰজা ইন্দ্ৰপালৰ জন্ম হৈছিল যাৰ পৰা শত্ৰুযোদ্ধাসকলৰ উদ্দাম দৰ্পহেতুকে ৰণভূমিৰ অগ্ৰস্থলত বাহুদণ্ডৰ ফৰফৰণিৰ অপসাৰণ হৈছিল॥১৮॥

জৰাযাত্ৰী সিংহবিক্ৰম সেই ৰজাৰ পৱিত্ৰযশা পুত্ৰৰ মৃত্যু হ'লত বিখ্যাত নিজ নাতিয়েকক ৰাজ্যভাৰ অৰ্পণ কৰি তেওঁৰ মন চিৰকালৰ কাৰণে পৰমাত্মাত লক্ষ্যপ্ৰাপ্ত হ'ল॥১৯॥

জুনজুনাই থকা সোণৰ চক্ৰ আৰু চামৰেৰে পৰিপূৰ্ণ নৌসৈন্য সন্নিবেশ কৰি মতলীয়া গৌড়সৈন্যৰ শক্তিৰে অদম্যবাহুৰ বঙ্গনৃপতি শ্ৰীচন্দ্ৰৰ পুতেক কল্যাণচন্দ্ৰ যুদ্ধক্ষেত্ৰৰ বহিৰ্দেশত উপনীত হওঁতে তেওঁৰ দ্বাৰা যে বিজিত হল, সেই বেচেৰা (কল্যাণচন্দ্ৰ) সেই ঠাইতে (তেওঁৰ) গৌৰৱৰ সৈতে ধ্বংসপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈ ক'ববাত লীণ হ'ল॥২০॥

যি সুধাৰসেৰে (জুৰলিয়া চূণেৰে) অতিশয় ধৱল শিৱৰ মন্দিৰৰাজি নিৰ্মাণ কৰিছিল যেনিবা কৈলাস পৰ্বতৰ শিলাসমূহেৰে পৃথিৱীত অট্টালিকাহে নিৰ্মাণ কৰিছিল॥২১॥

কমলৰ আকৰস্বৰূপ পুৰুষোত্তমৰ (বিষ্ণুৰ) মহিষী লক্ষ্মীৰদৰে যাৰ সাগৰস্বৰূপ ৰাষ্ট্ৰকূটবংশত জাত, ধুনীয়া নাৰীৰ উৎপত্তিস্থান ৰাজ্যদেৱী নামৰ মহিষী আছিল॥২২॥

ভূভাৰবহনকাৰী সেই দুজনাৰ পৰা, যাৰ চৰণৰ নখ ৰজাসকলৰ মুকুটমণিৰ ৰশ্মিৰ দ্বাৰা স্পৃষ্ট হৈছিল, যি বিনয়, ধৈৰ্য, আৰু উদ্যোগৰ একমাত্ৰ সাগৰ আছিল, বিদ্বজ্জনৰ বন্ধু আছিল, সমস্ত বসুধা জয় কৰিছিল, সত্যপ্ৰতিজ্ঞ আছিল, সুদক্ষ ধনুৰ্যোদ্ধা, বুদ্ধিমান, শত্ৰুৰ ভয়কাৰী আৰু অপৰিমিত গুণৰাজিৰ বিশ্ৰামৰ স্থল আছিল, সেই সদ্বংশজাত শ্ৰীগোপালদেৱৰ জন্ম হৈছিল॥২৩॥

বহুত দিনৰ পিচত যেতিয়া তেওঁৰ পিতৃদেৱ শিৱলোকলৈ গমন কৰিলে, তেতিয়া বলাধিকৃত পৃথিৱীয়ে তেওঁৰ জয়ী বাহুৰ মাজত থাকি দশৰথ দেৱলোকলৈ গমন কৰাৰ পিচত ৰাৱণশত্ৰু ৰামৰ পৃথিৱীৰ আধিপত্য স্মৰণ কৰিছিল॥২৪॥

যি, বীৰৰ প্ৰতি আকৰ্ষণ হেতুকে সংভ্ৰমেৰে ঘূৰিফুৰা চঞ্চল সুৰনাৰীসকলৰ মঞ্জৰীৰ (ভৰিৰ

জুনুকাৰ) জুন জুন শব্দেৰে দিশ্‌বিদিশ বধিৰ কৰা, গৃধ্ৰবিলাকৰ উৎসৱস্বৰূপ, প্ৰেতসমূহৰ সন্তুষ্টিৰ বিধায়ক, ৰক্তাক্ত মাংসৰ ফেন-ভক্ষণৰ যোগে পুষ্ট শিয়ালৰ (ফেউৰাৰ) দ্বাৰা সেৱিত আৰু য'ত আকাশ লতাৰ নিচিনা লাহি চোকা ধাৰৰ অস্ত্ৰেৰে পৰিব্যাপ্ত হৈছিল—তেনে যুদ্ধৰ প্ৰবৰ্তক আছিল॥২৫॥

অলপীয়া যদিয়ো শত্ৰুসৈন্য বিজয়ী তেওঁৰ খড়্গানিঃসৃত জলধাৰাৰ যোগে শত্ৰুসৈন্যৰ যোদ্ধাসকলৰ জুইৰ দৰে জ্বলি উঠা তেজ নিৰ্বাপিত, অভিমানৰূপ পঙ্ক ধৌত, যুদ্ধৰ সোৱাদৰ প্ৰতি যি তৃষ্ণা সি প্ৰত্যাখ্যাত, বন্ধুসকলৰ আশানদী সম্পূৰ্ণভাৱে পূৰিত আৰু কীৰ্তিলতা বৃদ্ধিপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈছিল॥২৬॥

যিবিলাক উদ্দাম প্ৰেম হেতুকে বিস্ময় উৰ্মিৰ দ্বাৰা তৰল আৰু বক্ৰৰূপে বাৰে বাৰে পতিত, যিবিলাকৰ গতি শৃঙ্গাৰৰসৰ কাৰণে স্খলিত হৈছিল—দেৱসমূহৰ নিচিনা চঞ্চল দৃষ্টিযুক্ত তেওঁবিলাকৰ সেই চকুবিলাক যে লক্ষ্মীৰ লীলাকমলৰ নিচিনা তেওঁৰ কমলমুখত পতিত হৈছিল সিয়েই যেন অগ্ৰভোগ্য লীলাস্বৰূপ আছিল॥২৭॥

হংসৰাজিৰ মাজত হাঁহি হাঁহি, হস্তিৰ দন্তমুষলত ক্ৰীড়া কৰি কৰি আৰু শশীৰ কান্তিত বিকাশপ্ৰাপ্ত হৈ যাৰ কীৰ্তি প্ৰকাশ পাইছিল॥২৮॥

তেওঁ ৰজা হৈ থাকোঁতে ৰাতি ৰথৰ চক্ৰত কোনো বাধা নাছিল, বগা পদমফুলৰ নালত কাঁইট নাছিল, আৰু বিভৱযুক্ত জনসাধাৰণৰ মান হানি নহৈছিল॥২৯॥

মুকুটমণিৰ দ্বাৰা বীৰৰ হৃদয়কক্ষাপ্ৰাপ্ত, শত্ৰুৰ শোকবাণ, জ্ঞানীৰ স্নিগ্ধ বন্ধু, আশ্ৰয়প্ৰাৰ্থীৰ বজ্ৰসাৰ পঞ্জৰস্বৰূপ, কামিনীৰ কামদেৱ, ৰজাসকলৰ গৰাকি, যাচকসকলৰ কল্পতৰু, গুণনিধি ভুবনালঙ্কাৰ শ্ৰীমান্ গোপালদেৱৰ জয় হওক॥৩০॥

সেই শ্ৰেষ্ঠ ৰজাজনৰ সুৰপতিৰ (ইন্দ্ৰৰ) অমৰাৱতীৰ নিচিনা, দেৱতাসদৃশ ভাল চৰিত্ৰৰ সজ্জন দ্বাৰা সেৱিত (বাস কৰা), দেৱকন্যাসকলৰ নিচিনা সুন্দৰ আকৃতিৰ নাৰীসকলৰ যোগে উদ্ভাসিত হড়প্যাকা নামৰ এখন পুণ্য নগৰী আছিল॥৩১॥

পৰাশৰ গোত্ৰৰ সম্ভ্ৰম নামে কাব্যশাস্ত্ৰবিশাৰদ এজন উদাৰ ব্ৰাহ্মণ আছিল। তেওঁৰ বলভদ্ৰ নামৰ পুত্ৰই ৰজাৰ এই প্ৰশস্তি ৰচনা কৰিছিল॥৩২॥

প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষাধিপতি, অপ্ৰতিহত অসংখ্য সৈন্যৰ দ্বাৰা অনেক শত্ৰুপক্ষৰ ক্ষয়কাৰী, বৰাহৰূপী বিষ্ণুৰ বংশত সমুৎপন্ন, পৰমেশ্বৰ, পৰমভট্টাৰক মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীলশ্ৰীযুক্ত ইন্দ্ৰপালদেৱৰ পাদানুসাৰী পৰমেশ্বৰ, পৰমভট্টাৰক, মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীমৎগোপালদেৱৰ কুশল হওক।
বাৰাস্ৰজম্বুৰা বিষয়ৰ অন্তৰ্গত খাৰিকোণা কুঁঞ্চিৰ ৮০০০ পৰিমাণ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা এই ভূমিখণ্ডত যথাযথভাৱে এতিয়া উপস্থিত থকা বিষয়কৰণ, ব্যৱহাৰিক,.জানপদ, ৰাজা, ৰাজ্ঞী ৰাণক আদি অধিকাৰীসকল আৰু ভৱিষ্যতে উপস্থিত হ'বলগীয়া ৰাজন্যক, ৰাজপুত্ৰ, ৰাজপ্ৰিয়—এই সকলোবিলাককে সম্মানপূৰ্বক আদেশ জাৰি কৰিছে—আপোনালোকে জানি ৰাখক যে আবাসস্থান, ক্ষেত্ৰ, ওখ আৰু দ চৰণীয়া ঠাই, পতিতভূমি আদিযুক্ত নিৰ্দিষ্ট স্বসীমাপৰ্যন্ত এই ভূমি হস্তিবন্ধ, নৌকাবন্ধ, চৌৰোদ্ধৰণ, দণ্ডপাশ, উপৰিকৰ আদি অন্যান্য কৰ-সংগ্ৰহকাৰীসকলৰ অত্যাচাৰৰ পৰা তথা গো, মহিষ আৰু অজাদি জন্তুৰ ৰখীয়াসকলৰ আগমননিগমনৰ পৰা মুক্ত কৰিবৰ কাৰণে আদেশ জাৰি কৰা হৈছে।

ধৰ্মপালদেৱৰ খোনামুখ লিপি

[২৯ পংক্তিত থকা “কুৰ্ষলিনঃ” শব্দ পৰ্যন্ত এই শাসনৰ পাঠ ৩০ পংক্তি পৰ্যন্ত শুভংকৰপাটক লিপিৰ লগত সম্পূৰ্ণ মিলে। ইয়াৰ পিছত তলৰ অংশৰ অমিল আছে—

पुरुजीविषयान्त:पातिदिगलण्डीभूम्यपकृष्टधान्यद्विसहस्रोत्पत्तिकमेरुपाटकभूमौ—

ইয়াৰ অসমীয়া অনুবাদ :—

পুৰুজীবিষয়ান্তৰ্গত দিগলণ্ডী এলেকাৰ পৰা খাৰিজ কৰা দুহেজাৰদোণ ধান উৎপাদনযোগ্য মেৰুপাটক নামৰ ভূমিখণ্ডত—

ইয়াৰ পৰা “শাসনীকৃত্য” পৰ্যন্ত (৩৫ পংক্তি খোনামুখ আৰু ৩৮ শুভংকৰ) দুয়োখন শাসনৰ হুবহু সাদৃশ্য আছে। ইয়াৰ পিচত ১৬নং শ্লোকৰ পৰা দুয়োখন শাসনৰ পাঠ পৃথক। গতিকে পৃথক অনুবাদ তলত সন্নিৱিষ্ট কৰা হ’ল।

মধ্যদেশোদ্ভৱ সৰ্বশাস্ত্ৰপাৰংগত উন্মোক নামে এজন ব্ৰাহ্মণ আছিল; তেওঁ যাজ্ঞিক, বেদাংগ-পাৰ্গত, যোগী আৰু ৰথিক আছিল॥১৬॥

কাশ্যপ গোত্ৰীয়, যজুৰ্বেদৰ কান্বশাখা অনুসৰণকাৰী, আৰু মহাযাজ্ঞিক তেওঁ অগ্নিষ্টোম আদি যজ্ঞেৰে বহুপ্ৰকাৰ যজ্ঞ কৰিছিল॥১৭॥

তেওঁতে যেন যাজ্ঞিক ব্ৰাহ্মণসকল বাৰে বাৰে বহুদিনৰ কাৰণে লজ্জিত হৈছিল, কাৰণ শাৰিকাবিলাকক বাৰে বাৰে অনৰ্থক সোঁৱৰাই দি থাকোঁতে ক্ৰীড়া-পঞ্জৰবন্ধ, নদীবৎ বিস্তৃত প্ৰজ্ঞাৰ আকৰ শুক পক্ষীয়ে যজ্ঞৰ ধোৱাঁৰ হেতুকে অতিশয় বিকল আৰু খেলিমেলি হোৱা (যজ্ঞত প্ৰযুক্ত) বৈদিক (মন্ত্ৰৰ) পাঠবিলাক যেন ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলক শিকাই দিছিল॥১৮॥

শস্ত্ৰবিদ্যাত আৰু শাস্ত্ৰত পাৰ্গত তেওঁৰ বিষ্ণু নামৰ এজন বীৰ পুতেক আছিল। তেওঁ যেন পৃথিৱীৰ দ্বিতীয় বিষ্ণু॥১৯॥

যেনেকৈ শম্ভুৰ গৌৰী, বিষ্ণুৰ লক্ষ্মী, তেনেকৈয়ে তেওঁৰ মনোৰমা নামৰ প্ৰিয়া আছিল যাৰ অন্য এটি নাম আছিল মনস্বিনী॥২০॥

তেওঁবিলাক দুজনৰ পৰা মীমাংসাশাস্ত্ৰ অধ্যয়নৰ যোগে বিন্দুমাত্ৰ দোষেও স্পৰ্শ নকৰা মনৰ কান্তিযুক্ত মহাবাহু নামে প্ৰসিদ্ধ পুত্ৰ জন্মিছিল॥২১॥

শাসনৰ প্ৰথম বছৰত ৰজা শ্ৰীধৰ্মপালে সেই ব্ৰাহ্মণক ছয় হেজাৰ দোণ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা ভূমি প্ৰদান কৰিছিল॥২২॥

ইয়াৰ সীমা—পূবে মেৰুপাটক এলেকাৰ দিগলন্তী খণ্ডত থকা, ভট্ট মহাবাহুৱে ভোগ কৰি থকা আৰু ছয় হেজাৰ দোণ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা হাক্কেবট্টী আৰু ফেট্টশিমলী ভূমি, পুৰুজীৰ পূবে শংখুগাৱঁৰ মাটিৰ একে সীমাতে থকা বৰগছ আৰু শস্যক্ষেত্ৰৰ আলিৰ দ্বাৰা চিহ্নিত সীমা; দক্ষিণে অৰ্জাপাটকী গাৱঁৰ কুঁজটোত থকা হলাবনৰ দ্বাৰা উপলক্ষিত সীমা; .... দক্ষিণে সীমা .... অশ্বথ বৃক্ষৰ দ্বাৰা চিহ্নিত সীমাৰে বৰ আলিৰ ওপৰত থকা মাটি, পশ্চিমে স্বয়ম্ভূদেৱৰ মাটিৰে সাধাৰণ সীমাভূত শস্যক্ষেত্ৰৰ আলিয়েদি জাতোদীপৰ ভাঁজে ভাঁজে খণ্টাপাটক গাৱঁৰ সহসীমা হিচাপে অৱস্থিত বৃহদালি; উত্তৰে শাসনপ্ৰদত্ত দেৱনাথৰ ভূমিৰ সাধাৰণ সীমাভূত অশ্বথ বৃক্ষ, আৰু সেই ভাঁজে ভাঁজে খাগাটি ভূমিয়েই সাধাৰণ সীমা; এই ঠাইৰ উত্তৰে দক্ষিণগ্ৰাম আৰু পঞ্চ-

পাটক ভূমিত থকা জড়মকা ডোবা; সেই দৰেই দিগলণ্ডী এলেকাৰ আন আন অংশত মেৰুপাটকৰ দ্বাৰা সীমা গঠিত হৈছে; পূবে কঠাল গছ, সৰোবৰ আৰু বৰগছ সীমাত থকা চেক্কোপাটক খণ্ডৰ কুমাৰৰ দ্বাৰা শাসনীকৃত পশ্চিমপাটক; সেই কুজে কুজে পন্নাৱান্ নামৰ দক্ষিণে থকা গাঁও আৰু ভাৱদেৱৰ পুখুৰী; ইয়াৰ উত্তৰে কোণ্ডলীৰ্বিড়িৰ বৃহৎ আলি আৰু উত্তৰপাৰৰ গাঁও; পশ্চিমে মধু আৰু মথনক প্ৰদত্ত মাটিৰ লগত সাধাৰণ সীমা হিচাপে অৱস্থিত ডাঙৰ মথাউৰি, আৰু অলপ দক্ষিণে সাধাৰণ সীমা বৰগছ; আৰু দক্ষিণত পাণ্ডকভূমিৰ সৰোলা ডোবাৰ সৈতে উত্তৰপাৰৰ গাঁও; পূবে উত্তৰপৰীয়া গাৱঁৰ সহসীমা হিচাপে অৱস্থিত বলভদ্ৰৰ পুখুৰী; ইয়াৰো পূবে চোক্কাপাটক গাৱঁৰ লগত সাধাৰণ সীমা হিচাপে অৱস্থিত ডোবাৰ সীমাইসীমাই থকা ভাটীৰ গাৱঁৰ ডাঙৰ মথাউৰি; সাহড়াজোটক গছ; পশ্চিমে...

ধৰ্মপালদেৱৰ শুভঙ্কৰপাটক লিপি

ৎ স্বস্তি। অৰ্ধনাৰীশ্বৰ সেই আদিদেৱক বন্দনা কৰোঁ; যাৰ কণ্ঠত (এফালে) নীলাপদুম আৰু (আনফালে) সাপৰ ফণাৰ মণি বন্ধা আছে, যাৰ উচ্চ স্তনমণ্ডল (এফালে) কুঙ্কুম আৰু (আনফালে) ভস্মৰ দ্বাৰা লিপ্ত হৈ (দ্বিধা) বিভক্ত; যেন শৃংগাৰ আৰু ৰৌদ্ৰৰসৰ এক (মিলিত) সৃষ্টি॥১॥

বৰাহ দেহধাৰী দেৱতাৰ (ভগৱান্ বিষ্ণুৰ) পৃথিৱী গৰ্ভজাত নৰক নামৰ পুত্ৰ ৰজা হৈছিল; তেওঁ ইন্দ্ৰ প্ৰমুখ্যে দিক্‌পাল সকলৰ ওপৰত জয়লাভ কৰি প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষ নগৰৰ পৰা বহুদিন ৰাজত্ব কৰিছিল॥২॥

ভগদত্ত নামে তেওঁৰ অতি তেজস্বী পুত্ৰ আছিল; ৰজাসকলৰ মুকুটৰ দ্বাৰা তেওঁৰ পদযুগল ঘৰ্ষিত হৈছিল; তেওঁৰ লগত যুদ্ধ কৰি পৰিশ্ৰান্ত হৈ কাতৰ হোৱা অসীম বিক্ৰমশালী ভীমক মূচ্ছাই প্ৰিয়াৰ দৰে আঁকোৱালি ধৰি ৰক্ষা কৰিছিল॥৩॥

সেই ৰাজবংশত কুলপৰ্বতসদৃশ ইন্দ্ৰতুল্য শ্ৰীব্ৰহ্মপাল নামে প্ৰসিদ্ধ ৰজাই ৰাজত্ব কৰিছিল; শত্ৰুসকলে তেওঁক ভয়েৰে আৰু গুণীলোকসকলে শ্ৰদ্ধাৰে চাইছিল॥৪॥

শ্ৰীৰত্নপাল এই সাৰ্থক নামে তেওঁৰ এটি প্ৰবলপ্ৰতাপী পুত্ৰৰত্ন উপজিছিল; সংগ্ৰামজয়ী সেই ৰজাৰ ৰাজমণ্ডলৰ মূৰৰ মালাৰে মণ্ডিত চৰণতেই ৰাজলক্ষ্মী বিৰাজ কৰিছিল॥৫॥

পুৰন্দৰপাল নামে শক্তিৰ একমাত্ৰ আধাৰ, সুকৃতিশালী তেওঁৰ এটি পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; ইন্দ্ৰপাল নামে সৎ চৰিত্ৰৰ পুত্ৰ এটিক জন্ম দি দৈবদুৰ্বিপাকত তেওঁ যুৱৰাজ অবস্থাতে (যৌৱন কালতে) পিতৃসকলৰ সাযুজ্য লাভ কৰিছিল॥৬॥

(ইন্দ্ৰপাল) ৰজাই বহুকাল সুন্দৰৰূপে ৰাজ্য শাসন কৰিছিল; তিনি ৰাজশক্তি (প্ৰভুশক্তি, মন্ত্ৰশক্তি আৰু উৎসাহশক্তি)ৰ দ্বাৰা জনাজাত হৈ পৰা তেওঁৰ বীৰত্বৰ বলত তেওঁ শত্ৰুজয় কৰিছিল। ইন্দ্ৰৰ সন্তোষবিধায়ক যজ্ঞ সম্পাদন কৰি তেওঁ ক্ৰিয়াৱান্ লোকসমূহৰ মাজত আগ শাৰীত ঠাই পাইছিল; আৰু তিৰোতাসকলৰ মাজত তেওঁ কন্দৰ্পসদৃশ আছিল॥৭॥

ৰাজবংশৰ প্ৰদীপ অতুলবিক্ৰমী গোপাল নামে তেওঁৰ এটি পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; তেওঁ এই পৃথিৱীত বীৰ্যাঢ্য, গুণবান্, বদান্য আৰু উদাৰ আৰু পুণ্যবান্ বিদ্বানসকলৰ মাজত শ্ৰেষ্ঠত্ব লাভ কৰিছিল॥৮॥

তেওঁৰ পিতৃমাতৃৰ হৰ্ষকাৰী, সজ্জনসকলৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰশংসিত শ্ৰীহৰ্ষপাল নামে এটি পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; চৰিত্ৰৱান্ তেওঁক পাই এই সৰস্বতীদেৱীয়ে দীৰ্ঘকাল ধৰি লক্ষ্মীদেৱীৰ লগত সৌহাৰ্দ্দৰ সুখ-সুধা উপভোগ কৰিছিল॥৯॥

তেওঁ ৰণাঙ্গনত অবিৰাম অস্ত্ৰৰ প্ৰহাৰৰ দ্বাৰা খণ্ডবিখণ্ড হোৱা শত্ৰুৰূপ হাতীৰ মূৰৰ টেমুনাৰ দ্বাৰা ৰাক্ষসবোৰৰ তৃপ্তি সাধন কৰিছিল; তৃষ্ণাতুৰ হৈ ৰাক্ষসবোৰে (ৰণভূমিৰ) চাৰিওফালে প্ৰচুৰ ফেন মিহলি তেজবোৰ তপতে তপতে ততালিকে পি খাইছিল॥১০॥

মহাদেৱৰ পাৰ্বতীৰ দৰে সেই ৰজাৰো সতী নাৰীসকলৰ মাজত শ্ৰেষ্ঠা, আপোনবংশৰ সদৃশ উচ্চ কুলসম্ভূতা ৰন্না নামে মহিষী আছিল; বিবিধ পুণ্যৰ যোগে পবিত্ৰকীৰ্তিসম্পন্না তেওঁক যেন চন্দ্ৰক খোদিত কৰিহে নিৰ্মাণ কৰা হৈছিল॥১১॥

সসাগৰা ধৰণীৰ অধীশ্বৰ আৰু ত্ৰিভুবনৰ অলঙ্কাৰস্বৰূপ তেওঁলোকৰ শ্ৰীধৰ্মপাল নামে পুত্ৰ হৈছিল; তেওঁ ধৰ্মপৰায়ণ হৈয়ো (উপযুক্ত) সময় লক্ষ্য কৰি কাম আৰু অৰ্থৰো সেৱা কৰিছিল॥১২॥

তৰোৱালৰ আঘাতত খণ্ড-বিখণ্ড হোৱা হাতীবোৰৰ পৰা ছিটিকি পৰা মুক্তাৰূপ পুষ্পৰ দ্বাৰা মনোহৰ হোৱা ৰণাঙ্গনবোৰত ধৰ্মপাল ৰজাই অকলে ৰণশ্ৰীৰ লগত বিহাৰ কৰিবলৈ (শত্ৰুৰ ওপৰত) বিজয় লাভ কৰিছিল॥১৩॥

তেওঁ একচ্ছত্ৰী হৈ পৃথিৱীক পৰিণয় কৰিছিল; শৰণাৰ্থীৰ তেওঁ একমাত্ৰ আশ্ৰয় আছিল; তেওঁৰ কীৰ্তি জগততে জনাজাত; সেই শত্ৰুবীৰ বিজেতা মহাৰাজ ধৰ্মপালৰ জয় হওক॥১৪॥

বাক্যৰ অক্ষৰ আৰু পৰিমাণৰ জ্ঞান থকা প্ৰস্থানকলস নামে কবিয়ে ৰজা শ্ৰীধৰ্মপালৰ এই বিশুদ্ধ প্ৰশস্তি ৰচনা কৰিছে॥১৫॥

স্বস্তি। প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষৰ আধিপত্যৰ দ্বাৰা বিখ্যাত, অব্যৰ্থ শাসক, অগণন শত্ৰুনিধনকাৰী, শ্ৰীবৰাহবংশীয় পৰমেশ্বৰ পৰম পূজ্যপাদ শ্ৰীহৰ্ষপালৱৰ্মদেৱৰ স্নেহাস্পদ পৰমেশ্বৰ পৰম পূজ্যপাদ মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ মঙ্গলাস্পদ শ্ৰীধৰ্মপালদেৱপাদে—

দিজ্জিনা এলেকাৰ ভিতৰৰ এহেজাৰ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা ওলিন্দভূমিৰ পৰা উলিয়াই লোৱা কঞ্জিয়াভিটিৰ শুভঙ্কৰপাটক ভূমিত যথানিয়মে উপস্থিতহোৱা বিভাগীয় বিষয়া আৰু আইনজীৱী প্ৰমুখ্যে দেশবাসীসকল, ৰজা, ৰাণী আৰু ৰাণক সম্বন্ধীয় আন আন ক্ষত্ৰিয়, ৰাজকোঁৱৰ, আৰু ৰজাৰ প্ৰিয়পাত্ৰসকলক আৰু সকলো ভৱিষ্যৎ নাগৰিককে সন্মানপূৰ্বক আদেশ কৰিছে—আপোনালোকে জানিব—বস্তি, পথাৰ, শুকান ঠাই, পানী, খনি, গৰুচৰণীয়া পথাৰ আদিৰে সৈতে যথাৱস্থিত নিজ সীমা পৰ্যন্ত বিস্তৃত এই মাটি হস্তীবন্ধনকাৰী, নৌকাবন্ধনকাৰী, চুৰিমাল উদ্ধাৰকাৰী, দাণ্ডপাশিক, ঔপৰিকৰ, নানানিমিত্তে সন্ত্ৰাসকাৰী, হাতী, ঘোঁৰা, উট, গৰু, মহ, ছাগলী আৰু ভেৰাৰ চৰণীয়া জলস্থলৰ সকলো উপদ্ৰৱৰহিত এই মাটি দান কৰি—

শ্ৰাৱস্তিত ক্ৰোসঞ্জ নামে এখন গাওঁ আছে—য'ত যাজ্ঞিকসকলৰ হোমৰ ধোঁৱাৰ অন্ধকাৰত অন্ধ হৈ কলিৰ পাপ প্ৰৱেশ কৰিবপৰা নাছিল॥১৬॥

সেই গাঁৱত ওপজা সকলো ব্ৰাহ্মণৰ ভিতৰত শ্ৰেষ্ঠ, উদাৰমনা, কৌথুমশাখীসকলৰ মাজত মুখ্য, সামবেদীসকলৰ মাজত অপৰাজেয় শ্ৰীৰামচন্দ্ৰসদৃশ শাণ্ডিল্যগোত্ৰীয় ৰামদেৱৰ জন্ম হৈছিল॥১৭॥

তেওঁৰ পাপ পৰাভৱকাৰী ভৰত নামে শাক্যসদৃশ পুত্ৰ জন্মিছিল; ভৰত শম দমাদিৰ একমাত্ৰ উৎপত্তিস্থল আছিল; ছয়কৰ্মত পাৰদৰ্শী হোৱা কাৰণে তেওঁ অশুভ কৰ্মৰ পৰা বিৰত আছিল; তেওঁ সজ্জন আৰু গুণীসকলৰ তিলকস্বৰূপ আৰু সভ্য আছিল॥১৮॥

চন্দ্ৰৰ ৰোহিণীৰ দৰে, অন্ধকাৰি শিৱৰ পাৰ্বতীৰ দৰে সুচৰিত্ৰা, গুণৱতী আৰু সজপ্ৰকৃতিৰ পাউকা নামে তেওঁৰ সহধৰ্মচাৰিণী আছিল॥১৯॥

তেওঁলোকৰ পৰা হিমাঙ্গ নামে এজন শক্তিশালী ৰথীপুত্ৰৰ জন্ম হৈছিল যি অশেষ দক্ষতাৰে লক্ষ্য নিৰূপণ আৰু মণ্ডল নিৰ্মাণ প্ৰভৃতি কৰ্ম আচৰণ কৰিছিল; অদ্ভুত, কঠোৰ আৰু দুঃসাধ্য কৰ্মপ্ৰণালীত অভ্যস্ত আছিল; বাণৰ বিমুক্তি, গতি, পতন আৰু গুণাগুণ সম্পৰ্কে অভিজ্ঞ আছিল॥২০॥

ৰজাই তেওঁৰ ৰাজত্বৰ তৃতীয়বছৰত তেওঁ ওলিন্দাভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা কঞ্জিয়াকভিটৰী ভূমিৰ অন্তৰ্গত শুভংকৰপাটক নামে ছয়হেজাৰ পৰিমিত ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা ভূমি দান কৰিছিল॥২১॥

এই শাসনৰ দ্বাৰাই সেই ৰজাই (হিমাঙ্গৰ) সহোদৰ ভায়েক ত্ৰিলোচনক দুই হাজাৰ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা পৰিমাণৰ মাটি দান কৰিছিল॥২২॥

ইয়াৰ সীমা—পূবে ছৌবিশজন তাঁতীৰ মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা—ক গছ; কূৰ্মনাথৰ অধিকাৰত থকা শাসনভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা শাওঁৰা গছ আৰু আখৰোট গছ; পূব-দক্ষিণে***বীৰৰ অধিকাৰত থকা শাসনভূমিৰ সীমাৰ পথাৰৰ আলি; দক্ষিণে আহঁতগছ আৰু দিজ্জিনা নদী; পশ্চিম-দক্ষিণেও সেই নদীয়েই; পশ্চিমে কূৰ্মনাথৰ অধিকাৰত থকা শাসনভূমিৰ সীমাৰ আহঁত গছ আৰু লোচন গছ; পশ্চিম-উত্তৰে ৰোৱা শিমলু গছ, পথাৰৰ আলি আৰু এই মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা উৰি আম গছ; ইতি॥

এইদৰে আনডোখৰ ওলিন্দাভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা কঞ্জিয়াভিটিৰ ভূমিৰ সীমা—পূবে ওৰিঙ্গ তাঁতীহঁতৰ মাটিৰ সীমাৰ লোচন গছ আৰু ভাঁজ অনুসৰি হিজল গছ; পূব-দক্ষিণে শিমলু গছ; দক্ষিণে বিজয়শ্ৰী নৌবাহিনীৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কণ্টাৰক্কৰ বৃক্ষ, বাঁহৰ ছোপ, ওৰচোষ জোল আৰু হিজল গছ, উত্তৰমুৱা (ভাঁজত) পথাৰৰ আলি, পশ্চিমমুৱা (ভাঁজত) আহঁত গছ, বাঁহনি, লহুচ গছ, আৰু ডুম্বৰিমস্তক; দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমে ভল্লাভিঠি ভূমিৰ সীমাত থকা ধূমাৰদেৱ; পশ্চিমে জৰি গছ আৰু বাঁহৰ বেৰা; পশ্চিম-উত্তৰে বিজয়শ্ৰী নৌবাহিনীৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত মাটিৰ সীমাৰ বাঁহনি; উত্তৰে পথাৰৰ আলি আৰু শিমলু গছ; ভাঁজেৰে ওৰচোষ জোল, বৃহদ্ৰাৱাৰ মাটিৰ সীমাৰ কাশিম্বল বৃক্ষ, বট গছ আৰু পথাৰৰ আলি; উত্তৰ-পূবে ওৰিঙ্গ তাঁতীহঁতৰ মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা বহুৱাল বৃক্ষ আৰু উঁইৰ হাফলু।

ধৰ্মপালদেৱৰ পুষ্পভদ্ৰালিপি

স্বস্তি। যিয়ে দাঁতেৰে ভূমণ্ডলক আঘাত কৰিছিল, মুখেৰে পৰ্বতমালা দলিয়াই পেলাইছিল, খুৰা দুটাৰ আগেৰে পাতালৰ বোকা খৰ্চিছিল, মহাপ্ৰলয়কালীন বায়ুৰ বেগক চেৰ পেলোৱা যাৰ নিশ্বাস বায়ুৰ দ্বাৰা বাৰে বাৰে উৎপীড়িত হোৱা তিমিসমূহেৰে সমুদ্ৰবোৰৰ জল যি (প্ৰথমে) পান কৰি (পিচত) এৰি দিছিল সেই শ্ৰীমান্ বৰাহৰূপী নাৰায়ণৰ জয় হওক॥১॥

বৰাহদেহধাৰী গৰুড়ধ্বজ ভগৱান্ বিষ্ণুৰ পৃথিৱী-পুত্ৰ নৰক নামে ৰজা আছিল; তেওঁৰ পৰা ভগদত্ত নামে প্ৰসিদ্ধ এজনৰ জন্ম হৈছিল যাৰ পাদপদ্ম ৰাজন্যবৰ্গই চুম্বন কৰিছিল॥২॥

ৰাজনীতিৰ আশ্ৰয়স্বৰূপ সেই মহান্ বংশতে শ্ৰীব্ৰহ্মপাল প্ৰভৃতি যি সকল শ্ৰেষ্ঠ ৰজা হৈছিল তেওঁলোকৰ গুণৰাশি কোনে বৰ্ণনা কৰিব পাৰে? কাৰণ তেওঁলোকৰ অপাৰ মহিমাপূৰ্ণ কাহিনীৰ দ্বাৰা বিমূঢ়মনা আমাৰ জিভা এখন, এহেজাৰ নহয়; তদুপৰি বাক্যপ্ৰয়োগত আমাৰ জ্ঞানৰো উন্মেষ নহয়॥৩॥

তেওঁৰ বংশত নীতিজ্ঞ, ধৰ্মৰ প্ৰতি আগ্ৰহ থকা শ্ৰীগোপাল নামে এজন ৰজা হৈছিল; তেওঁ ক্ষমতাৰূপ জুইৰ দ্বাৰা শত্ৰুকানন দগ্ধ কৰিছিল; আজিও তেওঁৰ অমৃতোপম গুণৰাজিয়ে সোঁত ভেঁটি ধৰাত ৰণত বেয়াকৈ পৰাজিতা হৈ মন্দাকিনী নদী যেন ফেনসমূহৰ দ্বাৰা অভিভূতা হৈ পৰিছে॥৪॥

সেই প্ৰসিদ্ধ শক্তিসম্পন্ন ৰজাৰ নয়না নামে বৰেণ্যা কীৰ্তিযুক্তা পত্নী আছিল; তেওঁলোকৰ শ্ৰীহৰ্ষপাল নামে পালবংশৰ কুলপ্ৰদীপস্বৰূপ পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; ত্ৰিজগতে তেওঁৰ কীৰ্তিগীত গাইছিল॥৫॥

তেওঁৰ ধৰ্মপাল নামে পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; ধৰ্মপালৰ গুণ জগৎব্যাপি গীত হৈছিল; তেওঁ আকৰ্ষণীয় লোক আছিল আৰু একমাত্ৰ ধৰ্মতে তেওঁ মন-প্ৰাণ সঁপি দিছিল; তেওঁৰ মুখপদ্মৰ কোষ-ৰেণুৰ সুগন্ধৰ লোভত যেন ভগৱতী সৰস্বতীয়ে সুদীৰ্ঘকাল ধৰি তেওঁক আশ্ৰয় কৰিছিল॥৬॥

হে ভৱিষ্যতৰ ৰজাসকল, আপোনালোকে মহাৰাজ ধৰ্মপালৰ এই সনিৰ্বন্ধ অনুৰোধ শুনক—বিজুলীৰ ছাটিৰ দৰে চঞ্চল ৰাজ্যৰ প্ৰতি মিছা অহঙ্কাৰ পৰিত্যাগ কৰা উচিত, কিন্তু চিৰসুখদায়ক ধৰ্মক কেতিয়াও ত্যাগ কৰিব নেলাগে॥৭॥

পালবংশ-কমলৰ সূৰ্যস্বৰূপ, কবিকুল চূড়ামণি,—সকলো কলানুশীলনকাৰী, গুণৰত্নৰ সাগৰ-সদৃশ, নিৰ্মল কীৰ্তিশালী শ্ৰীধৰ্মপাল নৃপতিয়ে এই প্ৰশস্তি ৰচনা কৰিছে॥৮॥

স্বস্তি প্ৰাগ্‌জ্যোতিষ ৰাজ্যৰ ওপৰত আধিপত্যৰ দ্বাৰা খ্যাতিসম্পন্ন, অবাৰিত সৈন্যৰ দ্বাৰা অসংখ্য শত্ৰুদল বিনাশকাৰী, শ্ৰীবৰাহবংশীয় পৰমেশ্বৰ পৰমপূজ্যপাদ মহাৰাজাধিৰাজ শ্ৰীধৰ্মপাল ৱৰ্মদেৱৰ কুশল হওক। শ্ৰীমধুসূদনৰ অধিকাৰভুক্ত গুহেশ্বৰ দিক্‌ডোল বৃদ্ধগ্ৰাম ভূমিত—যথানিয়মে উপস্থিত হোৱা বিভাগীয় বিষয়া আৰু আইনজীৱী প্ৰমুখ্যে দেশবাসীসকল, ৰজা, ৰাণী আৰু ৰাণক সম্বন্ধীয় আন আন ক্ষত্ৰিয়, ৰাজকোঁৱৰ আৰু ৰজাৰ প্ৰিয়পাত্ৰসকলক আৰু সকলো ভৱিষ্যৎ নাগৰিককে সন্মানপূৰ্বক আদেশ কৰিছে—আপোনালোকে জানিব—বস্তি, পথাৰ, স্থল, পানী, খনি, গৰু-চৰণীয়া

পথাৰ আদিৰে সৈতে যথাৱস্থিত নিজ সীমা পৰ্যন্ত বিস্তৃত এই মাটি হস্তীবন্ধনকাৰী, নৌকাবন্ধনকাৰী, চুৰিমাল উদ্ধাৰকাৰী, দাণ্ডপাশিক, ঔপৰিকৰ, নানা নিমিত্তে সন্ত্ৰাসকাৰী, হাতী, ঘোৰা, উট, গৰু, মহ, ছাগলী আৰু ভেৰাৰ চৰণীয়া জলস্থল প্ৰভৃতিৰ সকলো উপদ্ৰৱ ৰহিত এই মাটি দান কৰি—

সজ ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ দ্বাৰা অলঙ্কৃত, বিধাতাই ধৰ্মমন্দিৰৰ দৰে অতি যত্নেৰে নিৰ্মাণ কৰা অধৰ্মৰ নিন্দাকাৰী খ্যাতিপলী নামে এখন গাওঁ আছিল॥৯॥

তাত যাজ্ঞিকসকলৰ যজ্ঞসমূহত হোমৰ ধোঁৱাবোৰ কুণ্ডলীকৃত হৈ আকাশলৈ উঠিলে ক'লা মেঘ বুলি ভুল কৰি ময়ূৰবোৰে ওপৰলৈ চূড়া তুলি অসময়ত তাণ্ডবনৃত্যৰ আড়ম্বৰ কৰিছিল॥ ১০॥

প্ৰতিদিনে তিনি সন্ধ্যাস্নানৰ কাৰণে শান্তিমন্ত্ৰ জপৰ দ্বাৰা পাপ ক্ষয়কাৰী সৎ ধৰ্মপথৰ শ্ৰেষ্ঠ পথিক ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলৰ চতুৰ্বেদপাঠৰ ধ্বনি গংগা-যমুনাৰ সংগমৰ উচ্ছল জলতৰংগৰ দৰে বিস্তাৰিত হৈ সেই ঠাই প্ৰচণ্ডভাবে মুখৰিত কৰিছিল॥১১॥

যজুৰ্বেদৰ মাধ্যন্দিন শাখাৰ পবিত্ৰ মৌদ্‌গল্য গোত্ৰীয়, ঔতথ্য, মৌদ্‌গল্য, আঙ্গিৰস প্ৰৱৰযুক্ত ব্ৰাহ্মণসকলে (তাত) বসতি কৰিছিল॥১২॥

অতিশয় ঘনীভূত অৱস্থাত লাভ কৰা সুধাসদৃশ তেওঁলোকৰ গুণাৱলীয়ে আজিও সভা-সমিতি, গৃহ, অৰণ্য, চতুষ্পথ, ৰাজ-আলি, হাট-বজাৰ, যজ্ঞক্ষেত্ৰ আৰু দেৱালয়সমূহত (কীৰ্তিত হৈ) বিশ্ব মুখৰিত কৰিছে॥১৩॥

সেই বংশত নৰবাহন নামে ব্ৰাহ্মণৰ পুত্ৰ, কলাসমূহত বিশদ জ্ঞান থকা সুচৰিত্ৰ আৰু লক্ষ্মীযুক্ত ব্ৰাহ্মণশ্ৰেষ্ঠ ভাস্বৰৰ জন্ম হৈছিল; তেওঁৰ বুদ্ধি মীমাংসা দৰ্শনৰ দ্বাৰা পৰিপুষ্ট হৈছিল; তেওঁ চাণক্যৰ মাণিকসদৃশ (শ্ৰেষ্ঠ) গ্ৰন্থৰ আধাৰস্বৰূপ আছিল, আৰু শ্ৰুতি আৰু স্মৃতি প্ৰদৰ্শিত মাৰ্গাৱলম্বী পথিক হৈ বংশৰ উজ্জ্বলতম ৰত্নসদৃশ হৈছিল॥১৪॥

জীৱা নামে এগৰাকী মনোহৰ ৰূপৰ প্ৰশংসনীয় আকৃতিৰ সদ্বংশোদ্ভৱা কন্যা আছিল; গাৰ্হস্থ্য ধৰ্মপালনৰ কাৰণে তেওঁ তেওঁৰ মাংগলিক সূত্ৰবদ্ধ হাতেৰে সেই কন্যাৰ বৈবাহিক সূত্ৰবদ্ধ পাণি গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল॥১৫॥

তেওঁলোকৰ সদাচাৰৰ দ্বাৰা ৰমণীয় চৰিত্ৰ, গুণৰাজি পূৰ্ণ, সৰ্বস্ব দানশীল, অধৰ্মৰপৰা নিবৃত্ত, বিনয়ী, শ্লাঘ্য, সুন্দৰ শৰীৰধাৰী সুতনু নামে এটি প্ৰসিদ্ধ পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল॥১৬॥

সৌন্দৰ্যৰূপ ৰত্নময় পৰ্বতৰ প্ৰৱালৰ ধুনীয়া লতাৰ নিচিনা, লাৱণ্যৰূপ পঙ্কত জন্ম হোৱা নতুন পদুমৰ ঠাৰিৰ দৰে, আনন্দৰূপ মূলৰপৰা ওপজা ক্ষুদ্ৰ লতাজুপিৰ তুল্য, হৰিণ শিশুৰ দৰে চকু-যুৰিৰে নেত্ৰা নামে তেওঁৰ পত্নী আছিল॥১৭॥

তেওঁলোকৰ সমগ্ৰ ব্ৰাহ্মণকুলৰ প্ৰদীপস্বৰূপ মধুসূদন নামে এটি খ্যাতিসম্পন্ন পুত্ৰ উপজিছিল; তেওঁ শৈশৱৰপৰাই দীৰ্ঘকাল ধৰি মাধৱৰ পাদপদ্মৰ পূজাৰ বহল আয়োজন কৰিছিল॥১৮॥

তেওঁৰ বিশুদ্ধ প্ৰণয়ভাগিনী পত্ৰা নামে ধৰ্মপত্নী আছিল; তেওঁ বিধাতাৰ সৃষ্ট এক অপৰূপ নাৰীমূৰ্তি আছিল; তেওঁৰ চকু-পাহি চকিত শিশুহৰিণীৰ দৰে চঞ্চল, আৰু মুখখন প্ৰফুল্ল পদুমৰ দৰে আছিল॥১৯॥

কামৰূপ নগৰত 'ধৰ্মপাল' নামে সাৰ্থক নামৰ এজন ৰজা আছিল; তেওঁৰ কীৰ্তিৰূপিনী ৰাজহংসী জগৎৰূপ জীৰ্ণ পঞ্জৰৰ ভিতৰত থাকিও শোভা পাইছিল॥২০॥

সেই ধৰ্মপাল ৰজাই শাসনৰ দ্বাৰা দিগ্‌ডোল গুহেশ্বৰ নামে দহ হেজাৰ পৰিমাণৰ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা মাটি উৎকৃষ্ট গুণী আৰু শুদ্ধচৰিত শ্ৰীমধুসূদনক দান কৰিছিল॥২১॥

অলংকাৰ জ্ঞান, কবিত্ব, শব্দচয়ন জ্ঞান আদিৰ কাৰণে নহয়, কিন্তু সদ্বংশৰ স্তুতিৰ দ্বাৰা পুণ্য লাভৰ লোভত শ্ৰীঅনিৰুদ্ধ নামে (এইজন লোকে) এই প্ৰশস্তি ৰচনা কৰিছে॥২২॥

তক্ষকাৰ (বটালিৰে শিলকাটোঁতা) শ্ৰীবিনীতে আখৰ কাটিছে॥

পূৰ্বজি এলেকাৰ অন্তৰ্গত, দহ হেজাৰ পৰিমাণৰ ধান উৎপন্ন হোৱা, গুহেশ্বৰ দিগ্‌ডোল বৃদ্ধগ্ৰাম ভূমিৰ পৰা পৃথক কৰা **ভূমি। ইয়াৰ সীমা—পূবে নোক্কডেব্বৰীপালগোবাভ ভোগ অলিপণা পথাৰৰ মাটিৰ সীমাত থকা পথাৰৰ আলি**। পূবমূৰা আৰু দক্ষিণমূৰালৈ সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত সোব্বৰী পুখুৰীৰ পশ্চিমপাৰ; খগ্‌গালি চম্যলাজোলিৰ পশ্চিমপাৰ; পূবমূৰাকৈ বৈ যোৱা জোগল্ল-নদীৰ দক্ষিণপাৰ; দক্ষিণমূৰাকৈ সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত নেক্কাদেউলি আৰু সিঙ্গিড়িজোলী; পূব-দক্ষিণে দিজ্জৰতিহড়ী। দক্ষিণে মৰা নৈ। দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিমে খগ্‌গালি। পশ্চিমে অৰাঞ্চ কৈবৰ্তসকলৰ ভোগ-দখলত থকা অবঞ্চভূমিৰ সীমাত থৈসাডোব্‌ভি, চাক্কোজাণ আৰু পাৰলিগছৰ মূঢ়া। পশ্চিম-উত্তৰে সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত তিনিটা বাঁহ। উত্তৰে সেই মাটিৰ সীমাত দিজমক্কা জোলৰ দক্ষিণপাৰত থকা সোণাৰু গছৰ মূঢ়া; উত্তৰমূৰা আৰু পশ্চিমমূৰা ভাঁজে ভাঁজে সেই মাটি মানোৰ অধিকাৰভুক্ত শাসন আৰু নোক্কতড়া ভূমিৰ সীমাত দিজমক্কা জোলীৰ অৰ্ধস্ৰোত। পূব-উত্তৰে সেই মাটি। নোক্কডেব্বৰীপাল আৰু ভোগ আলিপণা ক্ষেত্ৰ—এই ভূমি দুইখণ্ডৰ সীমাত থকা দিজমক্কা জোলৰ আধা আৰু মধুৰাশ্বত্থগছৰ মূঢ়া ইতি॥

কানাইবৰশী শিলালিপি

শক ১১২৭

১১২৭ শকৰ চ'ত মাহৰ ১৩ দিনৰ দিনা কামৰূপলৈ আহি তুৰস্কবিলাক ধ্বংসপ্ৰাপ্ত হ'ল॥

সমুদ্ৰপালৰ আমবাৰিৰ শিলালিপি

আদিত্যসদৃশ সমুদ্ৰপালৰ ৰাজ্যৰ যোগীহাতীত প্ৰৱল সবাসিক সত্ৰ আছে যত সগুণক্ৰিয়া (যাগযজ্ঞাদি) অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। সন্ন্যাসীসকলে কয়—দানপুণ্য সজ। শকাব্দ ১১৫৪। মুঢ় নামৰ লোকে ইয়াক প্ৰণয়ন কৰিছে।

গাছতলৰ শিলালিপি

সীমা এৰি যবন-বিলাক ডবকালৈ গৈছে। [শক] ১২৮৪ বেদাষ্ট ৰাশি(সংখ্যা) গণনা। তক্ষকাৰ শ্ৰীবিষ্ণুবাসধৰ। এটা ডাঙৰ ম্লেচ্ছ (বাহিনী) ইয়াৰ পৰা উজাইছে। চোৱাঁ তিনি হেজাৰ বঙাল শত্ৰু ইয়াত বহু-কাৰ্যৰ (কৌশলৰ) যোগে ফান্দত পৰিছে। তোমালোক সকলোৱেই জানি ৰাখাঁ বহাগৰ বৰষুণত নদী পৰিপূৰ্ণ। পঞ্চকাষ্ঠ বাদ্যযন্ত্ৰই বোল কৰক। জলসেনাই শত্ৰুক ভাটীৰ জলান্ত পৰ্যন্ত খেদাই দিয়ক॥

APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

[Ever since I completed this work, I had been feeling the necessity of giving clarifications on certain points by way of additional notes and comments. Now that certain criticisms have been made when the printing of the book has been almost over delaying its publication by almost five years, the necessity to give this addendum by way of notes and comments has become very great to show out the perfunctory nature of these criticisms, sometimes asking as it were to cut the "t"s and dot the 'i's.]

General Introduction

1. *Nidhānpur*—The find-spot of the inscription of the same name is noted down as निधनपुर by Vidyāvinoda, wherein the accented short अ in ध is indicative of a long अ which we have replaced by आ according to Assamese pronunciation. This is in complete accord with the tendency in Assamese pronunciation of lengthening of sounds to soften accented syllables of other languages—cf. कोमोर>कोमोरा; बेडुंन बेडेंना; गौहाटी>गुवाहाटी; हल्दिघाट>हालधिघाट; साहेव>साहाव; आप्नि>आपुनि; मेखला>मेखेला; केरल>केरेला; चोल्ल>चोल>चोला। Besides, the mode of pronunciation in Assamese precludes high sounds; so we have written down बरगङ्गा instead of बड़गङ्गा so far recorded with ड़ by scholars. Such variations in word-forms in Assamese are frequent and do not impair the denotation of the original word. Dr. Lakshmi Devi, in her असमबुरञ्जी has written निधानपुर which tendency is dominating in Assamese and cannot be ignored.

2. *installed to the throne* (pp. 12, 33, 73)—According to the lexicons—"instal one in office". It is immaterial, therefore, whether it is "installed to the throne" or "on the throne", both may be correct or erroneous; cf.—the following—"This coupled with the fact that verses 29-30 of our record appear to speak of the *installation* of Mahābhutavarmā (Bhūtivarman) *to* the throne....etc. (*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXX, p. 292). Is the English above wrong? Who can vouch for Queen's English?

3. *Followed up* (p. 13)—Here "followed" bereft of the word "up" with advervial use is inadequate, because "followed up" has been deliberately used to imply not only succession but also a consolidation of the dynasty and it, therefore, makes for a good deal of difference.

4. *Synchronising* (p. 42)—Synchronise is both transitive and intransitive. Therefore, the preposition "with" after it is optional: Synchronising is confused with synchronous which must be followed by "with".

5. *The Māndāsor Stone Pillar Inscription* (p. 46)—The approximate date 525-35 A.D. shown against this inscription is objected to, because the Māndāsor inscription is dated Vikrama year 589 i.e. 532-33 A.D. This inscription does not contain any reference to Kāmarūpa or Mihirakula but eulogises Yaśodharma in general terms. But another inscription of Yaśodharmadeva which refers to Kāmarūpa and Mihirkula is not dated. This latter inscription which is confused with the former one, might be dated approximately to the period 525-535 A.D. And the reference is to this latter inscription.

6. *a number of important informations* (p. 49)—The lexicons do not direct that this word is always used in the singular. The meanings of some such words as "advice", "circumstance", "quarter" etc. are shown as differing in singular and plural. cf. "a Jewish quarter", "residential quarter" but "army quarters". But no such indication is given in connection with "information", "order" etc. Therefore these can be used both in singular and plural: cf.—"It will be seen that the inscription under discussion *supplies a number of valuable informations*... "Dr. D. C. Sircar in Epigraphia Indica, p. 294, Vol. XXX. The great scholar cannot be said to be wrong.

7. *State powers* (p. 52)—The word power or powers used without a qualifying attribute do not imply a state, e.g. "the press was not yet a power in the land"; "powers" (pl.) singly means "providence". But "the great powers"—states with international influence: "the powers that be" i.e. those in authority. So simply "powers" used to denote a state or king is erroneous.

8. *merged into* (p. 81)—"merged with"—when identity is completely lost; but "merged" a small thing "in" something greater. So in this case "Gauḍa" a small state was merged into Kāmarūpa a big state, the former having not lost its identity completely.

9. *Utkhetana, Autkhetika* (p. 122)—This word is used with both त and ट in different inscriptions. Therefore it need not be corrected.

10. *Buddha* (pp. 153, 174)—The use of the word "Buddha" to denote Buddhadeva without the article "the" preceding has many

precedents.—See, "History of Indian Literature", Vol. I by Winternitz, pp. 7, 47, 52, 236 etc. published by the University of Calcutta, 1927. Winternitz's world-wide recognition is not in question.

TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Umācal Rock Inscription of Surendravarmā

1. The word गुह (p. 2)—The word गुह in the sense of a cave is emphatically said to be correct Sanskrit. But the word गुह means—"Kārttikeya"; a horse; Nishāda, a king of Sṛṅgavera and a friend of Rāma; an epithet of Viṣṇu or Śiva, "(Apte's Dictionary, p. 410). The same meanings are given in Monier Williams. Anundorum Barooah has not shown गुह for cave. What is the authority to declare गुह in the sense of a "cave" as correct Sanskrit is not known, nor can गुह and गुहा be synonymous.

Bargaṅgā Inscripton of Bhūtivarmā

2. परमदैवत: (p. 4)—The critic himself has recognised that in the sense of a devotee of the Supreme Being, the form should have been पारमदैवत: Therefore it is accepted that the word परम has stood for परमेश्वर । The learned critic remarks that the editor has forgotten that there should have been *Vṛddhi* of *ādisvara* according to Pāṇini. Such a criticism betrays a very superficial grasp of Paṇini's grammar. If परमदैवत: cannot be justified, how can the uses of such words as पितृदैवत:, सूर्यदैवत:, पितृपैतामहम् be justified? We do not have anywhere the forms like पैतृदैवत:, सौर्यदैवत:, पैतृपैतामहम् etc. Therefore the form पारमदैवत: is obsolete in its use touched by the *doṣa* of *aprayuktatva*. We have the word प्रकृष्टभौम: used in the *Arthaśastra* (vii. 9. 21 and 47) translated by R. P. Kangle as "a king with a large territory".

As for the *vṛddhi* of *ādisvara* by the *Sūtras* अचोञ्णिति, तद्धितेष्वचामादे:: etc., these are the general rules, the preliminary proposition. There is exception to it, though there is no direct provision for it in Pāṇini. A little more observation would have revealed the exceptions. Pāṇini has the *Sūtra* उत्तरपदस्य (vii. 3. 10). as an *adhikārasūtra* sanctioning only उत्तरपदवृद्धि to forms like सर्वपाञ्चालक:, पूर्वपाञ्चालक: etc. under three on more separately following *Sūtras*. The *sūtra* उत्तरपदस्य may be taken as a लक्षणसूत्र also over and above its being an *adhikāra Sūtra*. This is implied in the *Sūtra*—"हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च (vii. 3.19).

Supposing this cannot be accepted, we can justify the use by the dictum पर्यायशब्दानां गुरुलाघवचिन्ता नास्ति where गुरुलाघव has परस्वरवृद्धि। Thus we can justify the uses like सूर्यदैवतः, परमदैवतः etc.

Another thing to be noted in this connection is that दैवत when used as an adjective in the sense of dīvine or honouring as one's deity in an adjectival compound may be used in all the genders. But when it is a noun in the sense of a "god" it is always neuter. cf. विद्या परं दैवतम्। Both ways, the *samāsa* I have renderded and the sense I have attributed stand justified. I cannot understand how the *samāsa* can be expounded in the sense "highly devoted to the gods" attributed as a meaning to this word. The scholar has lost sight of the fact that it is very difficult to say here whether the *samāsa* has been done first or *the pratyaya* has bee added first, because there is no hard and fast rule guiding such formations in Pāṇini.

3. परमभट्टारक—(p. 4)—Again when the word *Bhaṭṭāraka* means respectful, a title of respect, there is no rule by which it is confined to this sense alone and connot denote other senses. Āpte has given the following meanings of this word—"venerable, worshipful, a sage, a saint, the Sun, a god, a deity, a king, an epithet applied to great and learned man (p. 711). As a matter of fact परमदैवत and परमभट्टारक have a similar significance with महाराजाधिराज, because परमभट्टारक is an imperial title. But the author must have used these three words with three different implications. So to avoid a tautology in sense, we have attributed three different senses to these three words. What is the meaning of *bhaṭṭāraka* in *Mīmāṁsābhaṭṭāraka* ? Can it mean the same thing as in लौहित्यभट्टारक ? What does the word तीर्थभट्टारक mean? Therefore to say that bhaṭṭāraka here has meant highly respectable is preposterous.

Ḍubi Plates of Bhāskaravarmā

4. *Parisareśvara* (p. 7) The find-spot of the Ḍubi plates of Bhāskaravarmā is said to be near a temple described as Parisareśvara by Dr. D. C. Sircar *Epigraphia Indica*—vol. xxx, p. 287). The temple may also be known as Parihareśvara strictly in comformity with Assamese pronunciation. Pariśareśvara is also right in accordance with the peculiar way of articulation of the Sanskrit sound स in Assamese. We have therefore, followed Dr. Sircar in its spelling and desisted from modifying it.

5. *It is well known etc.* (lines 29-30, p. 7)—This may be objected to only when the spirit of the statement is missed. We know from Bāṇa's Harṣacarita that the king who issued the charter was already on the throne in 606 A.D. when he sent an emissary to Harṣavardhana of Thāneśvara. We have in the chronology prepared earlier in the "General Introduction" given the date of Bhāskaravasmā as 594-650 A.D. So the above statement relates only to the dead line of Bhāskara's accession.

6. अमृतभुजान् तापाय—(*Śloka* 2, p. 8)—Here a reading अमृतभुजान् प्रतापाय is discovered, as if this reading clearly brings out the intended sense. Evidently अमृतभुजान् is confused with accusative plural. The actual reading in the plate is अमृतभुजान् तापाय which is attained after *Sandhi* in अमृतभुजाम् तापाय। Possibly not being able to make out this *Sandhi*, the reading अमृतभुजान् प्रतापाय is accepted as the real reading. The whole thing is the creation of a mental fancy generated by a confusion with the reading द्विषां प्रतापाय (verse no. 21) which we have translated as "in respect of the enemy prowess". Even if it were the actual reading, it should have been अमृतभुजां प्रतापाय।. There is no सामर्थ्य sense here and the exposition will be like this—अमृतभुजाम् तापं विधातुम् which I have rendered into Assamese as शास्ति बिहिव परा—क्रियार्थोपपदस्य . . ." इति ४र्थी। From बिहिवपरा,, a sense of सामर्थ्य is anticipated to create on entire premise of wrong arguments, cf खाव परामानुह>खावरीया; ; this is not indicative of a सामर्थ्य sense in Assamese but only an adjectival phrase.

7. *Facing front* (p. 7.)—"Facing front" instead of "facing the front" which we have used following Dr. Sircar is absolutely correct, because it represents an artistic motive, which means it throws a frontal aspect—from whichever direction it is viewed. This is the significance with which, we think, Dr. Sircar has used it.

8. (*Śloka* 3, p. 8)—The attempt to explain the meaning of स्फुट as scratching or perforating is misdirected, because it should in that case be स्पुटित which is a participial use and can never be a substantive. Had the word been स्फुटन , the ascription of the above meaning would have held good. At the same time, the root स्फुट् does not mean scratching but to "burst or split open," "break forth," "expand," "blow," "blossom" etc. As against this स्फुट has the meaning of "distinctly visible," "clear," "manifest" which are easy to construe here and therefore I have adopted. The sense of an ostentatious display of force is suggested by the word स्फुट here so that Indra may, of his own, yield the *Kuṇḍalas* of his mother.

9. *Vākya and pramāṇa* (*Śloka* 4, p. 9)—We have translated the words *vākya* and *pramāṇa* as *āptavākya* and the *darśanas*. This is being objected to, because, according to this school of opinion, *vākya* and *pramāṇa* both categorically denote *Mīmāṁsā* and the *Nyāya* respectively. It is not intelligible how can one be so categorical about their meanings as to declare our translation as fully wrong. The lexicons do not give the meanings of the words *vākya* and *pramāṇa* as *Mīmamsā* and *Nyāya* respectively. *Āptavākya* not only denotes the *Vedas* but also the *purāṇas* and the *smṛtis*—cf. "—2 the Vedas or śruti, a word of authority (said to apply to Smṛtis, Itihāsas and Purāṇas also, which are considered as authoritative evidence); आप्तवागनुमानाभ्यां साध्यं त्वां प्रति का कथा--Ra.X.28—" Apte's "The practical Sanskrit English Dictionary," p. 218—Motilal Banarsidass—Third Edition, 1965.

That Pramāṇa clearly means the *darśanas* may be known from the authority of Max Müller—"Such an examination of the authorities of human knowledge (*Pramāṇas*) ought, of course, to form the introduction to every system of philosophy, and to have clearly seen this is, as it seems to me, a very high distinction of Indian philosophy"—*The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*"—Preface, p. xiii—The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office—Varanasi—I (India), 1971.

The sense of *āptavākya* attributed to *Vākya* is supported by the following statement of Annam Bhaṭṭa in his *Tarka-saṁgraha*—वाक्यं द्विविधम्—वैदिकं, लौकिकं च। वैदिकमीश्वरोक्तत्वात् सर्वमेव प्रमाणम्। लौकिकं त्वाप्तोक्तं प्रमाणम् ।।६३।।
Again we can justify our position on the authority of the *Mahābhaṣya*—""नामैकदेशग्रहणम् नाममात्रग्रहणम्" इति न्यायात् भामा --सत्यभामा; राम--बलोराम;

So also—वाक्यम्--आप्तवाक्यम्।...अथवा पूर्वपदलोपोऽत्रद्रष्टव्यः--अत्यन्तसिद्धः सिद्धः, देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामेति।

So also आप्तवाक्यं वाक्यम्। We cannot say that such expositions apply to संज्ञाशब्द s alone, for Kaiyata in his *Pradīpa* says—न ह्यसौ संज्ञात्वेन विनियुक्तः etc.
All these things are introduced only to show that the meaning of a particular word is elastic and there should be no rigidity about it. There is scope for difference of opinion but not for denunciation. वाक्य in the sense of मीमांसा as used in earlier literatures seems to be a rare phenomenon because it is not accepted by many a scholar. cf. the explanation of the line पदवाक्यप्रमाणतत्तज्ञो भवभूतिर्नाम etc. in the *Uttararāmacarita* by—

1. S. C. Roy—versed in the essence of the regulations on words and sentences—पदानां सुपतिङ्न्तानां वाक्यानां सम्भूयार्थाभिधायिनां पदकदम्बकानाञ्च यानि प्रमाणानि अनुशासनानि etc. in his Mitabhāṣiṇī.

2. M. R. Kāle—पद lit. a grammatical form. stands for grammar. वाक्य—logical statement or syllogism for logic or *Nyāya*.
   प्रमाण—authoritative statement, for the two *Mīmāṁsās*, *Pūrva* and *Uttara*.

3. Mm. P. V. Kāne—पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञः Who knows the science of grammar, logic and Mīmāṁsā.
   पदम् means an inflected word and stands for grammar which deals with words.
   वाक्य—a sentence--Logic deals with sentences and the fallacies that lurk in them.
   प्रमाण means "authoritative means of knowledge". The मीमांसा (both *Pūrva* and *Uttara*) deals with शब्द and other *Pramāṇas*.

The explanation on प्रमाण given by Mm. Kāne supports our view that प्रमाण stands for all the Darśanas. As a matter of fact, this represents a historical perspective when only *Sāṅkhya* and *Mīmāṁsa* propounded by Kapila and Jaimini represented an earlier stage of Indian philosophy as standing for *Jñāna* and *Karma* (for this see "*The Bhakti Cult In Ancient India*" by Mm. Dr. Bhagavat Kumar Goswami). It is not intelligible how one can make bold to interpret words completely ignoring the historical sequences. It is certain that the *Mīmāṁsā* as extant did not exist in the earlier period with all its present ramifications and therefore could not attain that celebrity to resolve the meanings of the Vedic passages. The rise of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Prabhākara Miśra etc. is a post-Bhavabhūti development leading to a wide acclamation of the Mīmāṁsā philosophy. The association of the word *Vākya* in the sense of *Mīmāṁsā* with Bhababhūti is erroneous, because this is due to the identification of Bhavabhūti with some Ubbeka or Umbeka Bhavabhūti, a man possibly of the 11th century A.D. posterior to Kumārila. The phrase in the *Uttara* might be a subsequent insertion or an interpolation. This phrase is not found in the Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar's edition of the *Uttara.* It is possibly due to this reason that the late Śrī M. R. Kāle and Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane have not explained the word वाक्य as *Mīmāṁsā*, because historically examined, this sense was then not attributed to the word. Will it not be then far-fetched to seek this meaning in an inscription of the sixth century A.D.? Besides the poet has directly used the words *Mīmāṁsā* and *Tarka* in *Śloka* 55 of the same inscription.

10. *The word* समया--(*Śloka* 4, p. 9)—The word समया in समयाखिलम् is explained as all the prevalent rules and regulations or customary laws. Possibly this word is confused with the word समय which alone means a convention, an established rule of conduct, a ceremonial custom, usual practice—cf. "समयाः शपथाचारकालसिद्धान्त-संविदः" इत्यमरः।--"निस्तरनारीसमया दुराधयः" Kirāta I. 28.--ग्रामश्रेणीगणानाञ्च सङ्केतः समयक्रिया--Bṛhaspati quoted in *Vīramitrodaya*. समय is a noun whereas समया is an *avyaya*.

11. देवासुराचार्यमतञ्च--(*Śloka* 5, p. 9.)—When the nourishment and breed of the horses and elephants are referred to, it is unlikely that the science of polity is brought in here by the mere mention of देवासुराचार्य,, because this will be a great deviation from the context. It is plausible to explain the word as an allusion to some other *ācāryas* or teachers of the gods and the demons who possibly propounded a science of elephantry and horse rearing.

12. हयानां सौष्ठवम्--(*Śloka* 5, p. 9)—Nourishment of the horses that shows out their qualities. It cannot be said that, the word सौष्ठव does not mean nourishment cf. अर्थसौष्ठवम्—nourishment or excellence of sense.

13. वाजिमेधैर्महद्‌भिः--(*Śloka* 5, p. 9)—We have translated it as "performed sacrifices of great munificence". This translation is correct and faithful to the original. But to translate it as "performed a sacrifice with great pomp and eclat". (English rendering is mine from the suggested Assamese) is a marked deviation from the original, because the Sanskrit word is in the instrumental case, being an adjunct of वाजिमेधैः: and the second rendering makes it an adverb which is not acceptable.

14. अमरेन्द्रसत्त्वः—(*Śloka* 6, p. 9)—The original reading is अमरेन्द्रसद्मः। We have here adopted the reading अमरैन्द्रसत्त्वः after Dr. Sircar to avoid a position of two faults viz. (*i*) elimination of the *Visarga* seen distinctly and (*ii*) tagging it to a compound in the next *pāda* as against one fault of changing one letter only, when it yields a good sense.

15. साद्धी (Śloka 7, p. 9)—This is the reading in the original which should have been. साध्वी । It has become a convention now-a-days to retain the original reading in the body of the text, if it is determined as certain and then to suggest in the foot an alternative one if it is found that the reading of the original is wrong or does not convey a good sense. Such a foot-note was left out through oversight. None-the-less, the proposition of Dr. P. C. Choudhury that the suggested correct reading should be shown in the body and the reading of the plate when determined beyond doubt as the actual but not conforming to the sense or carrying no sense at all should be shown below in the foot is discarded. We have, however, not stuck to any of these formulations uniformly.

16. बाहुररिनारीविलापदः—(*Śloka* 10, p. 10)—We have translated it into English as—"his arms became such as to cause lamentations to the enemy women, rendered into Assamese as अस्त्र-शस्त्र । This is being criticised as a recourse to *lākṣaṇika* sense which is unnecessary. But it may be noted here बाहु in the sense of a weapon is used as a primary sense in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya —पार्श्वयोरश्वा बाहूत्सारः (x.2.4.)—horses with repellers as with arms or weapons: प्रसारवृद्धिः, बाहूत्सारः—extension of raids, repelling with arms: R. P. Kangle has translated बाहूत्सारः as Infantry reconnoitring—Arthaśāstra (Translations), Vol. II. Addl. Notes, p. 600.

17. अभीष्टस्थिति—(*Śloka* 14, p. 10)—अभीष्ट is explained as राज्यलाभ (योग) and स्थिति as maintenance of the kingdom क्षेम । It is not intelligible how the word can be explained as योगक्षेम which is अलभ्य-लाभो योगः स्यात् क्षेमो लब्धस्य पालनम् (Yajñavalka I. 100). The argument is—the king is the cause of both, so he should be a follower of of virtue. But the text does not suggest that and the sense as given is the reverse of what is denoted by the text.

How can the word अभीष्ट be explained as राज्यलाभ when it is a participial use ? इष्टम् is given as a noun when it means "wish, desire, a holy ceremony, a sacrifice". Nowhere there is the sense of the attainment of the kingdom. स्थिति is "stability, continuation, permanence". How can it be said that it is क्षेम or राज्यपालन ? Of course, there is the meaning "maintenance of discipline; establishment of good order". But when there is the word अभीष्ट preceding, the sense of the establishment of a good order is tautological and cannot be the appropriate meaning.

We have translated it as—"virtuous due to a series of causes for the stability of the desired end". Here is a printing mistake instead of "the stability of his desired end," this should be "the stability of the desired end"—"his" should be replaced by "the". All the words here are adjectives to He (Balavarmā). The omission of the "comma" after Dattavatī is an omission in printing which is discernible even to a casual observer. He is virtuous and his virtuousness has become the cause of an orderly progress as desired (by him)—this is the simple meaning of the verse. Other things as envisaged are far-fetched and are beyond the scope even of explanation.

The construction is दत्तवत्यां प्रथितः—manifested in Dattavatī. प्रथित is as given by Āpte "manifested". This meaning is appropriate here, though the word has other senses.

18. कल्याणशेषेण (Verse No. 17, p. 10)—The idea of पुण्य behind the word कल्याण, though it has this primary sense also, is far-fetched here. The idea behind the verse is the postulation of the welfare of the people. But as 'welfare' is not given as the meaning of कल्याण, we have accepted the meaning "good fortune" given in the lexicons. The king inherited a large wealth from his father which he augmented and utilised for the welfare of the people. This is the real meaning of the verse. The sense of prosperity or good fortune is very much conspicuous in the following verse of Kālidāsa—तद्रक्ष कल्याणपरम्पराणां भोक्तारमूर्जस्वलमात्मदेहम्। (Raghu II. 50).

19. *Foot No.* 29 (p. 11).—This comment in the foot note on the metre is wrong. The metre actually is *upajāti* here with *Upendravajrā* and *Indravajrā* in the first two and third and fourth *Pādas* respectively. This is the only mistake detected by the critic for which thanks are due. After all, the I.C.B.M. is discharged to kill a fly—बह्वारम्भे लघुक्रिया।

20. आद्यभूपाल at. (*Śloka* 25, p. 11).—The proposition that the sense of the word आद्यभूपाल is restricted to Manu or Pṛthu only cannot be accepted, because आद्य and आदि, though they are of the same base, cannot be brought to the same level. In other words, आदिराज alone in the sense of Manu or Pṛthu is रूढ़ but not आद्यराज or आद्यभूपाल। Though the word आद्यकवि is रूढ़ in its denotation of Vālmiki (it is not रूढ़ to denote Brahmā whom also the word आदिकवि connotes), still आद्यभूपाल does not mean Manu or Pṛthu. Even if it may have that meaning

also, it is not confined to that sense alone. आद्यभूपाल which we have used in the plural number, being a component of the compound, while rendering into English, has denoted the first few kings of the race. Historicity of the plates must not be lost sight of when the race of the Bhauma Narakas is described.

As a matter of fact, “earlier kings” in my translation is very appropriate, because it may comprise Manu, Pṛthu, and also Naraka, Bhagadatta etc. of his race. If only Manu or Pṛthu were the kings intended by the poet, he would have certainly used आदिभूपाल which would not militate against the metre. Monier Williams clearly gives the meaning of आद्य as “immediately preceding, earlier, elder, being at the head.” The precedent of the Raghu cannot be cited here, because वैवस्वतमनु is described as the first king of the race of the Raghus, whereas in this incription, maintenance of the family burden is emphasised upon —cf. वंशधुरां समुन्नमयितुंetc. (Ḍubi-52).

21. *Basu for Vasu* (pp. 40, 42, 171).—The reputed historian, Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur in his “Early History of Kāmarūpa” has referred to N. N. Vasu as Basu (pp. 23-24). Can we condemn the book or has its value diminished on this account ? So this cannot be an error for correction.

22. *Facts for contents* (Line 18, p 43) —This is a direction as it were to cut the ‘t’s. and dot the ‘i’s in the name of review. Can there be contents without facts. What is intended here is—Paṇḍit Vidyāvinoda made certain assumptions which he knew to be true and these along with the inscription were reprinted in the *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, “Things assumed or known to be true, as we have it from lexicons, are “*facts*.”

23. शाक for शाके (p. 141)—शाक is the correct reading. Possibly this suggestion to correct it as शाके has emanated from its confusion with the word शाके in the body of the text. The introductory line to the inscription is शाक ११२७। It will be amusing to fall into an error in the name of correction.

24. तिमिरारिकान्तिः (*Śloka* 20, p. 153)—We have translated the word here as “like a flash of light in the darkness of enemies.” This should have been “like a flash of light to the darkness of enemies.” This English translation is in conformity with the historical facts postulated. We have elsewhere (see page 46 of General Introduction) described that with the accession of Gaṇendra-

varmā to the throne, the kingdoms in the south might have again behaved as independent principalities, because these in the midst of prevailing darkness found a ray of hope in the weakness of the king. The words तिमिरारि actually means the enemy of darkness i.e. the sun or the moon. Inspite of this known meaning, I have explained it as above and propose to expound the *samāsa* as follows—तिमिरश्चासौ अरिश्च, तस्मै कान्तिः or तिमिरेषु स्थिता अरयः तेभ्यः कान्तिः।

There is no irregularity in such an exposition.

25 व्याख्यानोर्म्मि etc. etc. (Verse no.55, p.156)—The translation of this portion of the Ḍubi plates as—"the commentaries are the waves very much impenetrable through a successive tradition" appears to be not faithful to the original and should be replaced by the following "which is impenetrable through a chain of waves in the shape of a successive tradition of commentaries."

26. —p. 157. (foot-note no. 9)—The following will clarify the idea behind this foot-note which may otherwise confuse many. The prose order of the verse is as follows—भ्राजिष्णुचक्रस्य प्रभविष्णोः विष्णोः क्षितौ लक्षिता लक्ष्मीः इव, श्रीध्रुवलक्ष्मीः (इति) क्षितौ लक्षिता भार्याभ्राजिष्णुचक्रस्य प्रभविष्णोः तस्य भूत्यै अभूत्

Or,

प्रभविष्णोः विष्णोः क्षितौ लक्षिता लक्ष्मीः भ्राजिष्णुचक्रस्य भूत्यै इव श्रीध्रुवलक्ष्मीः (इति) क्षितौ लक्षिता भार्या प्रभविष्णोः तस्य भ्राजिष्णुचक्रस्य भूत्यै अभूत।

Evidently there is *śleṣa* behind the words भ्राजिष्णुचक्रस्य and प्रभविष्णोः। भ्राजिष्णुचक्रस्य=(*i*) whose disc was shining (*ii*) whose constituents or the army or the kingdom or the sovereignty were shining. But भाजिष्णु itself means Viṣṇu. So in the second prose-order, to avoid tautology in meaning, we have proposed that भ्राजिष्णुचक्रस्य should have the meaning "shining disc." The purpose is to exalt the qualities of Lakṣhmī i.e. to say that the *Viṣṇucakra* itself is nothing to Viṣṇu if it is not accompanied by a halo personified by the association of Lakṣmī.

27. संख्यात (p. 234)—We have translated this word as "of limited number." This is being objected to on the ground that it is used in the sense of "famous." But in so doing, it is not intelligible whether such statements in the *Arthaśāstra* as स्वयं संख्यातदण्डेन दण्डस्य विभवेन वा (vii. 3.23)—translated by R. P. Kangle as "with a stipulated number of soldiers" are taken into account or not.

GENERAL NOTES

I have drawn certain inferences on historical facts on the basis of which I have prepared the chronology of the Kāmarūpa Kings. Who can deny that there is a large section of scholars who put the date of Kālidāsa in the 1st ceneury B.C. and that the ascendancy of the Śuṅgas under Puṣyamitra who is credited with the performance of two *aśvamedha* sacrifices in the Mahābhāṣya is a land-mark in Indian History? Of course, historical facts whether ancient or modern will always be controversial until finally the truth is established through new materials. Even then the fact remains that the historian has the liberty to interpret history after the light of his own judgement. In this connection the following observation by an eminent historian is pertinent— "....every historian is entitled to his own viewpoint, and no analysis which is anything more than a list of names and dates can be expected to meet with everyone's approval." (Statesman, August 5, 1977).

A set of theories on controversial matters cannot be accepted as right or denounced as wrong according to the predilections of individuals. Nobody can claim perfection and nothing can be said as final in a work of this type. It may be to the credit of the author of a work of this type that certain controversies raised by it arouse the interest of a bigger section of scholars leading to discussions in learned circles to fetch for it a widespread recognition. Now it is my earnest hope that a future generation of scholars will take up this work to give real information with fresh materials at their disposal.

APPENDIX B

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APPENDIX C

WORD INDEX

(On Part I—General Introduction)

A

Abhidhāśakti 166
Abhidhāvyāpāra 166
Abhiṣecanīya 145
Abhiṣeka 104
Abhinavagupta 157
Abor hills 61
Acyuta 49
Aditi 9, 12, 13, 98, 152
Āditya 152
Ādityasena 58
Adhikaraṇa 115
Adhikaraṇika 115
Adṛṣṭa 147
Agni 151
Agnimitra 93, 94
Agrahāra 41, 125
Ahisthala 140
Aindramahābhiṣeka 105
Aja 25
Akiñcitpragṛhya 125
Alaṅkāra 163, 167
Alexander 140, 175, 179
Allahabad Municipal Museum Yupa Inscription
Allahabad Pillar Inscription 10, 19, 38, 95, 108
Allahabad Yupa Inscription
Alpine Aryans 140, 153, 154
Alpines 135, 144, 156, 181
Alpine Brachycephals 100
Alpine race 136, 140, 141, 181
Alpine Origin 139
Alpine Stock 143
Amaranātha 85
Amātya 113, 114
Āmbāri Stone Inscriptin 7, 8, 88, 92, 159, 175, 178
Amṛtaprabhā 11, 25, 37
Aṁśavat 24, 139
Amūrttarajas 9, 22, 30, 139, 140
Āṅgirasa 134
Aṅga 17, 23, 29, 54, 77, 81, 133
Aṅgas (branches of learning) 143, 145
Āñjī 148, 149
Antargiri 23, 31
Antiochus 175
Anuṣṭubh 162
Anusvānarūpa artha 166
Apakṛṣṭabhūmi 124, 125
Āpastamba 135
Aphsaḍ inscription 48, 49
Ārattas 139
Aravallis 141
Āratha (Arathi) 14, 18, 19, 65, 66, 97
Aratha 19
Ardhayuvatī (nārī) śvara 78, 148, 152, 168
Aridamanendra 18
Ārimatta 88
Arjīkīyā 135
Arjuna 10, 17, 22, 23, 29, 31, 55, 129
Aruṇācal 30, 31, 32, 61, 73
Āryadharma 101
Āryaguṇa 39
Āryā jāti 162
Āryāvartta 95, 130, 131, 135
Āṣāḍha 131
Asama Script
Asiatic Society of Bengal 4, 66
Aśoka 10, 107, 114, 175, 179
Āśrama 101, 144
Assam Research Society 6, 7, 148, 151
Assam Sāhitya Sabhā 7
Asura 22, 24, 154, 181, 182
Āśvalāyana 104

Āśvalāyana Sūtra 134
Aśvamedha 10, 36, 39, 42, 45, 46, 47, 106, 107, 108, 111, 145
Atiśayokti 161
Aundh 181
Auparikara 122, 173
Auparikarika 120, 122, 173
Auśīnaras 139
Autkheṭika 120, 122, 173
Avācakatva 168
Avaguṇa 39, 120
Avantivarmā 57, 58
Avaraparvata 172
Ayodhyā 139

B

Bāḍā 68, 86
Bādarāyana 157
Badarikā 24, 31
Bakhtiyār 84, 92
Balabhadra 95, 150
Balādhikṛta 113
Bālagrāma 80, 81, 87
Balarāma 49, 50
Balavarmā 4, 7, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27, 28, 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 95, 96, 107, 111, 116, 117, 119, 120, 145, 150, 151, 152, 154, 161, 163, 165, 174, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189
Bali 16
Balk 71
Balkh 137
Bāmunīyā Script
Bāṇabhaṭṭa 11, 25, 53, 160, 161, 169
Banaras Copper Plate Grant of Govindacandra 102
Bāṇāsura 12, 16, 22, 33, 34, 49, 157
Baṅgasāhityānuśīlanī Sabhā 1, 4
Bappadevapāṭaka 68, 119
Baranagara (of Gujrat) 181
Bārāsrajambuba 75
Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription 6, 18, 39, 41, 42, 46, 95, 106, 107, 114, 120, 172, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 189, 190, 191, 192
Bargaon Grant (Plates) 4, 15, 69, 70, 71, 74, 98, 99, 107, 124, 126, 138, 145, 146, 153, 155, 160, 162, 170, 171
Bartu 92, 97
Baudhāyana 130, 131, 134
B.C. Goldstücker 179
Belatā 83
Belava grant 69
Bhadrāśvavarṣa 37
Bhagadatta 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 58, 61, 63, 64, 93, 94, 96, 98, 120, 133, 139, 142, 143, 150
Bhagalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla 20
Bhāllavin 131, 132
Bhāllavī Brāhmaṇa 130
Bhāṇḍāgārika 126
Bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛta 118, 126
Bhāratabhāvadīpa 148
Bharata 140
Bhāravi 169
Bhāsa 150, 174
Bhāskara 91, 97
Bhāskarateṅgerī 41
Bhāskaravarmā 3, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 25, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64, 95, 96, 98, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 115, 117, 118. 125, 126, 127, 144, 146, 147, 151, 160, 163, 164, 165, 167, 176, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192
Bhāskaravarmā's Seal 42, 43
Bhaṭa 108, 116, 117
Bhaṭamanuṣya 116
Bhātera grant 41
Bhaṭṭāra 109
Bhaṭṭāraka 109
Bhaṭṭi 161, 169
Bhaṭṭajīu 110, 172
Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita 179
Bhauma 26, 39, 43, 95, 149

Bhaumakaras 125
Bhauma Naraka 36, 39, 43, 56, 58, 69, 71, 82, 95, 103, 110, 115, 156
Bhaumānvaya (Bhaumadynasty) 16, 18, 36, 39, 43, 56, 71, 110
Bhava 154
Bhāvatā 83
Bhāvagrāma 83
Bhaviṣābhūmi 74
Bhīma 29, 129
Bhīṣmaka 73
Bhiṭvi 124
Bhogavatī 13, 18, 42
Bhojavarmā 69
Bhūpāla 109
Bhujyu Lāhyāyaṇi 134
Bhukti 118
Bhūmicchidranyāya 124, 125
Bhūmicchidrāpidhāna 125
Bhūtivarmā 6, 14, 18, 25, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 82, 95, 96, 106, 107, 114, 118, 120, 124, 160, 164, 165, 172, 185
Bhutan Hills 30, 32, 138
Bhutīyā 137
Bhuyān principalities 153
Bihar and Orissa Research Society 4, 6
Bilvagrāma 83
Bilhaṇa 20, 77
Bilsaḍ Inscription
Bogra 30, 85, 88
B. N. Sarkar 55
Brachycephals 135
Brahmā 12, 144, 152, 153
Brahmacārī 132
Brahmacarya 144
Brāhmī 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 188, 191, 192
Brāhmaṇādhikāra 112, 113
Brahmapāla 15, 17, 69, 70, 76, 77, 97, 98, 99, 106, 158
Brahmaputra 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 49, 56, 61, 62, 67, 68, 71, 83, 84, 85, 94, 100, 134, 142
Bṛhadratha 93
Buchanon Hamilton 84, 85, 92
Buddha (deva) 88, 153, 174
Budhagupta 43, 46
Bühler 179, 180
Burnell 180

C

Cāḍ 117
Cāḍa 117
Cakra 14, 18, 65, 66, 97
Camatkārapura 181
Cāṇakya 146
Candraphala 158
Candramukha 38
Candramukhavarmā 13, 18, 46, 96
Candrapriya (king) 38
Candrapuri 40, 41, 45, 53
Candrapuriviṣaya 40, 53, 67, 119
Candras of Bengal 70, 75, 76
Candra Vallabha 38, 44
Canon 180
Cāra 117
Caryāpadas 175, 176
Cāṭa 116, 117
Caṭṭa 117
Caturvargas 103, 147
Cauroddharaṇa 116
Cauroddharaṇika 116
Cauvery 129
Cecā 73
Chālukya 20, 54, 71, 77, 78, 113
Champā 31
Chandragupta II 38, 44, 102
Chandragupta 58
Chātra 117
Chitral 137
Chittagong 30
Citraratha 134
Clay Seal of Bhāskara 55
Colonel Dalton 61
Colonel Jenkins 66
Cooch Behar 30

Copper-Bell Inscription 6, 151
C. V. Vaidya 37, 90

D

Dabakā 7
Dacca 30
Dacca Sāhitya Pariṣat
(Dacca Literary Society) 3, 4
Dadda's grant 113
Dah-Parvatīyā 60
Daitya 22, 24
Dakṣadigvāsī Dalākavavā 172
Dāmodaragupta 48
Dāmodarpur Copper plate Inscription of Budhagupta 102
Dāmodarpur Copper plate Inscription of Kumāragupta 108
Dānava 16, 154
Daṇḍa 101, 102
Daṇḍanāyaka 113
Daṇḍī 169
Dāṇḍika 116, 120
Daṇḍaśakti 116
Danu 16
Daradas 137
Daśārṇa 141
Dattadevī 14, 18
Dattakārapūrṇa 126
Dattavatī 13, 14, 18
Davakā 84, 174
Davāka 10, 38, 39, 41, 44, 46, 70, 92, 120
David Diringer 179, 180
D.C. Bhaṭṭācārya 88
Deeke 180
Dekkān 71
Deopānī 7, 155, 173, 174
Deopānī Viṣṇu Image Inscription
Deopāra Inscription 21, 72, 86, 87, 90
Devanāgarī 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190
Devagupta 52
Devakī 32
Devavatī (Devamatī) 13, 14, 18
Devani Konchi 91
Devapāla 86
Devavarmā 56, 57, 58
Devī 110
Dharma 78, 101, 102, 103, 114, 147, 148
Dharmādhyakṣa 115
Dharma-mahāmātra 114
Dharmapāla 5, 7, 15, 17, 27, 54, 68, 69, 75, 76, 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 97, 98, 101, 103, 110, 124, 146, 148, 149, 152, 155, 158, 185, 188, 189
Dharmāraṇya 9, 22, 30, 139
Dharanikota Dharmacakra Pillar Inscription
Dhvani 166, 167
Dhvanyāloka 161, 165, 166, 167
Dhvanyālokakāra 161
Dhekerī 74
Dhruvalakṣmī 13, 14, 18
Dibya 77
Digalaṇḍī 79
Digḍolavṛddhagrāma 79
Dīghalpānī 39
Dijjinā Viṣaya 67, 79, 82, 119
Dikkaravāsinī 12
Dinajī Lāhilī Jhā 110, 172
Dispur 35
Dohās 175
Dr. Altekar 112, 113, 115, 116, 123
Dr. B. K. Barua 7
Dr. B. Kakati 79, 150
Dr. Cunningham 80
Dr. D. C. Sircar (Dr. Sircar) 6, 8, 39, 42, 48, 49, 50, 59, 66, 68, 112, 116, 117, 119, 122, 123, 150
Dr. D. Sarma 104, 151
Dr. Hoernle 3, 4, 59, 71, 117, 122, 124, 136
Dr. Kielhorn 59
Dr. K. P. Jaysval 95
Dr. N. K. Bhattasali 6, 7, 39, 41, 42, 92
Dr. P. C. Chowdhury 6, 7, 8, 21, 35, 37, 44, 55, 56, 58, 64, 68, 69, 74, 84, 85, 101

Dr. Spooner 3, 6,
Dr. R. S. Tripathi 94, 95
Druma 24
Ḍubi Copper Plates 6, 8, 13, 14, 18, 26, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 98, 99, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 111, 143, 146
Durgā 151
Durgabhaṭa 113
Durjayā 27, 70, 71, 72, 76, 82, 83, 84, 138, 158, 160
Durlabhā 73
Duryodhana 24
Dvārādhipati 112
Dvārapāla 112
Dvāraparīkṣā 112
Dvāraparīkṣaka 112
Dvirātra Sacrifice 134

E

E.A. Gait 83
Eastern Variety of the Gupta Script
E.B. Cowell 174
E.E. Pargiter 182
Elphinstone 137
Eran Stone Inscription 108

F

Fleet 10, 112

G

Gāchtal 7, 8, 38
Gāchtal Copper Plates 7, 8, 69, 72, 74, 75, 82, 156
Gāchtal Pillar Inscription 7, 38, 84, 92, 176, 177, 178
Gait 3, 4,
Gaṇa 137
Gaṇapativarmā 14, 96, 110
Gāndhāra 100
Gaṅgā (Ganges) 12, 16, 24, 31, 32, 56, 72, 134, 135
Gangetic Valley 135
Gandharvavatī 14, 18
Gaṇendravarmā 14, 18, 99
Gaṅgiṇikā 40, 41, 54
Gaṇeśa 151
Gaṇeśaguri 35
Gaṇeśagiri 35
Ganjam Plates 53, 55
Gargaṅā Script
Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla
Gauḍa (Country) 11, 20, 34, 40, 46, 47, 49, 51, 53, 64, 67, 71, 72, 75, 80, 82, 86
Gauḍa power (Gauḍa King) 20, 47, 48, 52, 54, 127
Gauḍa house 52
Gauḍendra 89
Gauḍīya style 161
Gauhati grant (Plates) 4, 15, 71, 73, 74, 98, 102, 115, 126, 144, 146, 153, 169, 170, 171
Gaurī 152, 155
General Cunningham 140
General Jenkins 4
Ghanaśyām 83
Ghaṭaka 12
Ghaṭakāsura 95
Gilgit 137
Girjhak 140
Girnar Rock Inscription 119
Girivraja 9, 30, 31, 139, 140, 141
Goṇḍa 80
Godāvarī 129
Gopāladeva 8, 15, 69, 77, 82, 97, 189
Gopāla III, 90
Gopālavarmadeva 72, 74, 75, 76, 156
Gopināth Rao 181
Govinda Keśava Deva 41
Grahavarmā 52
Grierson 135
Guākuci Graṇt 5, 15, 71, 74, 79, 81, 98, 125, 156, 173
Gudimallam 181

Gulma 117
Gunji Inscription 113
Guṇībhūtavyaṅga 167
Gunībhūta 167
Gupta Script
Gurjjara 71
Gurjjarapratihāra 75

H

Hābuṅg 73
Habuṅgīyā Grant 82, 156
Haḍappeśvara 19, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 70, 76, 82, 83, 121, 127, 155, 156
Haḍapyakā 75, 82, 156
Hamsavega 53, 160
Hāpyomaviṣaya 74, 119
Hara 155
Harappā 182
Hari 149, 155
Harihara 7, 150, 155, 173, 174
Harihara Image Inscription 7, 155, 173, 174
Harkāthi 39
Harjjara (Varma) deva 15, 65, 111, 166, 172, 188, 189, 192
Harjjaravarmā 3, 14, 19, 27, 35, 38, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 97, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 112, 118, 121, 156, 172, 173, 174, 183, 184, 185
Harṣacarita 25, 39, 53, 165
Harṣadeva 20, 64
Harṣavardhana 40, 52, 53, 54, 55, 160
Harṣavarmā 14, 63, 64, 66, 67, 97
Harṣapāla 15, 76, 77, 78, 82, 97
Hārūppeśvara 19, 27, 59, 60, 61, 62, 148, 155, 156
Hāstibandhika 120
Hastināpura 139
Hastyāyurveda 133, 134, 182
Hāṭaka 141, 154
Hāṭakaśūlin 19, 49, 154, 155, 156
Hāṭakāsura 95, 154
Hāṭakeśvara 45, 155, 156
Hāṭapeśvara (Hāṭappeśvara) 59, 60
Hayagrīva 16, 32
Hāyuṅthal Grant 3, 14, 18, 19, 27, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 105, 107, 110, 111, 112, 126, 156, 169, 170, 173, 188
H.C. Chakladar 130, 131, 133, 136, 137, 138
H.C. Roychowdhury 47, 89
Hemchandra Goswami 1, 5, 8
Hemacandra (author) 72, 175
Hemapīṭṭha 136
Herodotus 180
Hetukaśūlin 19, 59
Himālayan regions, Himālaya 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 37, 131, 133, 137, 138, 140, 181
Hindoo Koosh 137
H. Krishnaśāstrī 59
Hiraṇyakaśipu 24, 139
Hisam-Uddin Iwaj 92
Howraghat 7, 15, 75
Howraghat Plates 7, 15, 19, 58, 59, 68, 75, 98, 111, 119
Humpi 16
Hunter 180
Hūṇa 136, 137
Hussain Shah 83

I

Indra 12, 49, 103, 104, 105, 108, 149, 150, 151, 179
Indradyumna 131
Indraprastha 29
Indradvajaḥ 151
Indrapāla 4, 5, 15, 17, 25, 27, 28, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 97, 115, 125, 126, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 158, 162, 163, 173, 175, 183, 189
Indus Valley Script 180, 181, 182
Iśa 150
Iśāṇa 154
Iśāṇavarmā (Maukhari) 47
Iṣṭadevatā 148

Iśvara 14, 18, 26, 152
Iśvarā 45
Iśvaraghoṣa 74
I-Tsing 56, 58
Itihāsapurāṇa 132

J

Jagaddhātrī 151
Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa 131
Jalalpur 139, 140
Jālandhara 45, 72
Jalandhar 17
Jalpaiguri 30
Janaka 11, 33, 34, 36, 100, 140, 141, 142
Jātiā 35
Jātavarmā 69, 70, 76, 77, 82
Jātodā 74
Jayadeva of Nepal 20, 64, 77
Jayamāladeva 15, 67, 68, 97
Jayanāga 54
Jayapāla 20, 85, 87, 88, 90, 92, 97
Jayapāla of Gauḍa 86
Jayasiṁha III 71
Jayaśval 105, 138
Jāmadagnya 73
Jhelum 139
J.C. Ghosh 41
Jīvadā 14, 19, 65
Jīvadevī 14, 19, 65, 66
Junāgaḍh Inscription 119

K

Kācamāri 174
Kafiristan 137
Kahaum Inscription of 459 A.D.
Kailāsa 138, 153, 158
Kaikeyī 139
Kairātaja 157
Kāitheli Lahkarī
Kaivartta 77
Kaivarttanaukukṣi 172
Kāki 7, 151
Kalaṅgā Viṣaya, Kalaṅgā 119
Kalhaṇa 37
Kali 25, 37, 147
Kālidāsa 10, 25, 30, 36, 93, 103, 136, 137, 138, 140, 153, 162, 163, 168
Kaliṅga 20, 23, 54, 64, 67
Kalitās 140, 143
Kalitā Kingdom 100, 136, 140, 143, 153
Kalyāṇacandra 74, 75
Kalyāṇavarmā 13, 14, 18, 38, 43, 44, 45, 46, 55, 70, 96, 108
Kāmā 36, 83, 103
Kāmadā 83
Kāmākhyā 1, 12, 36, 61, 83, 149, 157, 158
Kāmakūṭa 60, 148, 155
Kāmaru 83
Kāmru 83
Kāmrād 84
Kāmarūpa 1, 2, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45,46, 48, 50, 54, 56, 57, 58, 64, 67, 70, 71, 74, 77, 81, 82, 84, 87, 88, 89, 91, 94, 95, 106, 118, 124, 136, 138, 141, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156, 157, 160, 165, 167
Kamarūpā 83
Kāmarūpa House 44, 57, 58, 61, 64, 70, 88, 111
Kāmarūpa Kings 88, 90, 107, 109, 110, 114, 136
Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti 1, 2, 4
Kāmarūpalakṣmī 69
Kāmarūpamaṇḍala 86
Kāmarūpanagara 82, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88
Kāmarūpī Prākṛta 171, 175
Kāmatā 83, 84
Kamatāpura 83
Kāmatāpura 83
Kamuli Grant 40, 68, 86, 88, 118, 125
Kamauli Copper Plate of Govindacandra 102
Kāmboja Country 30, 136, 137, 141
Kāmbojas 141
Kāmeśvara 60, 61, 148, 155

Kāmeśvaramahāgaurī 60, 148, 156
Kānāibaraśī Rock Inscription 5, 84, 92
Kāne 53, 160
Kānets 137
Kāṅgura 83
Kañjiā 79
Kāntaduār Inscription 83
Kāpeyas 134
Kapili 38
Kapila Gaṅgā 38
Kapiputra 134
Kapili Valley 38, 44, 45, 46
Kāraka 152
Karaṇa 17, 115
Karaṇasaciva 114
Karatoyā 12, 13, 33, 37, 38, 43, 48, 50, 51, 53, 63, 67, 68, 74, 85
Karṇa Suvarṇa 40, 53, 54, 160
Karṇāta 20
Kartṛpura 10, 38
Kāshmīra 25, 31, 32, 37, 45, 72, 137, 138, 153, 156
Kāśīpāṭaka 74
Kāśyapa 133, 152
Kātyāyana 179
Kauśikā 34, 40, 41
Kaustubha 163
Kauṭilya 34, 100, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 125, 147
Kedāra 124
Kekayas 139, 141
Kerala 71
Kethal thana 85
Khalimpur Copper plate Inscription 54
Khāṇḍavaprastha 141
Khārikoṇākoñci 75
Khonāmukh Plates 7, 15, 27, 69, 76, 78, 79
Kielhorn 89, 91
King of Gauḍa 50, 51, 53, 54
Kings of Kāmarūpa 47, 48, 53, 55, 57, 148, 149, 150
Kirāta 23, 24, 29, 58, 63, 120, 136, 137, 153
Kīrtivarmā 54
Kiṣkindhyā 15, 16
K. L. Barua, 13, 34, 36, 38, 56, 69, 70, 76, 77, 91, 158
K. N. Dīkṣita (Dīkṣit) 5, 6, 7, 95
Koṣādhyakṣa 126
Kośala 20, 64
Kośī 30, 31, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43, 67, 95, 121, 140
K. R. Subramaniar 181
Krauñcasvabhra 54
Krosañja Grāma 79, 80, 81
Kṛṣña 32, 49, 50, 93
Kṛtaprajña 10, 25, 95
Kṣatriya 104, 105
Kṣetrabhūmi 124
Kṣitiśvara 108
Kṣitipāla 109
Kuladevī 15
Kulūtas 141, 143
Kulūta Country 140
Kulu Valley 140
Kumāra 14, 64, 96
Kumāradeva 64
Kumāragupta 38, 43, 44, 46, 108
Kumārapāla 20, 87, 88
Kumārarāja 64
Kuṇḍalinī 148
Kuṇḍina 21, 73
Kurukṣetra 93
Kuśāṇa Kings 181
Kuśāṇa Script
Kuṭila Script
K. V. Subramanya 3

L

Lādāk (h) 137, 141, 153, 154
Lakṣmī 151, 163
Lakṣamaṇasena 86, 89, 90, 91, 92
Lāsys 168
Later Guptas of Malwa 46, 47, 52
Lauhitya 11, 16, 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32,

37, 46, 47, 48, 61, 71, 83, 121, 129, 133, 134, 136, 138
Lauhitya Vāridhi (Sāgara) 32, 33
Lichas 137
Limbees 137
Locana 165, 166
Lohitasāgara 31
Lt. Col. Wilson 38

M

Madanapāla 90
Madra 89
Madras 139
Madhāinagar Inscription 89
Mādhavasena 94
Madhyadeśa 141
Magadha 22, 23, 29, 31, 34, 36, 37, 46, 47, 48, 54, 58, 81, 93, 94, 121, 129, 140
Māgadhī 175
Mahābalādhikṛta 113
Mahābhāṣya 94
Mahābhiṣeka 104, 106
Mahābhūtavarmā 13, 14, 18, 25, 110
Mahābhūtivarmā 14, 40, 103, 110, 111
Mahādeva 18. 19, 61, 78, 148, 158, 168
Mahādevī 110, 173
Mahādvārādhipati 112
Mahāgaurī 60, 61, 148, 155
Mahāmāṇḍalika 74
Mahāmātya 112, 113
Mahāmāyā Hill (temple) 39
Mahāpratihāra 112
Mahārāja 109, 117
Mahārājādhirāja 18, 39, 72, 88, 107, 108, 109, 117, 174
Mahāsainyapati 110, 112, 113
Mahāsāmanta 62, 109, 118
Mahāsāmanta-senādhyakṣa 109
Mahāsandhivigrahika 113
Mahāsenagupta 19, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54
Mahāśrāddha 86, 87
Maheśvara 150, 153, 154
Mahendravarmā 13, 18, 42, 43, 45, 46, 95, 96, 99, 103, 106
Mahīpāla 71, 76
Mahīraṅgadānava 95, 154
Mahiṣī 110
Mahiṣipravarā 110
Maithilī 176, 177
Mālavas 141
Mālavikāgnimitra 93, 94, 119
Māladah Madrasa Inscription 83
Mālwa 19, 46. 47, 52
Manasā 141, 151
Mānavadharmaśāstra 131, 147
Maṇḍala 117, 118
Mandaleśvara 118
Mandākinī 72
Mandarā (Village) 86
Mandākrāntā 162
Māndāsor Stone Pillar Inscription 19, 46
Mandi 74, 81, 119, 125
Maṇipura 17, 23, 29, 129
Mantrī 111, 113, 114
Mantripariṣat 111
Manu 101
Markkamyīkokva Rājaputra 60
Maruts 105
Matisaciva 114
Mātsyanyāya 100, 167
Maukharis of Kanauj 47, 48, 52
Maukharis of Kośala 46
Max Müller 179
Māyā 73, 152
Māyana 88
Mayūraśālmala 40, 41, 124
Medinīpāla 109
Megasthenes 13
Meghadūta 162
Meghavāhana 11, 25, 37
Merupāṭaka 79
Minhaj 84, 90, 92
Mīmāmsā 146, 148
Mithilā 23, 30

Mleccha 24, 56, 57, 58, 129, 131, 140, 156
Mm. Dhireśvar Bhaṭṭāchārya 1, 4, 8
Mm. Haraprasad Sāstrī 3, 59, 86, 134
Mohenjodāro 182
Mongolian 137, 156, 181
Mongoloid 144, 153, 156
Mr. A. Barooah 34, 137
Mṛcchakaṭikā 115
Mṛgahastī 133
Mṛgāṅka 14, 18
Mr. Pargiter 137
Mudrārākṣasa 57, 58, 140
Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar 90
Mymensingh 30, 32, 38, 43

N

Nāgar Brāhmaṇa 45, 155
Nāgārjuna 158
Nākkajosī 172
Nālandā 6, 55, 56
Nālandā Clay Seal 6, 18, 47, 55, 56, 57, 58, 64, 106
Naraka 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 70, 73, 93, 94, 95, 98, 100, 138, 140, 142, 149, 157, 182
Narakānvaya (dynasty) 99
Narakāsurgaon 21
Narakāsur (hill) parbat 21, 35, 151
Narapati 109
Nārāyaṇa 7, 12, 163
Nārāyaṇadeva 20
Nārāyaṇavarmā 13, 14, 18, 42, 43, 96, 106, 110, 111
Naukābandhika 120, 121
Naurajja 172
Naurajjaka 172
Nāvādhyakṣa 121
Navaka 134
Nayanā 15
Nayanadevī 14, 18
Nayapāla 71
Nidhānpur 4, 14, 40
Nidhānpur copper plates 3, 14, 18, 26, 40, 41, 53, 54, 55, 67, 95, 98, 101, 102, 107, 108, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 124, 125, 126, 127, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 152, 153, 156, 167, 169, 170, 176, 186
Nālakaṇṭha 148
Nīlācala 61
N. N. Bose 3
Nowgong plates 4, 15, 19, 48, 59, 60, 67, 68, 107, 111, 116, 117, 119, 120, 124, 142, 145, 150, 154, 169
Nordic Races 104
North Indian Scripts
North Semitic 180
Nṛpati 108
Nṛpendra 109
Nyāya 146
Nyāyakaraṇika 115, 116

O

Oḍra 20, 64
Oxus 137

P

Pabna 30
Pāik 117
Pāla 116
Pāla dynasty (of Assam) 15, 69, 76, 88, 91, 93, 97, 99, 159
Pāla, the Kāpya 133, 134
Pāla line 68, 69
Pālaka 14, 15, 19, 64, 96, 166
Pāla rule in Gauḍa 76
Pālakāpya 133, 134, 182
Pāla dynasty of Bengal 71, 75, 87, 88, 89, 124
Pāla Kingdom 84
Pamir regions 135
Pañcakhaṇḍa 39, 40, 41
Pañcanada 141
Pañcarātra 95, 150

Pañcavuṭikā 172
Paṇḍarī area (bhūmi) 60, 61, 74, 81, 125
Pāṇḍavas 24
Paṇḍita 113, 114
Paṇis 180, 181
Paramadaivata 39, 107, 108
Parahita 107
Paramāra 113, 116
Paramabhaṭṭāraka 39, 63, 72, 88, 107, 108
Paramaparameśvara 107, 108
Paramātmā 152
Parameśvara 63, 72, 88, 108, 109, 117, 152, 153, 155, 158
Parahitamūrttih 147
Parahitamūrttiradṛṣṭaḥ 102
Paraśurāma 73
Paraśurāmakuṇḍa 73
Parisamkhyā 161
Parvatīyā plates 6, 14, 17, 18, 19, 26, 28, 56, 58, 60, 65, 66, 98, 126
Parvatīyā Gaṇas 138
Paśupati 20, 64, 154
Pāṭaka 119
Patañcala Kāpya 134
Patañjali 94, 177
Pātkāi Range 136, 181
Pattana 119
Pattanādhyakṣa 121
Pauras 139
P. Banerjee 7, 79
Phoenician 180
P. L. Paul 77
Pinākin 153
P.P S. Sāstrī 129
Prā bhākaras 86
Prabhākaravardhana 52
Pradhāna 113
Prāḍvivāka 115
Prāgjyotiṣa 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 61, 70, 82, 94, 118, 132, 133, 139, 140, 141, 142, 145, 151, 157, 163, 182
Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa 93, 95, 128, 147, 182
Prāgjyotiṣapura 9, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 70, 85, 88, 139, 140
Prāgjyotiṣādhipa (King) 24, 26, 34, 38, 48, 59, 60, 73, 93, 106, 136, 142
Prāgjyotiṣa bhukti 86, 88, 118
Prajāpati 152
Prākāmya 167
Prakṛti 152
Prakāśaratna 167
Prālambha 14, 19, 56, 57, 65, 66
Pramāṇa 143
Pratihāra 112, 116
Pravarabhūmi 172
Prayāgapraśasti
Prof. Bühler 131
Protonordic 100, 135
Pṛthu 102
Ptolemy 13
Pulakeśin II 55
Puṇḍra 34, 129
Puṇḍradeśa 81
Puṇḍravardhana 13, 34, 41, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 58, 61, 67, 68, 70, 74, 80, 81, 82, 86, 118, 119, 121
Pūrvavideha 37
Purandarpāla 15, 73, 74, 97
Purī plates 112
Purnea District 30
Puruhūta 151
Puruṣa 152
Purujī 79
Pūrvamīmāṁsā 123
Purajiviṣaya 79
Puṣpabhadrā 5, 27, 69, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 101, 103, 115, 124, 146, 147, 155, 171
Puṣyabhūtis of Sthāneśvara 47, 52
Puṣpadatta 25, 96
Puṣyamitra Suṅga 36, 37, 94
Puṣyavarmā 13, 36, 37, 93, 94, 96, 100, 110

Puṣkarāraṇya 141

R

Raghu 25, 30, 32, 36, 136, 137, 138, 163
Raghu's digvijaya 94
Raghuvaṁśa 25, 36, 103, 137
Rāhulbhadra 158
Rājā 109
Rājakam 109
Rājan 109
Rājanaka 109
Rājankaya 109
Rājaputra 111
Rājādhirāja 108
Rājāduār 84, 85
Rājmahal 84, 85
Rājarāja 71
Rājasūya 104, 106, 145
Rājñī 158
Rājataraṅgiṇī 25
Rājbali Pandey 179, 180, 181, 182
Rājyadevī 20, 75
Rājyamatī 64
Rajyapāla 72
Rājyaśrī 52
Rājyavardhana 52, 53
Rāma 16, 93
Rāmapāla 20, 86, 87, 88
Rāmavarman 114
Rāṇaka 109
Raṇastambha 57
Raṅgpur 30
Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat 1, 4, 5
Rāṇī 158
Rantivarmā 58
Rāṣṭrakūtas 75, 77
Ratnapāla 4, 15, 17, 26, 27, 28, 56, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 82, 97, 107, 119, 124, 126, 138, 146, 148, 152, 153, 156, 158, 160, 162, 167, 171, 185, 187, 189
Ratnāsura 95
Ratnahavīmṣi 105
Ratnadevī 14, 15, 18
Ratnaphala 158
Ratnapur 88
Ratnavatī 14, 18
Ratnin 113, 115
Raudra 168
Raverty 84
Rāvaṇa 16, 21, 98
Rāyārideva 91, 92, 97
R. C. Majumdar 70, 76
R. D. Banerjee 55, 77, 87, 88
R. G. Basak 80, 86
R. M. Nath 5, 7, 8
R. R. Mookherjee 54
Ṛkṣas 135
Rock Inscription of Harjaravarmā 19
Rudra 153, 154, 155
Rudradāman 119
Rukmiṇī 21, 73
Rūpaka 161

S

Śabdālaṅkāra 163
Śabdaśaktimūla 165, 166
Saciva 113, 114
Sādhanamālā 158
Sahakāri 166
Sahasrāra 148
Śaiva 148, 149, 158
Śaivism 149, 150, 152, 157
Śākaladvipa 17, 23, 29
Śakrotthāna 151
Śākta 149, 157
Śakti 148, 149, 150, 152, 154, 155, 157
Śāktism 150, 152
Sālambha 14, 19, 57, 65, 66, 97
Sālastambha 14, 15, 58, 61, 64, 70, 96, 99, 165, 166
Sālastambha dynasty 14, 19, 56, 60, 62, 64, 96, 99, 156, 174
Salt Range 139
Samāhartā 126
Sāmanta 109, 110, 118
Samatā 161

Samataṭa 10, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45
Samāvartana 144
Śambarāsura 95
Śambhu 148, 152
Samudragupta 10, 19, 38, 95, 108
Samudrapāla 7, 88, 92, 97, 159, 175
Samudravarmā 13, 14, 18, 94, 96, 167
Sanaka 134
Sandhyākaranandi 20, 86
Sāṅgśrāhi-Koṅchikā 91
Saṅgrāmastambha 57
Saṅgula 113
Śaṅkara 152, 153
Śaṅkarī Sakti 152
Saṅketas 141
Sāṅkhya 145, 152
Sannidhātā 126
Śāntipāṭaka 86
Saptasindhu 135
Sarasvatī 151
Śārdūlavikrīḍita 162
Sarayu 139
Śāsana 111
Śaśāṅka 11, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 160
Śaśiśekhara 153, 156
Satkarma 147
Śatapatha 104, 131, 132
Śatha 16
Sātavāhana 114
Sauvīras 139
Sāvarṇī Srī Cittagharadakṣa 110
Savāsika satra 159, 175
S. Beal 53
Semitic 180
Senādhyakṣa 62, 121, 127
Sena Kings of Bengal 21, 72, 89
Senāpati 113, 114
Shung Shu 44
Silimpur plates (Inscription) 20, 80, 81
Silimpur stone Slab Inscription 85, 87, 88
Siṁhapura 45
Sindhu 135, 136, 137
Sindhudeśa 23, 29, 137
Sir Aurel Stein 25, 37
Sir Wolsely Haig 92
Śiva 45, 59, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 164, 165, 167, 181
Śivi(s) 24, 139, 141, 142, 143
Śiva-śakti 148, 152, 155, 156, 157, 181
Śiva-worship 153
Skandagupta 43
S. K. Maity 54
Śleṣa 161, 163, 164, 166
Smṛti 146
Someśvara I 71
Soṇitapura 12, 33, 49, 50
Sorensen 24, 139
Śramaṇamahāmātra 114
Śrāvasti (Sāvaththi) 74, 79, 80, 81, 82, 86, 87
Śrī 163
Śrī candra 70, 75
Śrī Gopinath Rao 155
Śrī Gupta 56
Śrī Harṣa (Śrī Hariṣa) 14, 56, 57
Śrī Harṣa (Harṣavardhana) 6, 11
Śrī Haṭṭa 45
Śrī Harjara 14, 15, 19
Śrī Jīvara 15, 174
Śrī Kṛṣṇa 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 21, 22, 25 30, 34, 73, 142
Śrī Kumāra 6, 151
Śrī Maṅgalā 15
Śrī Mattarā 14
Śrī N. N. Bose 3
Śrī P. D. Chaudhury 5, 6, 7, 8, 152, 155, 173
Śrī Sucitta 62, 109, 172
Śṛṅgāra 168
Sthānas 117
Sthānīyas 117, 121
Sthitavarmā (Sthiravarmā) 13, 14, 18, 25, 42, 47, 96, 106 163
Śualkuci grant 4, 74, 98 ,119, 124, 158
Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka 5, 27, 68, 69, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, 86, 103, 110, 119, 124, 147, 168, 170, 171

Sugrīva 21, 22, 28
Suhma 129
Śukranīti 113, 114
Sultan Ghiasuddin 92
Sumeria 180
Sumerian people 180
Śuṅgas 94
Śuṅga dynasty 36
Śuṅga empire 37, 94
Śuṅga Kings (period) 36, 93
Śuṅga Kingdom 94
Supratiṣṭhitavarmā 13, 18, 48, 49, 50, 52, 96, 127
Suṣena 15, 22, 28
Śuṣka Kauśikā 40
Susthitavarmā 13, 14, 18, 19, 25, 47, 48, 49, 51 54, 96
Surendravarmā 5, 18, 94, 95, 96, 150, 172, 182
Sūrya 151
Sūrya Image Inscription 7
Sūryapāhār 151
Suvratā 13, 18, 103
Svabhakṣa Sādhanī 172
Sven Hedin 138
Swat Valley 137
Syāmādevī 14, 18.

T

Tajiks 71
Takkas 139
Takṣaśīlā 137
Tāmralipta 129
Tāṇḍava 168
Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa 131
Tantra 146
Tantricism 152
Tantric Buddhism 158
Tapasyā 149
Tārānātha 125
Tarkkāri grāma 80, 81
Tartary 137
Tārtikas 139
Tāyika 71, 72, 138, 173
Taylor 180
Tezpur Rock Inscription 3, 35, 38, 59, 61, 63, 109, 110, 118, 121, 172, 174
Tezpur plates 4, 18, 19, 26, 27, 41, 56, 58, 59, 62, 65, 66, 67, 98, 110, 121, 124, 126, 127, 142, 145, 150, 153, 154 155, 161, 162
Thāneśvara (Thāṅvīśvara) 11, 52, 160
Thibet 137, 141
Tiṅgyadeva 20, 87, 88, 97, 118
Tistā 41, 67
Trans-Himālayān 153, 154, 181
Trans-Indus people 71
Trigartta 17, 23, 29
Triratna 101, 148
Trisrotā 41, 67, 68
T. R. Kriṣhnachārya 129
Tryambaka 154
Tsang-Po 138
Tuṅgabhadrā 16
Tyāgasiṁha 15, 68, 69, 97, 99
Tipperah (Tripura) 30, 44, 45, 46, 55
Tyre 180.

U

Udayagiri Cave Inscription 108
Udayakarṇa 91, 97
Udjāna 137
Ugratārā 158
Umā 152, 155
Umācal 5
Umācal Rock Inscription 5, 18, 94, 150, 172, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 189, 190, 192
Umāpati 86, 87
Upagiri 23, 31
Upajāti 162
Upamāna 163, 166
Upameya 163, 166
Uparikara 122
Uparipattana 14, 18, 26, 34, 35, 61, 98, 142

Utkala 17, 23, 29, 120
Utkheṭana 122
Utkhetayitā 126
Utprekṣā 163
Uttarakośala 79, 80, 81
Utsavasaṅketas 136, 138, 141

V

Vācya 166
Vācyālaṅkāra 167
Vāhika (Bāhika) 71, 72, 138, 139, 173
Vahirgiri 23, 31
Vaidyadeva 20, 40, 68, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 97, 118, 125
Vaidarbha Style 161
Vaigrāma Copper Plate Inscription
Vaijayantī 125
Vaināma grāma 74, 81
Vainyagupta 43
Vaiṣṇvas 149, 150
Vaiṣṇavāstra 10, 149
Vaiṣṇavism 149, 150, 157
Vaiśya 106
Vājapeya 104
Vajardhana 89
Vājasaneya Samhitā 154
Vajradatta 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 25, 26, 34, 35 96, 98, 142, 143, 150
Vajradeva 14, 64, 69, 97
Vajradhara 143
Vajrayāna 101, 151
Vākya 143
Vallabha 137
Vallabhadeva 90, 91, 92, 97
Vallāla Sena 89, 90
Vālmiki 139
Vanamāla 18, 19, 41, 60, 63, 65, 66, 97, 98, 110, 111, 112, 124, 142, 145, 148, 150, 154, 155, 161, 163, 162, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189
Vanamālavarmadeva 4, 14, 15, 17, 19, 26, 28, 40, 56, 58, 59, 62, 65, 67, 68, 121, 127, 145, 154, 155
Vaṅga (Baṅga) 17, 23, 29, 31, 54, 75, 129
Vaṅkṣu
Varāha mountain 9, 22, 28
Varāha incarnation 78
Vararuci 175
Vārāsepattana Viṣaya 68, 75, 119
Varendra 77
Varendra Research Society 83
Varmans of Kāmarūpa 39, 106
Varmans of Vikramapura 77
Varṇa 101, 144, 149
Varṇaprakāśinī 149
Varṇāśramadharma 144
Varuṇa 12, 13, 179
Varuṇālaya 16, 28
Varuṇa Umbrella 25
V. A. Smith 38
Vaśiṣṭha 12, 130, 131, 133
Vāskala 24, 139
Vāstu 124
Vasu 9, 30
Vasundharā 151
Vatsa 17, 23
Vibhindukīyas 134
Vibhūti 152
Vidarbha 21, 73, 93, 94
Vidiśā 93
Vidyāvinoda 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 16, 20, 21, 32, 54, 63, 65, 66, 67, 71, 72, 77, 81, 83, 84, 87, 90, 101, 124, 126, 148, 149, 164, 168, 186
Vigrahapāla 70, 74
Vigrahastambha 15, 57
Vijaya 14, 15, 19, 64, 96, 166
Vijayasena 21, 72, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91
Vijigīṣu 117
Vijñānavatī 13, 18, 110
Vikramāṅka of Karṇāṭa 20
Vikramapura 69, 70, 75, 76
Vinayasthitisthāpaka 114
Vindhya mountain 131, 134
Vīra 89
Vīrabāhu 15, 67, 68, 97

Virodha 163
Viśākhādatta 57
Viṣaya 41, 114, 118, 119
Viṣayā-mātya 39, 120
Viṣayapati 115, 120
Viṣṇu 7, 10, 11, 12, 22, 34, 57, 78, 81, 93, 98, 149, 150, 151, 153, 157, 163
Viṣṇu cult 150
Viṣṇu Image Inscription 6
Viśvāmitra 30, 140
Viśvasundaradeva 8
Vrajabuli 173, 175, 176, 177
Vṛtta 162
Vṛtti 166
Vyavahāra (Vyāvahāra) 115, 116
Vyavahārika 116
Vyūhas 95, 150

W

Wang-hiuen-tse 55
Watters T. 53, 56
Western Asia 181
White Yajurveda 131
Woolly C. L. 180, 181

Y

Yādavaprakāśa 125
Yajnadatta 10, 17, 23, 29, 96
Yajnadevī 13, 14, 18
Yajnasena 94
Yājnavalkya 123, 131
Yajnavatī 14, 18, 43, 110
Yama 151
Yamunā 72
Yāska 135
Yaśodharmadeva 19, 46, 47
Yavana 94, 179
Yavana Script 179
Yogīhātī 159, 175
Yudhiṣṭhira 10, 23, 24
Yuaon Chwang (Hieun Tsang) 13, 38, 39, 45, 53, 54, 55, 56, 67, 161
Yu Chai 44
Yue-shi 38

APPENDIX D

WORD INDEX

(ON PARTS II AND III—TEXTS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS)

A

Abāri 49, 176
Abdapūjā 65, 70
Abhiśuravāṭaka 49, 176
Abhigāmikaguṇa 24, 165
Acyuta 158, 204
Aditi 14, 45, 51, 72, 154, 156, 173, 186, 190
Ādivarāha 45, 205
Adhikaraṇa 24
Agni 33
Agniṣṭoma 121, 214
Agrahāra 24, 165
Aiśvarya 190
Ākhaṇḍala 14
Akincitpragṛhya 24
Akṣidāhikā 54
Amarendra 9
Ambā 183, 187
Ambhojanābhah 110
Amoghavarṣa 104
Ananta Nāga 163, 175
Andhakadviṣa 129
Aṅga 104
Ānjī 44
Apratihatadaṇḍa 96, 120, 128, 135
Āptavākya 152
Arasikabhīma 102
Ardhayuvatīśvara 119, 125, 217
Aridamanendra 15, 151, 157
Arjuna 85, 194
Arjjāpāṭakībhūmi 122, 215
Āryācāra 97
Āratha, Arathi 37, 45, 51, 168, 174
Āryadharma 23, 164
Asiatic Society of Bengal 43, 71
Aśvamedha 3
Auparikarika 76
Auparikara 121, 129, 135, 213
Autkheṭika 76
Avaguṇa 3,4, 150
Avakāra 69, 76
Avaskara 85, 97, 100, 117, 120, 135
Avaraparvata 42, 170, 172

B

Balabhadra 2, 149
Balādhyakṣa 42
Bakhtiyār 140, 226
Balarāma 158
Balavarmā 10, 12, 17, 21, 37, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 75, 78, 106, 153, 160, 162, 168, 173, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187
Bāṇabhaṭṭa 193
Bāṇāsura 16, 158
Bāṇagaḍa Copper Plate Inscription of Mahīpāla 108
Bappadevapāṭaka 66, 69, 188
Bārāsrajambūba 103, 117, 212
Bargaṅgā 1, 3, 4, 150
Bargaon Grant (Plates) 78, 79, 197
Bortu 226
Bhagadatta 9, 17, 20, 37, 45, 51, 67, 73, 81, 93, 112, 119, 125, 133, 152, 160, 161, 162, 168, 173, 177, 182, 186, 191, 199, 200, 209, 217, 222
Bhagadattavaṁśa 92
Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla 103
Bhagavān Padmayoni 164
Bhāgavata 4,
Bhāgyadevī 108, 109

Bhāṇḍāgārādhikṛta 32
Bharella Image Inscription 105
Bhāskaravarmā 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 34, 74, 103, 151, 152, 157, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165
Bhaṭa 54, 177
Bhaṭṭojīdikṣita 23
Bhaṭṭajīu 42, 170
Bhauma 153, 156
Bhauma Naraka 1, 155
Bhumānvaya 85, 93
Bhaviṣābhūmi 96, 202
Bhīma 85, 194, 217
Bhogavatī 6, 12, 18, 22, 151, 154, 160, 162, 163
Bhoja I 104
Bhūmicchidranyāya 24, 165
Bhūtivarmā 1, 3, 4, 7, 17, 19, 24, 150, 159, 160, 165
Bhuyān Chieftain 145
Bilhari Inscription 105
Brahmā 92, 199
Brāhmaṇādhikāra 39
Brahmapāla 82, 85, 94, 106, 112, 119, 125, 133, 191, 192, 200, 209, 217, 222
Brahmaputra 40, 50, 91, 132, 155, 156, 173
Brāhmī 34, 142
Bṛhaspati 164, 192

C

Cakra 37, 99, 168
Cakrapāṇi 11, 154, 161, 174
Cāṇakya 136, 223,
Caṇḍikāpuṣkariṇī 54
Candrapuri 49, 166, 176
Candrapurināyaka 32
Candrapuriviṣaya 24, 165
Candras of Bengal 106
Cāṭa 54, 177
Caturāśramavarṇadharma 96
Cauroddharaṇa 69, 76, 85, 97, 100, 117, 121, 129, 135
Chalukyas 63
Chandellas 63
Chandella records 104
Chatravāsa 76
Copper-Bell Inscription 33, 167
Cyavana 42, 172

D

Ḍabakā (Ḍavāka) 3, 103, 144, 146, 228
Dacca Copper Plates of Kalyāṇacandra 105
Dacca plates 105
Dacca Sāhityapariṣat 36, 41
Dakṣadigvāsī Dalākavavā 42, 170, 171
Dakṣiṇapāṭaka 122
Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha 109
Daluhāṅganā 49, 176
Daṇḍapāśa 69, 85, 97, 100, 117
Daṇḍapāśika 76, 121, 129, 135
Daṇḍābhāva 162
Dāṇḍika 76
Darśana 152
Daśalāṅgala 49, 176
Daśaratha 12, 115, 211
Dattadevī 21, 160, 162
Dattavatī 10, 153
Dayitaviṣṇu 108
Devavatī (Devamatī) 6, 11, 12, 17, 21, 151, 154, 160, 163
Deopānī 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 180, 181
Deoli C.P. 104
Devakī 14, 156, 203
Devanāgarī 34, 140
Devapāla 103, 104
Devapāladeva 107, 108
Devanāthasatkaśāsana 122
Devasya Śūkaratanoḥ 125
Dhaṅga 104
Dharma 17, 24, 134, 161, 164, 165, 203, 218, 222
Dharmapāla 107 118, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 132, 133,

134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224
Dharmapāla of Bengal 108
Dharmaphalānumeyasthiti 20
Dhulia Copper Plates 105
Digalaṇḍī 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 214
Digdolaguheśvara 137, 223, 224
Dīghalpānī 3
Diglekhavarmā 64, 181
Dijjinā River 130, 220
Dijjinā Viṣaya 76, 128, 184, 219
Dinajī Lāhilī Jhā 42, 170, 171
Dirggummā river 98, 202
Dr. A. H. Dani 105
Draviḍas 103
Dr. Block 40
Dr. B. K. Barua 144
Dr. D. C. Ganguly 107
Dr. D. C. Sircar, (Dr. Sircar) 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 50, 65, 66, 122, 123, 144, 159
Dr. Hoernle 40, 71, 72, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 97, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 184, 191, 194
Dr. H. P. Sastri 40, 61
Dr. Kielhorn 40
Dr. N. K. Bhattasali 3, 4, 118, 121, 144
Dr. P. C. Chowdhury 33, 62, 65, 66, 103, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 142, 144, 145, 146, 167, 180, 181, 184, 226, 228
Dr. Spooner 40
Dr. R. C. Majumdar 107
Dr. R. G. Basak 118
Ḍubi 3, 7, 19, 103, 151, 152, 211
Ḍumbariccheda 31, 165
Durlabhanārāyaṇa 144
Durllabhā 95
Durgā 14, 33
Durjjayā 84, 96, 192, 201
Dūṣya 171

E

E. A. Gait 71, 78, 88, 91
Edilpur Copper plate 105

F

Five great accolades 166

G

Gāchtal 103, 106, 110, 144
Gāchtal Copper plates 103, 106, 110, 207
Gāchtal pillar Inscription 144, 146, 228
Gait 40
Gaṇapati 21, 162
Gaṇapativarmā 6, 17, 151, 160, 162
Gandharva 114
Gaṅgā 92, 104, 110, 199, 203, 222
Gandharvavatī 11, 17, 21, 153, 160, 162
Gaṇendravarmā 11, 151, 153
Gaṅgiṇikā 31, 32, 165, 166
Gaṇeśa 33, 43, 157
Garbeta 109
Garuḍa 60, 99
Garuḍadhvaja 133
Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla 103
Gauḍas 7, 103, 104, 105, 106, 144, 159, 210
Gauḍa house 159
Gauḍendra 83, 210
Gauḍarāja 113
Gauḍa Kāmarūpa Relationship 103
Gauhati grant 91, 199
—— plates 92
Gaurī 92, 156, 180, 199, 215
General Jenkins 43
Girijā 127
Girīndrajā 14
Goharwa C. P. 105
Gopāla 105, 106, 107, 119, 126, 211, 218, 222
Gopāla I. 108
Gopāla II 105, 108
Gopālavarmadeva 103, 106, 110, 116, 207, 212
Gopinath Rao 60
Gopracāra 85, 97, 100, 120, 129, 135

Govarṇṇa 105
Govindacandra 105, 106
Gṛhāśrama 76
Guākuci Grant 99, 100, 203
Guheśvaradigḍolavṛddha grāma 135, 138, 223, 224
Guṇa 163
Gurjjara 103, 193
Gurjjarapratihāra 104
Gurjjarādhirāja 83

H

Haḍappeśvara 54, 65, 66, 69, 169, 187
Haḍapyakā 116, 212
Hākkevaṭṭibhū 121, 215
Haposagrāma 50, 54, 55, 177
Halāvanavṛkṣasīmā 122
Hāpyomaviṣaya 96, 201
Hara 82, 191
Haravarṣa 107
Hari 1, 16, 22, 82, 111, 181, 190, 191, 199, 208, 215
Harihara 56, 60, 62, 63, 64, 180, 181
Harkāthi 3
Harjara (Varma) deva 34, 37, 39, 61, 104, 168, 169, 174, 182, 186

Harjjaravarmā 39, 40, 42, 67, 73, 140, 168, 170
Harṣavarmā 37, 168
Harṣapāla 107, 119, 126, 128, 134, 218, 219, 222
Hārūppeśvara 39, 42, 49, 75, 169, 170, 175
Hastibandha 79, 97, 100, 117, 120, 129, 135
Hāstibandhika 76, 85
Hastyāyurveda 152
Hāṭakaśūlin 47
Hāṭakeśvara 175
Hāyuṅthal grant 34, 36, 37, 168
Hemchandra Goswami 99, 124, 132
Heṅśivā 76, 184
Hetukaśūlin 53
Howraghat 65, 66, 67, 186
Hūṇa 103

I

Indra 33, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 161, 167, 194, 200, 205, 208, 217, 218
Indrasakhaḥ Bhagadattaḥ 20
Indrapāla 91, 92, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 102, 106, 114, 116, 119, 126, 173, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 210 217, 218
Indoka 49
Irda Copper plate 109
Īśa 67, 73, 199
Īśvara 45, 51, 117

J

Jaḍamakājola 122, 215
Jagattuṅga 108
Jagaddhātrī 33
Jaintia 144
Jatodipa 122, 215

Jayamāladeva 68, 74, 183, 187
Jayapāla 103, 104, 107, 108
Janārdana 85, 194
Jāmadagnya 95
Jīvadā 45, 174
Jīvadevī 38, 51, 168

K

Kailāsa 44, 51, 67, 72, 83, 173, 182, 186, 192, 193, 211
Kailāsa-Kaṭaka 72
Kaivartta 42, 170
Kaivartta-naukukṣi 42, 171
Kāki 56, 67, 179
Kalacuri 104, 105
Kali 17, 159, 161, 164, 165, 177, 199, 203, 205, 219
Kaliṅga 104, 105

Kalyāṇacandra 105, 106, 114, 210
Kalyāṇavarmā 10, 17, 21, 153, 160, 162
Kalaṅgā viṣaya (Kalaṅgā) 89, 197, 198
Kāmākhyā 1
Kamalākarā 84
Kāmadeva 182, 194, 197
Kāmandaka 162, 165
Kāmakūṭagiri 46, 53, 176
Kāmarūpa 19, 20, 34, 67, 72, 84, 104, 140, 144, 159, 164, 169, 170, 173, 182, 186, 194, 202, 224, 226
Kāmarūpalakṣmī 24
Kāmarūpanagara 137
Kāmbojavaṁśa 109
Kāmeśvara 101, 102, 176, 204
Kāmeśvaramahāgauri 46, 53
Kānāibarasī Rock Inscription 34, 140, 141, 226

K

Kañjiākabhiṭvī 128, 130, 131, 219, 220, 221
Kāṇva 86, 89, 194, 197, 203, 214
Karaṇa 69
Karṇa Suvarṇa 20, 161
Karṇāṭa
Kārttikeya 11, 154, 156, 157, 204
Kāshmīra 105
Kāśīpāṭaka 91, 96, 98, 201, 202
Kaṭaka 75, 184
Kauśikā 31, 165
Kauṭilya 162, 164, 171
Kāyastha 32
Kedāra 76, 86, 97, 100, 117, 120, 129, 135
Kedāramiśra 103
Kedārpur Copper plates 105
Keraleśa (King of Kerala) 83, 193
Khajuraho Inscriptions 104
Khaṇṭāpāṭakabhūmī 122, 215
Khārikoṇākoñci 103, 117, 212
King of Gauḍa 193, 210
Khonāmukh plates 118, 119, 214
K. N. Dīkṣita (Dīkṣit) 5, 58, 61, 124
Koppā 77, 185
Krauñca 16, 158
Krishna Shastri 40
Kroḍamūrtiḥ 110
Kroḍarūpa 133
Krosañja grāma 129, 219
Kṛṣṇa 14, 45, 51, 94, 156, 161, 173, 197, 200, 203
Kṛṣṇa II 104
Kṛṣṇā district 104
Kṣārabhakṣabhūbhṛdbhāga 42, 172
Kṣīrasāgara 163
Kubera 152, 192
Kuladevī 82, 191
Kulācala 22, 163, 217
Kumāra 37, 112, 168, 209
Kumāradeva 34
Kumārarāja 34, 167
Kurkihar Image Inscription 108

L

Lābukutikṣetra 85, 194
Laḍaha Candra 105, 106
Lāhilī Jhā 42, 170
Lakṣmī 9, 15, 17, 33, 46, 93, 121, 156, 157, 159, 163, 169, 174, 175, 197, 199, 200, 204, 211, 215, 218
Lakṣmaṇarāja 105
Lāṭa 105
Lauhitya 69, 75, 92, 173, 175, 184, 186, 187, 190, 193, 199, 207
Lauhityāmbhodhi 84
Lauhityabhaṭṭāraka 49, 44
Lauhityavāridhi 67, 72, 173
Lauhityasindhu 44, 51, 79, 110, 173

M

Madanpur plates 106
Maṇḍaleśvara 166
Magadha 5, 104
Madhusūdanasatka 135
Mahābhāṇḍāgārika 166

Mahādeva 161, 173, 182, 183, 199, 218
Mahādevī 39, 169
Mahābhūta 21, 163
Mahābhūtavarmā 6, 12, 22, 151, 154
Mahābhūtivarmā 163
Mahādvārādhipati 39
Mahāgaurī 101, 102, 176, 204
Mahābhārata war 161, 162
Mahādaṇḍanāyaka 166
Mahākārtākṛtika 166
Mahallaka 76
Mahāmātya 39, 169
Mahāpratihāra 39
Mahārāja 166
Mahārājādhirāja 1, 2, 3, 4, 44, 49, 54, 63, 64, 65, 69, 75, 85, 87, 96, 104, 109, 116, 120, 123, 128, 135, 149, 160, 165, 180
Mahāvarāha 99, 111, 199
Mahāsainyapati 39, 169
Mahāsādhanika 166
Mahāsāmanta 32, 42, 166
Mahāsandhivigrahika 166
Mahāśvaśālādhikṛta 166
Mahiṣāsura 33
Mahīpāla 108
Maināmati plates 105
Malla I 104
Manasā 33
Mandākinī 113, 210
Mandi 99, 100, 203
Mahendra 11, 67, 72, 111, 160
Mahendravarmā 1, 6, 11, 17, 21, 151, 153, 160, 162
Maheśvara 15, 159, 161, 170, 211
Maṅgalaśrī 39, 169
Manmatha 194
Mātsyanyāya 21, 162
Mayūraśālmala 24, 165
Merupāṭaka 118, 122, 214, 215
Mihirabhoja 104
Mīmāṁsā 14, 121, 136, 156, 201, 215, 223
Mleccha 37, 60, 81, 168, 191
Mm. Dhireśvar Bhattacharyya 71
Monghyr Copper plate 107
Mr. R. D. Banerjee 5
Mṛgāṅka 22, 151, 163
Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar 140

N

Nābhāga 113, 210
Nahuṣa 47, 53, 175
Nākkajosī 42, 170, 172
Nākkajosayāmyām 42
Nālandā 3, 4, 5, 6
Nālandā Clay-Seal 3, 4, 161
Naraka 8, 17, 20, 45, 51, 67, 72, 79, 93, 111, 119, 125, 133, 152, 160, 161, 165, 168, 173, 186, 190, 191, 192, 194, 197, 199, 200, 208, 217, 222
Narakānvaya 83
Narakāsurgaon 33
Narakāsura gaḍ 155
Narakāsur hill 33
Nārāyaṇa 11, 58, 59, 154, 163, 180, 199, 200, 222
Nārāyaṇapāla 104, 108
Nārāyaṇavarmā 3, 6, 11, 17, 21, 151, 154, 160, 162,
Naukābandha 69, 85, 97, 100, 117, 120, 129
Naukābandhika 76
Naukuvāsa 49
Naurajja 42
Naurajjaka 42, 171
Nayanā 18, 134, 222
Nayanadevī 22, 160, 163
Nayanaśobhā 6, 151
Nayapāla 109
Nidhānpur 3, 7, 19, 20, 74, 151, 152, 161, 218
Nīlakaṇṭha 173, 220
Nīlācala 1
N. N. Basu 40, 171
Nyāya 14, 156, 201
Nyāyakaraṇika 32, 166

O

Olinda 128, 130, 131, 219, 220, 221
Oracoṣajola 131, 221
Oraṅgitantra 131

P

Padmā 11, 154, 194
Pāikpara Image inscription 106
Pāla empire 104
Pāla dynasty 104, 106, 109
Pāla chieftain 145
Pāla line 103
Pālaka 37, 67, 73, 168, 182, 186
Pāla kings 104
Pālakāpya 152
Pāla kingdom 105
Pālas of Prāgjyotiṣa 10
Pāla throne 105
Pallavas 63
Pañca kulasaṅkara 42, 171
Pañcamahāśabda 32, 166
Pañcakhaṇḍa 19, 171
Pañcakula 42, 170, 171
Pañcapāṭakabhūmi 122, 215
Paṇḍarī 99, 100, 101, 102, 203, 204
Pāṇḍya ruler Srī Mara Srī Vallbha 104
Paramadaivata 3, 4, 150
Paramabhaṭṭāraka 3, 4, 39, 42, 54, 65, 69, 75, 85, 96, 104, 109, 116, 120, 128, 135, 169
Parameśvara 20, 39, 42, 49, 54, 65, 69, 75, 83, 84, 85, 102, 104, 109, 120, 128, 135, 150, 169, 176, 192, 194
Parahitamūrttiradṛṣṭaḥ 20
Paramamāheśvara 39, 42, 49, 54, 169
Paramasaugata 109
Parisareśvaradevālaya 7
Pārvatī 129, 200, 206, 218, 220
Parvatīyā plates 43, 50, 51
Parvatīyā Village 50
Paśupati 14, 92, 199
Pātañjala yoga 164
Paṭṭakaraṇa 24
P. Banerjee 118
Pinākin 8, 20, 44, 51
Piṅgbani 109
Pīṭhapuram Inscription 104
Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa 173
Prāgjyotiṣa 84, 103, 104, 105, 106, 111, 119, 159, 160, 169, 173, 174, 177, 182, 186, 190, 192, 195, 198, 199, 202, 206, 208, 212, 216, 217, 219, 223
Prāgjyotiṣapura 67, 72, 80, 93, 119, 125, 199, 201
Prāgjyotiṣādhipa (pati) 44, 50, 87, 96, 116, 120, 123, 128, 131, 135
Prāgjyotiṣanātha 45, 51
Prāgjyotiṣeśaḥ 45, 51
Prāgjyotiṣādhipānvaya 71
Prajādhinātha 92
Prakaraṇa 14, 156
Prākāmya 190
Prakṛti 21, 33, 163, 207
Prakṛtisampatprakaraṇa 165
Pravarabhūmi 42, 170, 172
Prālambha 45, 174
Praleyācala 53
Pramāṇa 9, 152
Priyaṅgu 109
Pṛthivīpāla 105
Pṛthu 226
Pumān Purāṇa 111
Purandarapāla 94, 106, 113, 119, 125
Pūrṇacandra 106
Puruṣa 163, 207
Puruṣottama 85, 111, 211
Purujī 118, 120, 121, 215
Purajiviṣaya 138, 214
Puṣpabhadrā 122, 132, 133, 215, 222
Puṣyavarmā 9, 17, 21, 152, 160, 161, 162

R

Rāḍha 104, 109
Rājā 85, 96, 100, 117, 120, 128, 135
Rajas 163

Rājanaka 69
Rājanyaka 85, 96, 100, 117, 120, 128, 135
Rājaputra 69, 85, 96, 100, 117, 120, 128, 135
Rājalakṣmī 164
Rājataraṅgiṇī 161, 166
Rājñī 69, 76, 96, 85, 100, 117, 120, 128, 135
Rājyadevī 115, 211
Rājyapāla 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 113, 210
Rāma 12, 94, 115, 200, 211
Rāmapāla Copper plate of Śrīcandra 105
Rāṇaka 69, 76, 96, 85, 100, 117, 120, 128, 135, 212
Raṇastambha 68, 75
Raṅgpur Sāhitya Pariṣat 78, 99
Rāṣṭrakūṭakingdom 107
Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Tuṅga 108
Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa-II 108
Rāṣṭrakūṭānvaya 114
Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kings 211
Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa 104
Rāṣṭrakūṭa records 104
Rathāṅgapāṇi 52
Rati 95, 200
Ratnapāla 78, 79, 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 94, 96, 105, 106, 107, 113, 119, 126, 173, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 217
Ratnadevī 10, 153, 160
Ratnavatī 17, 21, 162
Raudra 125
Recaka 44, 51, 173
R. M. Nath 1, 3, 144
Rohiṇī 129
Rudra 67, 72, 182, 186

S

Śacī 70, 95, 188, 200
Śaka 83, 193
Śakra 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 95
Śakrotthāna 65, 70, 188
Śaktitraya 119, 126
Śākyopama 129, 219
Sālambha 51
Sālastambha 45, 51, 60, 67, 73, 81, 168, 174, 182, 186, 191
Sālastambha Dynasty 34, 37, 106
Sāmanta 42, 166, 170
Sāmanta Cakra 23
Sāmanta Silākuṭṭa 42, 170, 171
Śambhu 15, 92, 94, 95, 112, 121, 127, 157, 209, 211, 215
Samudrapāla 142, 143, 229
Samudravarmā 10, 17, 21, 160
Śaṅkara 15, 79, 157, 180, 190
Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa 60, 62
Śaṅkarīśakti 79
Saṅgrāmastambha 102
Saṅkhupāṭaka 122, 215
Sāṅkhya 14, 156, 163
Sāṅkhyārtha 21
Sarasvatī 33
Śāsana 24
Śaśiśekhara 20
Satakratu 14, 70, 119, 125
Ṣaṭkarma 86, 129
Śatamakha 21
Sattva 163
Sāvarṇī Śrī Chittghardakṣa 42, 170, 171
Sekyakāra 32
Senādhyakṣa 42
Śiva 7, 33, 58, 60, 144, 153, 154, 157, 173, 177, 186, 187, 199, 200, 201, 206, 207, 208, 217
Śivaliṅga 33,
Śivi 24, 164
Skanda 14, 15, 85, 194
Skandhāvāra 169
Smara 95
Śrāvasti (Sāvaththi) 100, 129, 203, 219
Śrī Candra 105, 106, 114, 210
Śrī Candramukhavarmā 6, 12, 17, 151, 154, 160, 163
Śrī Dhruvalakṣmī 18, 151, 157

Śrī Gopāla 115, 133
Śrī Hariṣa (Śrī Harṣa) 5, 45, 51
Śrī Harjara 38, 46, 52
Śrī Jīvara 56, 60, 61, 62, 180
Śrī Kumāra 33, 34, 35, 167
Śrī Maṅgalā 52
Śrīmattarā 46, 176
Śrī P. D. Choudhury 1, 7, 11, 15, 50, 56, 62, 118, 121, 122, 140, 180, 181
Śrī Sthitavarmā (Sthiravarmā) 6, 13, 18, 151, 155, 160, 163
Śrī Supratiṣṭhitavarmā 6, 7, 15, 151, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163
Śrī Susthitavarmā 6, 14, 18, 151, 156, 160
Śrī Sucitta 42, 170
Śrī Vāpatya 108
Śrī Vārāha Parameśvara 96, 116, 120, 128, 135
Śṛṅgāra 125
Śruti-smṛtipatha 136
Sthitavarmā 22
Śuālkuci Grant 88, 197
Śubhaṅkarapāṭaka 119, 120, 124, 125, 128, 214, 217, 219, 220
Śuddhavyavahāra 42, 171
Sultan Ghiasuddin 226
Supratiṣṭhitavarmā 22
Śūrapāla-I 104, 108
Śuṣka Kauśikā 31, 165, 166
Susthitavarmā 22, 162
Surendravarmā 1, 2, 149, 153, 162
Sureśa 13
Sūrya 33, 56, 57, 179
Suvratā 6, 17, 21, 151, 154, 160, 162
Suvarṇṇa Candra 106
Svabhakṣa Sādhanī 42, 171
Svalpadyutikaivartta 98
Svalpamaṅgoka 54, 177
Svalpamaṅgoka maṇḍala 54
Svardhunī 44
Svargaṅgā 134
Śyāmādevī 22, 151, 163
Śyāmālakṣmī 6, 151

T

Tamas 163
Tāṇḍava 190, 208
Tantra 95, 201
Takṣakāra Śrī Vinīta 138
Tarka 95
Tāyika 83, 193
Tirumalai Inscription of Rajendra Cola 106
Trailokya Candra 106
Tribhuvanapāla 107, 108
Tri-ratna 161, 218
Trisrotā 49
Turuṣkā 141
Tyāgasiṁha 81, 106, 191

U

Udālbakra 33
Udayācala 85, 194
Umācal 1, 2, 149
Uparikara 54, 69, 85, 97, 100, 117, 135
Uparipattana 45, 51, 173
Upendra 67
Utkala 103, 104
Utkheṭana 85, 97, 100, 117, 121, 129, 135
Utkheṭayitā 32

V

Vāhaka 42, 172
Vāhika 83, 193
Vaināmagrāma 100, 203
Vaitānika 76
Vājasaneya 86, 89, 194, 197
Vajradatta 9, 17, 20, 45, 67, 73, 81, 93, 112, 152, 160, 161, 162, 173, 186, 191, 200
Vajradeva 34, 168
Vajradhara 9
Vākpāla 108
Vākya 9, 95, 152

Vāmadevapāṭaka 85, 194
Vanamāla 39, 67, 68, 74, 169, 174, 179, 182, 187
Vanamālavarmadeva 43, 44, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 104, 173, 176, 177
Vanamālābhidhānā 46, 52
Vaṅga 104, 210
Varāha 8, 173, 201, 219, 223
Varāhī King Mahāmāṇikya 145
Varāha Vapuṣā 133
Vārāsepattanaviṣaya 69, 188
Varṇāśrama 48, 53, 67, 73, 164, 182
Varṇāśramadharma 23, 175
Vāsava 39
Vaśiṣṭha 188, 203
Vasudhā 8
Vasumatī 72
Vāstu 76, 85, 97, 100, 117, 120, 129, 135
Vasundharā 33
Velānāndu 104
Vidyādhara 164
Vidyāvinoda 19, 27, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 71, 72, 73, 78, 87, 91, 99, 124, 129, 132, 140, 161, 171, 192, 197, 202, 217, 218, 221
Vigrahapāla-I 104, 108
Vigrahastambha 81, 191
Vijaya 37, 67, 73, 168, 182, 186
Vijnānavatī 6, 12, 17, 22, 151, 154, 160, 163
Vīnāyaka 15
Vīrabāhu 68, 69, 74, 75, 183, 187
Vīrasatkaśāsanabhū 130
Viṣaya 3, 69
Viṣayāmātya 4
Viṣayapati 24, 165
Viṣayakaraṇa 76, 85, 96, 100, 117, 120, 128, 135
Viṣṇu 1, 9, 15, 33, 46, 52, 58, 59, 60, 61, 121, 152, 157, 174, 182, 186, 194, 199, 204, 207, 208, 212, 215, 217
Viṣuvat 77, 185
Viśvasundaradeva 144
Vṛhatdrāvā 131, 221
Vṛttra-II
Vyākaraṇa 14, 156, 201
Vyavahāra 42
Vyavahārī 32, 166
Vyavahāriharadattakāyastha 32, 166

Y

Yajñadevī 11, 151, 153, 162
Yajñavatī 6, 17, 21, 151, 160
Yamīgaṅgā 136
Yaśovarman 104
Yavana 146
Yuan Chwang 5
Yuvarāja-I 105

APPENDIX E

ADDENDUM ET CORRIGENDUM

1—General Introduction

Page	*Line*	*Foot-line*	*Wrongly Printed*	*Correct form*
3	13		compiles	compiled
4	18		Antiquarian Studies	Ethnography
5,6,7 etc			Dīkṣita	Dīkshit
6,7, etc			Sarkar	Sircar
6,7			Banerjee	Banerji
11	7		Amritaprabhā	Amṛtaprabhā
12	10,12		*Kirāṭas*	*Kirātas*
14	7		Gandharvavati	Gāndharvavatī
	34		Aratha	Āratha
15	34		differential	*differentia*
22	26		Jorāsandha	Jarāsandha
24	5		Durjodhana	Duryodhana
34		14	K. P. Kangle	R. P. Kangle
35		1	-do-	-do-
49	33		Baṇāsura	Bāṇāsura
52	22		thrown to	thrown into
59		10	R. Hoernle	Dr. Hoernle
60		3	Vanamālavarma	Vanamālavarmā
94	4		Sūṅgas	Śuṅgas
101	28		Madhusudana	Madhusūdaṇa
128	7,12,16		informations	information
140	17		dominent	dominant
149	16		an eulogy	a eulogy
154		9	*Paupśati*	Paśupati
176	19		अष्टहेन्ता	अष्टहेन्त
	21		श्रीअस्तकेत	श्रीअस्तकेन
182	17		inscription	inscriptions
	14		पुष्टा, सिरि and अष्टहेन्त	शनि, ढनि and अनि

2—Text and English Translation

5 etc	6		Diksit	Dikshit
	9		Banerjee	Banerji
6	4		शोभाायां	शोभायां
7	2		Kamrupa	Kamrup

2. Text and English Translation—(*Contd.*)

Page	*Line*	*Foot-line*	*Wrongly printed*	*Correct form*
9	7		मतचश	मतञ्च
10	21		णशेषण	णशेषेण
11	2		१६	१८
	11		२२	२१
	15		सुतमिव	सुतामिव
	19		श्राद्य भूपाल	श्राद्यभूपाल
		1	बालानि	वलानि
13		2	शुनासीर	सुनासीर
14	13		वर्म्मण	वर्म्मणा
	18		व्याकार	व्याकर
	20		परस्परा	परम्परा
16	7		प्रगत्थ	प्रगत्य
	9		बलैर्य्यो	बलैर्य्यों
	17		मोहङ्गतौ	हङ्गतौ
			चासादितौ	चासादितौ ।।७०।।
	21		।।७२।।	।।७१।।
41	9		Vibyāvinoda	Vidyāvinoda
42			Bose (in the fn.)	Basu
	5		व्यावहारश्चो	व्यवहारश्चो
	6		चित्तधरदक्ष	चित्तघरदक्ष
45	12		महिपालैः	महीपालैः
46	7		बलस्थ	वलस्य
48	2		कीर्त्ति°	कीर्त्ति°
49	2		वालकुमारिकाभिः	बालकुमारिकाभिः
55	3		हापोस	हपोस
		I	shorts yallable	short syllable
	7		वहुभि	बहुभि
67	12		ज्योतिषाख्य	ज्योतिषाख्यं
71	8		Of the Antiquarian Department	Of Ethnology
77	16		दिह्हेसवापी	दिह्हेशवापी
88	19		3000 paddy	3000 measures of paddy
91	4		Dhairynath	Dhairyanath
	22		Ratnaāla	Ratnapāla
	26		4000 paddy	4000 measures of paddy
96	16		भमौ	भूमौ
97	19		कलं	कूलं

2. Text and English Translation—(*Contd.*)

Page	*Line*	*Foot-line*	*Wrongly printed*	*Correct form*
	20		भसीम्नि	भूसीम्नि
	16		Mihirabhuja	Mihirabhoja
104	19		Surapāla	Śūrapāla
	30		Yasovarman	Yaśovarman
107	13		possesing	possessing
108	12		Mahipāla	Mahīpāla
	15		Rājyayāla	Rājyapāla
112	3		भूत्तेः	मूर्त्तेः
	12		वभूव	बभूव
121	15		महावाहु	महाबाहु
122	2		do	do
134	15		लब्धेव	लब्ध्वेव
	20		विद्यच्छटा	विद्युच्छटा
144	39		Ahom	Kamatā
146	I		Stone	Pillar
153	13		Dattavatī	Dattavatī, (with a comma after)
	14		his desired end	the desired end.
	23		en mass	*en masse*
157		15	संकोष	संकोचः
160	11		Subratā	Suvratā
	15		Susthitsvarmā	Susthitavarmā
164	30		Śibi	Śivi
167		7	इन्त्रस्य	इन्द्रस्य
169		7	वालचन्द्रमाः	बालचन्द्रमाः
170		4	prakṛtirsms	Prākṛtisms
			Prākita	*Prākṛta*
171	39,40		Bose	Basu
175	23		ad seriatim	*adseriatim*
176	41,43		Daśalāṅgula	Daśalāṅgala
177	19		*Catas*	*Cāṭas*
			Bhatas	*Bhaṭas*
185	32		*Diddeṣa*	Diddesā
186	34		Bijaya	Vijaya
204	3		Pātck.	Pāṭaka
228	I		Stone	Pillar

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169

haratiya Vidy hawan's Sri Sankaracharya Sanskrit Mahavidyala